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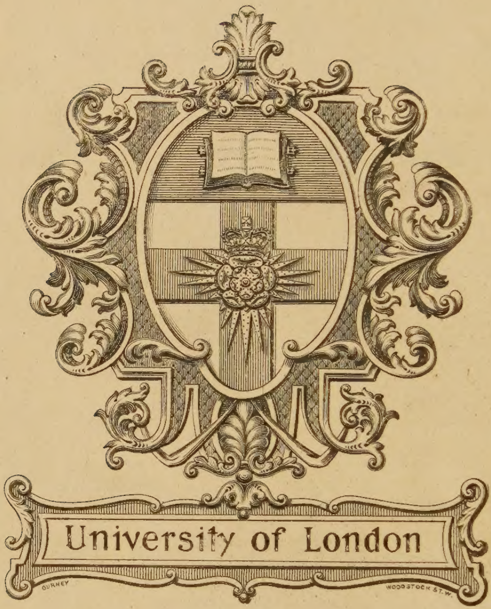

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HANSARD'S

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47° VICTORIÆ, 1884.

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TO

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Fourth Volume of the Session.

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(1.) The name and religious denomination of each Commissioner;

(2.) The number of attendances made by each at (a.) the ordinary and (b.) special meetings of the Board during the twelve months ended the 31st day of March 1884;

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Amendment proposed,

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PARLIAMENT—NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE (RULE 2)—A PROPOSED MORNING SITTING—
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. J. G. Hubbard*) .. 481
After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

WAYS AND MEANS—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—ARREST OF P. N. FITZGERALD—Observations, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Sexton; Reply, Mr. Trevelyan 489

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PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATHS IN WATERFORD GAOL—CASE OF JAMES COMMINS—Observations, Mr. Leamy; Reply, Sir William Harcourt:—Short debate thereon 495

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered* in Committee—FINANCIAL STATEMENT—

(In the Committee.)

Moved, "That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged, collected, and paid for the year commencing on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of Five Pence;

And for every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,—

In England, the Duty of Two Pence Halfpenny;

In Scotland and Ireland respectively, the Duty of One Penny Three Farthings;

Subject to the provisions contained in section one hundred and sixty-three of the Act of the fifth and sixth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-five, for the exemption of persons whose income is less than One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, and in section eight of "The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1876," for the relief of persons whose income is less than Four Hundred Pounds,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) 499

After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock; Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow, at Two of the clock,"—(*Mr. Attorney General*) 586

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "To-morrow, at Two of the clock," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next,"—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 59, Noes 21; Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 69.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill to be read a second time *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow, at Two of the clock,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan*) 589

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "To-morrow, at Two of the clock," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next,"—(*Mr. Leamy,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill to be read a second time *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

School, &c. Buildings (Ireland) Bill [Bill 45]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Colonel Colthurst*) 591

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 15th May.

Public Health (Members and Officers) Bill [Bill 164]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir John Kennaway*) 592
After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 15th May.

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QUEEN'S COLLEGES (IRELAND)—Motion for a Return (*Mr. Justin M'Carthy*) .. 594
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. O'Brien* :)—Question put, and *agreed to* :—Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday* next.

Bankruptcy Frauds and Disabilities (Scotland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Cochran-Patrick, Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. Stewart Clark*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 179] 599

[2.0.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, APRIL 25.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF BERBER AND KHARTOUM—Question, Observations, The Earl of Donoughmore; Reply, Earl Granville :—Short debate thereon 599

Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Monson*); read 1ª (No. 68) 604

Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order (Dundalk Waterworks) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Monson*); read 1ª (No. 69) 604

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Sudeley*); read 1ª (No. 70) 604

[4.45.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, APRIL 25.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Stockton Carrs Railway Bill (*by Order*)
Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 605
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. J. Lowther.*)
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 126, Noes 117; Majority 9.—(Div. List, No. 70.)
Main Question, put, and *agreed to* :—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

NOTICE OF QUESTION.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE OXFORD COUNTY COURT—THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT—Notice of Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 646

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CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL—Notice of Amendment, Mr. Dodson 654

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Attorney General*) 655

After debate, it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

Tramways Provisional Orders Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 180] 669

The House suspended its Sitting at five minutes to Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

LOCAL AND IMPERIAL TAXATION—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "accepting the principle which would adjust every man's taxation to his ability, this House desires that Local and Imperial Taxation shall (whenever they are coincident) be levied upon a common basis and by a common measure of

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read—*continued.*

value; that Imperial Taxes shall, as regards the products of property, be (like local rates) charged upon their net or rateable annual value, and that industrial incomes shall be allowed, prior to assessment for Income Tax, an abatement, in compensation of their perishable nature,"—(*Mr. J. G. Hubbard,*)—instead thereof .. 669

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 73, Noes 35; Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 71.)

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

JAMAICA—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM—Observations, Captain Price; Reply, Mr. Evelyn Ashley:—Debate thereon .. 691

[House counted out.] [1.30.]

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Benefices (Tiverton Portions) Consolidation Amendment Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Bishop of Exeter*); read 1ª (No. 72) 726

[5.0.]

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THE INCOME TAX—Notice of Motion, Mr. J. G. Hubbard 758

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Representation of the People Bill—COMMITTEE [FIRST NIGHT]—
Order for Committee read 759

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to make provision for the redistribution of seats between the existing constituencies, and for the representation of populous urban sanitary districts at present unrepresented,"—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

After debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Brodrick*:)—After further debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 71, Noes 108; Majority 37.—(Div. List, No. 72.)

Original Question again proposed 795

After debate, original Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 147, Noes 174; Majority 27.—(Div. List, No. 73.)

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to enlarge the scope of the Bill, so as to provide, where desirable, for the extension of the Boundaries of the Parliamentary Boroughs,"—(*Mr. Tomlinson*) 821

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 132, Noes 158; Majority 26.—(Div. List, No. 74.)

Moved, "That further Proceeding upon going into Committee on the Bill be adjourned,"—(*Mr. R. N. Fowler*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Further Proceeding upon going into Committee *deferred* until *Thursday*.

Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [25th April], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—*Moved*, "That the Debate be further adjourned till To-morrow, at Two of the clock" .. 829
Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "To-morrow, at Two of the clock," in order to insert the words "upon Thursday,"—(*Mr. Warton*,)—instead thereof.
Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 127, Noes 77; Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 75.)
Original Question again proposed 835
After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment Bill—
Lords Amendments *considered* and *agreed to* 836

Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.) Bill [Bill 55]—
Moved, "That the Second Reading of the Bill be deferred till To-morrow, at Two of the clock,"—(*Mr. Hibbert*) 836
After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn:*—Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

Irish Land Court Officers (Exclusion from Parliament) Bill
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [21st April], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 836
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Sexton:*)—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

WAYS AND MEANS—
Resolution [April 24] *reported*, and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*) 838

MOTIONS.

Gas Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 181] 838

Water Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 182] 838

EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART (ADMINISTRATION)—
Mr. DAWSON discharged from further attendance on the Select Committee on Education, Science, and Art (Administration):—Mr. SEXTON added to the Committee,—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

[1.30.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, APRIL 29.

Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment Bill—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*) .. 839
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* the 13*th of May* next.

MALTA (CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION)—CIVIL AND MILITARY GOVERNORSHIP—Question, Observations, Earl De La Warr; Reply, The Earl of Derby:—Short debate thereon 840

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE PURCHASE CLAUSES—ADVANCES TO OWNERS—RESOLUTION—
Moved, "That having regard to the announced intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a measure to secure greater facilities to tenants in Ireland for the purchase of their holdings, this House is of opinion that any such measure as is proposed by Her Majesty's Government should be so framed as to afford to those landowners of Ireland who have suffered pecuniary loss by the operation of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, facilities for raising money to pay off charges affecting their estates on as easy terms as would by the said measure be secured to purchasing tenants, or compensation in respect of such pecuniary loss in any way that may be deemed advisable,"—(*The Lord Castletown*) 843
After debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

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EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF BERBER—Question, The Earl of Galloway; Answer, Earl Granville 874

Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Balfour*); read 1ª (No. 74) 874

[7.0.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, APRIL 29.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Bill—

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report to the House whether the proposed Railway will injuriously affect one of the few open spaces in the City of Dublin, viz.: the open space known as Beresford Place, situate on the north and west sides of the Custom House; and needlessly disfigure the said City; and that they have power to call Witnesses and receive evidence upon the subject,"—(*Mr. Mayne*) 875

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 26, Noes 145; Majority 119.—(Div. List, No. 76.)

QUESTIONS.

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—CASE OF MR. ROBERT BARKLIE—Questions, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Biggar; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 884

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—WATER SUPPLY OF SWINEFORD UNION—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 884

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THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE DERRY MAGISTRATES (MESSRS. ARCHDALE, DOWLING, AND ROCHE)—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 893

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JAMAICA (FINANCE, &C.)—THE ESTIMATES—Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 894

EGYPT (THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE)—THE 60TH RIFLES AT SUAKIN—Questions, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Mr. W. H. Smith, Sir John Hay, Lord John Manners; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington .. 895

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Gibson, Mr. W. E. Forster, Lord John Manners; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, The Marquess of Hartington 897

Venezuela—Commercial Negotiations—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 900

Ways and Means—The Financial Proposals—Proposed Restoration of the Gold Coinage—Questions, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Staveley Hill; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 901

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 120]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 22nd April*] 901

After some time spent therein, it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *this day*.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

MOTIONS.

—o—

Education Department—Elementary School Teachers—Resolution—

Moved, "That the position of School Teachers in public Elementary Schools, appointed 1846-51, in respect of pensions, is detrimental to the best interests of education, and requires the further consideration of Her Majesty's Government,"—(*Mr. Brodrick*) .. 939

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Trade and Commerce—Convention between Spain and the United States—Resolution, Mr. Tomlinson 958

[House counted out] [11.15.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

Disposal of the Dead (Regulations) Bill [Bill 10]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Dr. Cameron*) .. 959

After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 79, Noes 149; Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 79.)

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 (Purchase Clauses) Bill [Bill 23]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. T. A. Dickson*) 997

After short debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

QUESTION.

—o—

Law and Justice (Ireland)—The Sligo Conspiracy Trial—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1010

MOTIONS.

Copyright (Works of Fine Art and Photographs) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hastings, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy, Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr. Agnew, Mr. Gregory*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 183] 1011

Dean Forest and Hundred of Saint Briavels Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 184] 1011

[5.55.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, MAY 1.

EGYPT—THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE—Question, The Earl of Carnarvon; Answer, Earl Granville 1011

"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL *v.* CHARLES BRADLAUGH, M.P."—ACTION AT BAR—Petition, Observations, Lord Bramwell 1012

After short debate, Petition read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

Settled Land Bill (No. 52)— 1013

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl Cairns*) .. 1013

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* the 13*th instant*.

EGYPT—ENGAGEMENTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT (DESPATCH OF 19TH SEPTEMBER, 1879)—Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury; Reply, Earl Granville 1013

Amended extract of despatch from the Marquess of Salisbury to Mr. Malet, of 19th September 1879: *Presented* (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

EGYPT—EVACUATION OF THE EASTERN SOUDAN—Question, Observations, Lord Strathnairn; Reply, Earl Granville 1020

[5.15.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MAY 1.

QUESTIONS.

WAR OFFICE—CLERKS OF THE LOWER DIVISION—HOLIDAYS AND SICK LEAVE—Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1024

BURIALS—NONCONFORMIST FUNERALS AT MAIDENHEAD—Questions, Mr. G. Palmer, Earl Percy; Answers, Sir William Harcourt 1024

TRADE AND COMMERCE—THE WEST INDIA COLONIES AND THE UNITED STATES—Question, Mr. Tennant; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. 1025

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHING TREATIES—REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMISSION—Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. 1026

POST OFFICE—TELEPHONE LICENCES—Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1027

COURT OF BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND)—UNCLAIMED DIVIDENDS—Questions, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answers, Mr. Courtney 1028

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—COST OF ANNUAL CHANGE OF LOCATION—Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1029

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO"—Question, Mr. Storey; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1029

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND—SYLLABUS OF LECTURES, &c.—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1030

The Truck Act—Sick Clubs and Pension Funds—Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The Attorney General 1031

Restoration of Westminster Abbey—Legislation—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1031

Portugal—The Congo Treaty—Questions, Mr. Houldsworth, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1032

The Customs and Inland Revenue Departments—Amalgamation—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1032

Inland Navigation and Drainage (Ireland)—Floods of the Lower Bann—Question, Mr. T. A. Dickson; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. 1032

Africa (East Coast)—The Slave Trade—Question, Mr. Stuart-Wortley; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1033

Public Offices—The New War Office and Admiralty—New Designs—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre .. 1033

National Education (Ireland)—Convent National Schools—Questions, Mr. Biggar; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1034

Navy—The Gunboat "Forward"—Question, Mr. Tomlinson; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1034

India (Madras)—The Mysore Territory—Concessions to British Officials—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross .. 1035

Board of National Education (Ireland)—Building Grants for Schools—Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1035

The Mauritius (Constitution and Government)—Question, Mr. Wodehouse; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1036

The National Debt—Reduction of Interest—Questions, Mr. J. G. Hubbard, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1036

Street Traffic (Metropolis)—Congestion at Knightsbridge—Question, Viscount Newport; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg 1038

Metropolitan Water Supply—Question, Mr. Gregory; Answer, Mr. W. M. Torrens 1039

Egypt—Mr. O'Kelly, M.P. for Roscommon—Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Parnell, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1039

Merchant Shipping Bill—The Dominion of Canada—Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1041

Ways and Means—The Financial Proposals—Proposed Restoration of the Gold Coinage—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1041

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Arrests at Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1042

Housing of the Working Classes—The Brook Street, Limehouse, Scheme—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg .. 1043

Law and Justice—Police—Licensed Victuallers as Sureties—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1044

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Berber—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1045

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Movement of Diseased Cattle—Questions, Mr. Hicks; Answers, Mr. Dodson 1046

Poor Law (Ireland)—Election of Guardians—Kilmeen Electoral Division, Kanturk Union—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1047

Public Health—Deaths from Charbon—Question, Mr. Grantham; Answer, Mr. George Russell 1048

The Coinage—Mint Charges Abroad—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1049

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Khartoum—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1049

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CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—QUARANTINE REGULATIONS—Question, Mr. Duckham; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1050
GOVERNMENT ASSURANCE AND ANNUITIES ACT, 1882—INSURANCES UNDER THE NEW TABLES—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1050
A MINISTER FOR SCOTLAND—LEGISLATION—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1050
QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK—THE VISITORS—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1051
THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY AND QUEEN'S COLLEGES, IRELAND—CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMISSION—Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1051
EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE CAPTIVES AT SINKAT—Question, Mr. A. Ross; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1051
CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—THE DAIRIES, &C. ORDER, 1879—REGISTRATION OF COWHOUSES—Question, Mr. Clare Read; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1052
EGYPT—ENGAGEMENTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT (DESPATCH, 19TH SEPTEMBER, 1879)—Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Stuart-Wortley; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1052
EGYPT—THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Baron Henry De Worms, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Bourke, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1055
EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF GENERAL GORDON—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Willis, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1057
PARLIAMENT—THE "COUNT OUT" ON TUESDAY—Questions, Sir John Hay, Mr. Mac Iver; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1060
IMPERIAL AND LOCAL TAXATION—THE INCOME TAX—THE DEBATE OF FRIDAY, APRIL 25—Personal Explanation, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; Reply, Mr. Gladstone 1061
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Mr. Heneage, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Sclater-Booth; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1062
PUBLIC HEALTH—CHOLERA—Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1063
EGYPT — THE TELEGRAMS — Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1064

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

Representation of the People Bill [Bill 119]—[SECOND NIGHT]—
Order read, for resuming Proceedings upon going into Committee .. 1065
After long debate, Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee 1121
After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—REPORT—Postponed Resolution [21st April] *considered* .. 1122

(3.) "That a sum, not exceeding £91,685, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens."

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£91,685," and insert "£89,685,"—(*Sir Robert Peel,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '£91,685' stand part of the said Resolution:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 219, Noes 108; Majority 111.—(Div. List, No. 80.)

After further short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

[*May* 1.] *Page*

COINAGE AND BANKING ACTS—
Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to consider the Weights and Measures Acts,"—(*Mr. Courtney*) 1145
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Matter *considered* in Committee.
Moved, "That it is expedient to amend the Laws relating to Coinage, Banking, and Weights and Measures,"—(*Mr. Courtney*).
Motion *agreed to*:—Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

NATIONAL DEBT ACT, 1870, &c—
Resolutions *considered* in Committee 1146
Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

Shop Hours Regulation (Liverpool) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Whitley, Lord Claud John Hamilton, Mr. Samuel Smith*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 185] .. 1147
[1.15.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, MAY 2.

Marriages Legalization (Wood Green Congregational Church) Bill (No. 66)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Carrington*) .. 1147
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

Public Health (Confirmation of Bye Laws) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Carrington*); read 1ª (No. 76) 1148
[4.30.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MAY 2.

NOTICE OF MOTION.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S MISSION—Notice of Motion, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach 1148

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE—SENTENCES ON CHILDREN—REFORMATORIES—Questions, Mr. M'Laren, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Sir William Harcourt 1149
POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, RATHDRUM UNION—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1151
INDIA—THE KIRWEE PRIZE MONEY—Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1152
STATE OF IRELAND—MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE AT DAVIDSTOWN—Questions, Mr. Small, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1153
LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE CONSTABULARY AT TULLAMORE—Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1154
POST OFFICE—TRANSFERRED TELEGRAPH CLERKS—Question, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1154
POST OFFICE—NORTHERN DISTRICT TELEPHONE COMPANY—Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Fawcett .. 1155

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INLAND REVENUE — ASSISTANT SURVEYORSHIPS—EXAMINATION—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1156

PORTUGAL—THE CONGO TREATY—Questions, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1157

INDIA (MADRAS)—CAPTAIN E. A. CAMPBELL—Question, Mr. R. Power; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1157

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND)—THE RATE COLLECTOR OF THE BLACKROCK TOWNSHIP COMMISSION—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1158

COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS—CAPTAIN HON. C. F. CROFTON—Question, Mr. Dawson; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1159

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE CONSTABULARY AT ARMAGH—Question, Mr. Leahy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1159

MALTA—MILITARY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT—THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR —Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1160

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Labouchere, Lord John Manners, Lord George Hamilton; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Speaker; Question, Mr. Macartney; [No reply] 1161

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN) — FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS TO THE MAHDI—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1165

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF BERBER—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1165

PUBLIC HEALTH — BOROUGH OF LEICESTER — DRAINAGE OF ADJOINING RURAL DISTRICTS—Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, Mr. George Russell 1166

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—VOLUNTEERS—Questions, Sir Henry Fletcher, Mr. Tomlinson; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1166

PARLIAMENT—RULES AND ORDERS OF THE HOUSE—KEEPING A HOUSE—MORNING SITTINGS—Question, Sir Baldwyn Leighton; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1167

EGYPT—THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE—Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1168

PUBLIC HEALTH—DWELLINGS OF THE POOR—CLERKENWELL—Question, Mr. Firth; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1169

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. E. Stanhope, Mr. Sexton, Lord John Manners, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1170

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT — SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE — MORNING SITTINGS—MOTION—

Moved, "That, until the end of June, this House will meet on Tuesdays and Fridays at Two o'clock,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1171

Amendment proposed,

To leave out all the words after the word "That," in order to add the words "previous to the first of June in each year, no Morning Sitting on Tuesday or Friday shall be taken except by Resolution of the House moved, after Notice in each case, at Half-past Four,"—(*Mr. Arthur Balfour,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 216, Noes 103; Majority 113.—(Div. List, No. 81.)

Main Question again proposed 1192

After short debate, Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

PARLIAMENT—PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION (CITY OF HEREFORD)—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to investigate the circumstances connected with the withdrawal of the Petition against the last Parliamentary Election for the City of Hereford, and to report thereon to the House,"—(*Mr. Raikes,*)—instead thereof 1196

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 107, Noes 55; Majority 52.—(Div. List, No. 82.)

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

MADAGASCAR—Observations, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Reply, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice:—Debate thereon 1220

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to:*—SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 120]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 29th April*] 1235

After some time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

National Debt (Conversion of Stock) Bill—Resolutions [May 1] *reported,* and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 186] 1264

Coinage Bill—Resolution [May 1] *reported,* and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 187] .. 1264

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Courtney*)

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE ARRESTS AT TUBBERCURRY, CO. SLIGO—Question, Observations, Mr. Sexton; Reply, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1264

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*) 1266

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*) 1266

[1.45.]

LORDS, MONDAY, MAY 5.

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENTS AND OFFICE OF THE GENTLEMAN USHER OF THE BLACK ROD—

Select Committee appointed and nominated:—List of the Committee:—Short debate thereon 1267

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—Question, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answer, Earl Granville 1268

LUNACY LAWS—RESOLUTION—
Moved to resolve, "That in the opinion of this House the existing state of the lunacy laws is eminently unsatisfactory, and constitutes a serious danger to the liberty of the subject,"—(*The Earl of Milltown*) 1268
After debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

THE WESTERN PACIFIC—DEPORTATION OF FRENCH RECIDIVISTS—Postponement of Motion, The Earl of Rosebery:—Short debate thereon .. 1291

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—VOTE OF THANKS TO OFFICERS AND MEN OF H.M. SEA AND LAND FORCES—Observations, Question, Viscount Enfield, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, The Earl of Morley .. 1293

Marriages Legalization Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Chancellor*); read 1ª (No. 76) 1295
[7.30.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, MAY 5.

MOTIONS.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Bandon Waterworks) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 188] 1296

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Unions of North Dublin, &c.) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 189] 1296

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) (Dorking and Hendon, &c.) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 190] 1296

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9) (Parishes of Ashen, &c.) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 191] 1296

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 10) (Parishes of Charley, &c.) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 192] 1296

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill—
Moved, "That the Chairman of the Committee of Standing Orders be appointed Chairman of the Committee on the said Bill,"—(*Sir Arthur Otway*:)—Motion *agreed to.*

NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S MISSION—THE VOTE OF CENSURE (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH)—Notice of Amendment, Sir Wilfrid Lawson 1297

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QUESTIONS.

Harbours of Refuge—Convict Labour—Question, Mr. Marjoribanks; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 1298

Army Act, 1881—Fraudulent Enlistment—Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1298

Law and Justice (England and Wales)—Peter M'Knight, A Convict Lunatic—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. 1299

Army (India)—Re-organization—Question, Mr. E. Stanhope: Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1299

India—The Kirwee Prize Money—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1299

Law and Police (Ireland)—Interference of the Police at Castleshane—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1300

Protection of Person and Property (Ireland) Act, 1881—Compensation for Malicious Burning—The Grand Jury of Fermanagh—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1301

Prisons (Ireland)—Mountjoy Prison—Warders—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1302

Army (Auxiliary Forces)—The 4th Lincolnshire Militia—Question, Mr. Roundell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1303

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Mr. Charles Kelly, Q.C., County Court Judge for Clare—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1303

Crime (Ireland)—Firing at the Person—Case of the Brothers Delahunty—Questions, Mr. Kenny; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1304

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Sec. 18—Extra Police, Co. Longford—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1305

Court of Bankruptcy (Ireland)—The Chief Clerk in Insolvency—Question, Dr. Lyons; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1306

The Queen's Colleges (Ireland)—The Professor of Anatomy (Queen's College, Cork)—Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1306

Post Office—Telephone Exchanges—Questions, Mr. Gorst, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Fawcett 1307

Parliamentary Papers—Statement of Cost—Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1308

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Wicklow Co.—Appointment of Mr. Martin Langton—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1309

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Summonses at Newtownbarry—Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1310

Metropolitan Asylums Board—The Homerton Small-pox Hospital—Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke .. 1311

Ways and Means—The Financial Statement—The Gold Coinage—Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1312

Egypt—Engagements of Her Majesty's Government—Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1313

Egypt (War in the Soudan)—Vote of Thanks to Officers and Men of H.M. Sea and Land Forces—Questions, Mr. Onslow; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1313

Africa (West Coast)—The African International Association—Question, Mr. A. H. Brown; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1314

Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Catholic Chaplain for Militiamen at Carrickfergus—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1315

Inland Revenue—The Legacy Duty—Question, Mr. Percy Wyndham; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1315

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THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—DISQUALIFICATION OF LICENSED PUBLICANS (MR. MANGAN, HIGH SHERIFF OF DROGHEDA)—Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1315

TURKEY—THE EUROPEAN PROVINCES—CHRISTIANS IN MACEDONIA—Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; [No reply] 1317

SCOTLAND—AGRICULTURAL TENANTS IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS—NOTICES TO QUIT—Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Lord Advocate 1318

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE GOLD COINAGE—MELTING FOR MANUFACTURING PURPOSES—Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1320

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE YEOMANRY—Question, Mr. Sidney Herbert; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1320

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO"—Questions, Mr. Storey; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1321

MALTA—CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION—MILITARY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT—Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1322

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—OUTBREAK AT FINCHLEY—Question, Mr. Causton; Answer, Mr. Dodson .. 1322

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—THE TELEGRAMS—Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1323

POST OFFICE—GOVERNMENT SAVINGS BANKS—RATE OF INTEREST—Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1325

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—FATE OF THE CAPTIVES AT SINKAT—Questions, Mr. A. Ross, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1325

STATE OF IRELAND—MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE AT KILROSENTY, Co. WATERFORD—Questions, Mr. R. Power, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1326

BURIAL ACTS—PAROCHIAL BURIAL PLACES—Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1326

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—JURIES—JUSTICES OF THE PEACE—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1327

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—TENANTS' IMPROVEMENTS—"GEORGE M'CORD *v.* SIR RICHARD WALLACE"—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1327

METROPOLIS—IMPROVEMENTS AT HYDE PARK CORNER—THE ARCH ON CONSTITUTION HILL—Questions, Mr. J. W. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1329

MADRAS—MYSORE GOLD MINES—CONCESSIONS TO BRITISH OFFICIALS—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross .. 1329

RAILWAY COMMISSIONERS—CONTINUATION OF POWERS—LEGISLATION—Question, Viscount Folkestone; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1330

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—RELIEF THROUGH ABYSSINIA—Question, Mr. Staveley Hill; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. 1330

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—GENERAL GORDON'S MISSION—THE VOTE OF CENSURE (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH)—Question, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1330

THE EGYPTIAN PAPERS—No. 12, 1884—Question, Mr. Chaplin; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1332

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—ARMY ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £57,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Divine Service, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885" .. 1332

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £53,397, be granted, &c.,"—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn:* —After further short debate, Motion (*Sir George Campbell*), by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £53,397, be granted, &c." .. 1355

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1356

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £57,000, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Biggar:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £36,800, Administration of Military Law.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1362

(3.) £303,000, Medical Establishment and Services.—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* 1369

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £524,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Pay and Allowances of a Force of Militia, not exceeding 136,806, including 30,000 Militia Reserve, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885" 1407

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £504,000, be granted, &c.,"—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1411

After debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £69,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Yeomanry Cavalry Pay and Allowances, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885" 1426

After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 103, Noes 25; Majority 78.—(Div. List, No. 84.)

(6.) £568,500, Volunteer Corps.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1433

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

Moved, "That the Committee sit again upon Wednesday:"—After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

Hyde Park Corner Improvements Bill [Bill 136]—

Moved, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged,"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) 1451

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Order *discharged:*—Bill *withdrawn.*

Redistribution of Seats Bill [Bill 131]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir John Hay*) .. 1453

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Buchanan.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

[House counted out.] [2.0.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, MAY 6.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL v. CHARLES BRADLAUGH, M.P.—ACTION AT BAR—PETITION—

Petition of Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., praying that an Officer of the House may attend at the hearing of a cause commenced by the Attorney General, on behalf of Her Majesty, against the Petitioner, and produce the Journal of the House for the year 1882 (presented on Thursday last): Ordered as prayed.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (The Labourers Act) (Carrick-on-Suir) Bill (No. 54)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord President*) .. 1454
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly.

Parliament—Representation of Ireland—Resolution, Lord Waveney .. 1456
After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Lord Waveney be not now heard,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*:)—On Question? *agreed to.*

Egypt—The Proposed Conference—Question, Observations, The Earl of Carnarvon; Reply, Earl Granville:—Short debate thereon .. 1457
House of Lords—The Electric Light—Questions, The Earl of Milltown, The Earl of Longford; Answers, Lord Sudeley 1467
Marriages Validity—Pretended Clerks in Holy Orders—Question, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Answer, The Lord Chancellor .. 1468
Parliamentary Papers—Delay in Delivery—Question, The Earl of Galloway; Answer, Earl Granville:—Short debate thereon .. 1469
[6.30.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, MAY 6.

QUESTIONS.

Local Government Board (Ireland)—The Rate Collector of the Boyle Union—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1471
Dominion of Canada — The Climate of Manitoba — Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1472
Intestates Estates Bill—Crown's Nominee Account—Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1473
Law and Justice—Dormant Funds in Chancery—Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1474
Local Government Board (Ireland)—The Rate Collector of the Blackrock Township Commissioners—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1474
Court of Bankruptcy (Ireland)—Unclaimed Dividends Fund Account—Questions, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answers, Mr. Courtney 1475
Law and Justice (Ireland) — The Riots at Londonderry — Use of Firearms in a Proclaimed District—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1476
Board of Public Works (Ireland)—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1476
Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1477
The Magistracy (Ireland)—Captain Beckett, R.M.—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1478
Navy—H.M.S. "Garnet"—The "Grenada People" Newspaper—Questions, Mr. Deasy, Mr. Small; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1479
The Straits Settlements—The Rajah of Tenom—Crew of the "Nisero"—Question, Mr. Storey; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1480
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon—Questions, Mr. M'Coan, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1480
Burials—Nonconformist Burial at Newton, Lancashire—Refusal to admit Corpse into the Church—Questions, Mr. Jesse Collings; Answers, Sir William Harcourt 1483

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Representation of the People Bill [First Night] [Bill 119]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 1*st May*] 1484

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Friday*, at Two of the clock.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

MOTIONS.

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister—Resolution—

Moved, "That, in view of the painful and unnecessary hardships inflicted upon large numbers of people in this Country by the Law prohibiting Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, it is the opinion of this House that a measure of relief is urgently called for,"—(*Mr. Broadhurst*) 1548

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the Laws relating to Marriages within the prohibited degrees,"—(*Colonel Makins*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 238, Noes 127; Majority 111.—(Div. List, No. 86.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 3) (Saint James, Westminster, &c.) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 195] 1594

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 4) (Colchester Tramways &c.) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 196] .. 1594

Waterworks Rating (Scotland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Henderson, Mr. Buchanan, Dr. Cameron, Dr. Webster, Admiral Sir John Hay*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 197] 1594

[1.15.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MAY 7.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) Bill [Bill 12]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. M'Lagan*) .. 1595

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, while fully recognizing the urgent call for legislation to give to local communities effectual control over the drink traffic, does not deem it expedient to proceed with a Bill which offers to ratepayers no other remedy than total prohibition,"—(*Mr. C. S. Parker*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 65, Noes 148; Majority 83.—(Div. List, No. 87.)

Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) Bill—continued.

Question proposed, "That those words be there added:"—*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Thomas Collins*:)—Question put: The House *divided*; Ayes 64, Noes 113; Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 88.)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

And it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

Metropolitan Board of Works (Thames Crossings) Bill—Select Committee *nominated*:—List of the Committee 1656

[5.55.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, MAY 8.

CENTRAL ASIA — RUSSIAN ADVANCE — SARAKHS—Question, The Earl of Rosebery; Answer, Earl Granville 1657

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF GENERAL GORDON—Question, Observations, Earl De La Warr; Reply, Earl Granville .. 1657

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—HYDE PARK CORNER—STATUE OF THE LATE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—Question, Lord Stratheden and Campbell; Answer, Lord Thurlow:—Short debate thereon 1659

Secretary for Scotland Bill—

Bill for appointing a Secretary for Scotland—*Presented* (*The Earl of Dalhousie*:)—After short debate, Bill read 1ª (No. 79) 1664

Colonial Attornies Relief Act Amendment Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Earl of Aberdeen*); read 1ª (No. 78) 1669

[5.30.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MAY 8.

PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL.

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) (Belchalwell, &c.) Bill [Bill 150]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now considered,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) .. 1669

After short debate, Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *To-morrow*.

QUESTIONS.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE GOLD CURRENCY—THE HALF-SOVEREIGN—Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1670

THE MAURITIUS—PUNISHMENT OF FLOGGING—Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1670

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. T. DOWLING, J.P.—HEAD CONSTABLE ROSS PARKES—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1671

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—MISCONDUCT OF "EMERGENCY MEN"—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1672

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—PROCURATORS FISCAL—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1672

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONERS—THE EXAMINERS—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1673

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INDIA (NATIVE STATES)—THE HYDERABAD DEBT—Questions, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross .. 1673

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—ASSAULTS IN A POLICE CELL—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1674

POST OFFICE—WEIGHTS AND SCALES—Questions, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Fawcett 1675

SALE OF POISONS BILL—Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. 1676

JAMAICA—ENCUMBERED ESTATES COURT—CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM—THE FRANCHISE—Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1676

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES—Question, Sir Joseph Bailey; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1677

IRISH LAND COMMISSIONERS—SITTINGS OF THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS ON GOOD FRIDAY—Question, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1678

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—COUNTY INSPECTOR FRENCH—Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1678

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—SENTENCES OF FLOGGING FOR BEGGING—Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. 1679

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—DENIS DEASY, A CONVICT—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1680

EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.) — THE MOUKABALAH — Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1680

EGYPT (ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS)—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1681

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—ZEBEHR PASHA—Question, General Feilden; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1682

BRAZIL—CLAIMS OF BRITISH SUBJECTS—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1682

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND) — ——— SULLIVAN, A PRISONER IN CORK PRISON—Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1683

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE HIGH SHERIFF OF DROGHEDA—Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan 1683

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—SHILLELAGH UNION—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1684

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—RATHDRUM UNION—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1685

SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT—WORKING MEN'S INSTITUTE, BELFAST—MR. ROBERT BARKLIE—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1686

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—BOARD SCHOOL DISTRICTS—Question, Sir Massey Lopes; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1687

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIAN ADVANCE—SARAKHS — Questions, Mr. Bourke, Lord John Manners; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1688

JAMAICA—CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—Question, Captain Price; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1688

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster, Viscount Folkestone; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1689

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—POLLING DISTRICTS — Question, Mr. F. J. Foljambe; Answer, The Attorney General 1691

POST OFFICE—THE IRISH MAIL SERVICE—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1691

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOUDAN—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1691

ARMY—THE QUEEN'S REGULATIONS—POLITICAL MEETINGS—Question, Mr. Noel; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1692

ARMY—STORES ESTABLISHMENT—CONDUCTORS OF STORES—Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1692

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THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND—EXAMINATIONS FOR THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross .. 1693

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—INTEREST OF THE DEBT—SAVINGS BANKS—Question, Sir Edward Watkin; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1693

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SITTINGS AT VIRGINIA, CO. CAVAN—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1694

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—NATIVES OF UPPER EGYPT—Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1694

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—PENSIONS—SERGEANT INSTRUCTOR LYNE—Question, Viscount Lewisham; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1694

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—THE CREW OF THE "NISERO"—Question, Mr. Storey; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1695

POST OFFICE—TELEPHONES—THE SUNDERLAND TRUNK WIRE—Question, Mr. Storey; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1695

POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS)—THE WEST INDIA MAIL SERVICE—Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1696

COURT OF BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND)—INSOLVENCY BUSINESS—DUTIES OF THE LATE CHIEF CLERK—Question, Mr. Findlater; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1696

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE FARNESE HERCULES—Question, Mr. R. Power; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1697

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY AND QUEEN'S COLLEGES (IRELAND)—CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY—Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1697

EGYPT—THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE—Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1698

PORTUGAL—THE CONGO TREATY—Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Jacob Bright; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Gladstone .. 1699

SPAIN—COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS—Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1700

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone 1701

POST OFFICE—ACCELERATION OF THE IRISH MAILS—Questions, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Fawcett 1701

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—NAVY ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £870,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of Victuals and Clothing for Seamen and Marines, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885" 1702

After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £188,600, Admiralty Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1798

(3.) £196,900, Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1802

(4.) £112,670, Scientific Branch.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1804

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Dawson*:)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock; Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 120]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Dodson*) .. 1807

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:" —After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 124, Noes 21; Majority 103.—(Div. List, No. 89.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with Amendments.

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act (1878) Amendment Bill

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [20th February] read, and *discharged:*—Bill *withdrawn* 1814

Education, Science, and Art (Administration)—

Mr. Salt discharged from further attendance on the Select Committee: Lord Algernon Percy added to the Committee,—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

[1.30.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, MAY 9.

Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment Bill (No. 74)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Balfour*) .. 1814

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months,")—(*The Earl of Redesdale:*)—After short debate, on Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 48, Not-Contents 78; Majority 30.

Division List, Contents and Not-Contents 1825

Resolved in the *negative:*—Bill to be read 2ª *this day six months.*

Portugal—The Congo Treaty—Resolution—

Moved, "That the petition of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce against the ratification of the Congo Treaty, presented to the House on the 22nd of April last, be printed,"—(*The Earl of Belmore*) 1827

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.* [7.0.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MAY 9.

PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL.

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) (Belchalwell, &c.) Bill [Bill 150]—

Moved, "That the Consideration of the Bill, as amended, be postponed until the 19th instant,"—(*Mr. R. H. Paget*) 1837

Question put, and *agreed to:*—Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *Monday* 19th May.

QUESTIONS.

Board of Intermediate Education (Ireland)—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1837

Arrears of County Cess (Ireland)—Collection in Co. Leitrim—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. 1838

Piers and Harbours (Ireland)—Red Bay Pier, Cushendall, Co. Antrim—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. 1839

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Coastguard (Ireland)—Arrangements for Transmitting Pay of Men—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1839

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Wicklow Magistracy—Appointment of Mr. Martin Langton—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1840

The Queen's Colleges (Ireland)—The Examinations—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1840

Royal Irish Constabulary—Cost of Police in Charge of Holdings in Co. Limerick—Questions, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1841

National Education (Ireland)—Girls' Schools—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1842

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Mr. John Hamill—Questions, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Charles Russell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1842

The Irish Land Commission (Sub-Commissioners)—Mr. William Gray—Question, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1845

Post Office—Advertisements of Telephone Companies—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1846

Poor Law (Ireland)—Election of Guardians—Newry Union—Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1846

The Royal University of Ireland—Syllabus of Lectures—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1848

Poor Law (Ireland)—Newry Union—Salary of the Master of the Workhouse—Question, Mr. Leahy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1848

The Parks (Metropolis)—The Rabbits in Richmond Park—Questions, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1849

Army—Examinations for Promotion—Question, Earl Percy; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1850

Local Government Board (Ireland)—The Rate Collector of the Blackrock Township Commission—Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Sexton; [No reply] .. 1851

Dominion of Canada—State-aided Emigrants at Toronto—Questions, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1852

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon—Question, Sir Henry Tyler; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1852

Parliament—Business of the House—Question, Observations, Sir Stafford Northcote; Reply, Mr. Gladstone 1852

Egypt—The Proposed Conference—Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1854

Purchase of Land (Ireland) Bill—Question, Mr. T. A. Dickson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1854

The Public Offices—The New Admiralty Buildings—Observations, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1855

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [Bill 3]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [25th April], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1855

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be referred to the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure,"—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the words "referred to," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Committee of the whole House,"—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross,*)—instead thereof.

Municipal Elections (*Corrupt and Illegal Practices*) *Bill*—continued.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 206, Noes 149; Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 90.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill referred to the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure.

Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases Bill [Bill 4]—

Order for Committee read, and *discharged* 1876

Moved, "That the Bill be referred to the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure,"—(*Mr. Attorney General*:) —After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 179, Noes 135; Majority 44.—(Div. List, No. 91.)

The House suspended its Sitting at twenty minutes to Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

[House counted out.] [9.5.]

LORDS.

TOOK THE OATH FOR THE FIRST TIME.

FRIDAY, MAY 2.

The Lord Bishop of Liverpool.

SAT FIRST.

MONDAY, APRIL 21.

The Earl of Abingdon, after the death of his father.

TUESDAY, APRIL 29.

The Duke of Marlborough, after the death of his father.

THURSDAY, MAY 1.

The Lord North, after the death of his mother.

COMMONS.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

TUESDAY, APRIL 8.

For *Poole*, *v.* Charles Schreiber, esquire, deceased.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7.

For *Kent County* (*Mid Division*), *v.* Sir Edmund Filmer, baronet, Chiltern Hundreds.

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

MONDAY, APRIL 21.

Poole—William James Harris, esquire.

HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

Fifth Session of the *Twenty-Second Parliament* of the
United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*,
appointed to meet 29 April, 1880, in the Forty-third
Year of the Reign of

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

FOURTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1884.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 8th April, 1884.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—New Writ Issued—*For* Poole, *v.* Charles Schreiber, esquire, deceased.

Select Committees—Commissariat and Transport Services (Egyptian Campaign); Charity Commission, *nominated.*

Private Bills (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Chatham and Brompton Tramways*; Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway Ventilators)*.

Third Reading postponed—Stockton Carrs Railway.

Public Bills—*Leave*—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—London Government [171].

Ordered—*First Reading*—Commons Regulation Provisional Order (Redhill and Earlswood Commons)* [172]; Public Health (Confirmation of Bye Laws) [173]; Marriages Legalisation (Wood Green Congregational Church)* [174].

First Reading—Matrimonial Causes* [175].

Committee—Contagious Diseases (Animals)* [120], *debate further adjourned.*

Considered as amended—Real Assets Administration [98].

Considered as amended—*Third Reading*—Army (Annual) [144], and *passed.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

——o——

PRIVATE BILLS.

Ordered, That Standing Orders 129 and 39 be suspended, and that the time for depositing Petitions against Private Bills, or against any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, and for depositing duplicates of any Documents relating to any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, be extended to Monday the 21st instant.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

STOCKTON CARRS RAILWAY BILL.

(*By Order.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read the third time upon Monday the 21st of April."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

Mr. J. LOWTHER: On a point of Order I wish to ask your opinion, Mr. Speaker. This Bill was put down by Order for to-day, and an intimation was conveyed to me through the ordinary channels that it would be taken. So late as an early hour this morning I was informed by the Chairman of Ways and Means that the Bill would be taken. But, further, I feel it my duty to call your attention to the very extraordinary course which has been adopted by the promoters of this Bill. I should first of all, before I raise the point of Order, like to know whether it is intended to proceed with the Bill now? [Mr. Dodds: No, Sir.] Then I must, with reluctance, call your attention to a point of Order. Sir, my attention has been called to the fact of a Circular, signed by a Member of this House, having been sent to many Members of the House. The Circular is in the following terms; and as a point of Order I think it right to draw your attention to the Circular—

"Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.,
"5th April, 1884.

"Stockton Carrs Railway.

"This Bill stands for Third Reading on Monday next, but Mr. James Lowther, M.P. has given Notice of opposition, and consequently the Third Reading will be taken on Tuesday next at Two o'clock p.m. precisely. My son is the Solicitor for the Bill, and I am exceedingly anxious to carry the Third Reading and defeat Mr. Lowther's opposition. May I beg that you will do me the very great personal favour to attend the House on Tuesday next, precisely at the hour named, to support the Third Reading? Hoping very earnestly for a favourable response,

"I remain, yours faithfully,
"Josh. Dodds."

Now, among the Standing Orders of this House is one that lays down, in clear and precise terms, that no Member of the House is entitled, with respect to a Private Bill, to take any action when he has a personal interest in that Bill. Now, I have reason to believe that the person alluded to as the solicitor for the Bill, and described by the hon. Member as his son, is, to all practical intents and purposes, associated in business matters with the hon. Gentleman. Within the last 24 hours I have had occasion to attend, in the country, a meeting of a Commission to which the hon. Member for Stockton is legal adviser. His place on that occasion was taken by his son, to whom reference is made in this Circular; and apparently an interchange of work is taking place, and the hon. Member is very actively representing his son in regard to this Bill. I venture to submit this as a point of Order. If this kind of thing is allowed, it is bringing to this side of the Atlantic some of the objectionable "Lobbying" and "Log-rolling" practices known in the United States, to bias the opinions of Members of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: The question of Order which has been raised comes on me by surprise. I was not aware of what had passed, or of the nature of the Circular alluded to. But I am not at all sure that this is the proper time to raise the question of Order on the Motion for the postponement of the Bill. I am not prepared to say, on the face of it, that this Circular transgresses the Standing Order in such a way that I am called upon to take notice of it.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: I shall repeat my question, Sir, on the point of Order. I should like, also, to have an explanation as to the Motion for postponing the Bill. I was informed at an early hour this morning, by the Chairman of Ways and Means, that this Bill would be taken to-day. This Circular to which I have referred had been sent out, and other Circulars also, drawing the attention of Members to the Bill, had been sent out; but not one single syllable was conveyed to me on the subject as to the change of intention in taking the third reading until, in an under-tone, that intimation was conveyed in the Motion made just now. I think I am entitled to ask for some explanation as to the most unusual course adopted, and the want of courtesy to individual Members and the House at large. To put myself in Order, I will move that the Order for the Third Reading be discharged.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "That the" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "Order for the Third Reading of the Bill be discharged,"—(*Mr. J. Lowther,*) —instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Before that Question is put, Sir, I rise to Order. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire has brought before the House a certain document which is now in your possession, and has quoted the terms of that document to the House. He has asked you, as I understand, whether the issue of such a document by a Member of the House, if it was issued by a Member of the House, was not a violation of the Orders of the House—in fact, a breach of the Privileges of this House; and, Sir, I apprehend, in so very serious a matter as appears to be contained in that document, the House, having been put in possession of the terms of that document, cannot avoid giving some judgment on it, having regard not only to the order of its Business, but its own dignity and the dignity of its Members. Sir, in that document, which is signed by the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds), there is a passage of the most questionable, and, possibly, of a most objectionable nature. I waited, before I commented on the document, to hear whether the hon. Member whose name is at the bottom of it offered the House at once, and without any loss of time, some explanation of the history of the document; but the hon. Member for Stockton, whose name is on it, remained silent. Now, what was that passage, for I think the public out-of-doors will be of opinion that the House takes this kind of matter, where immense pecuniary interests are involved, very lightly if we allow this to pass over without notice from the House, or any attempt at explanation from the hon. Member? The passage was—I caught it from the reading; I have not seen the document until now—

> "My son is Solicitor for the Bill, and I am anxious to defeat the Motion of Mr. J. Lowther."

A Circular is sent to the Members of the Liberal Party dated from the Reform Club, and a direct incentive—[*Cries of* "Order, order!"]—I am quite in Order. I am speaking to a point of Order, and I intend, with the permission of the Speaker, to conclude with a Motion on the point of Order. It is sent by a Member of the Liberal Party——

Mr. M'COAN: I rise to put it to you, Sir, as a point of Order, whether the noble Lord is not wandering at length into a speech which has nothing to do either with a question of Privilege, or with the Motion before the House? Is he in Order in so using the time of the House, when he rose exclusively on a point of Order?

Mr. SPEAKER: The Question before the House is that the Order for the Third Reading of the Bill be discharged. I am bound to say, in reference to the point of Order, that I scarcely think the Standing Orders cover such a case as this. What I said was, that I would respectfully submit to the House that, a question of Order having arisen, it should be raised when the Bill is taken. I understand now the Bill is to be postponed, and the point will be raised at another time. I thought it the most convenient course that I should have time to consider the point of Order, and give my ruling when the Bill comes on for discussion.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I respectfully submit to you, Sir, and to the House, that it is extremely essential that the House should not part with this matter in a hurry. In the first place—let me entreat the indulgence of the House—the honour of a Member of the House is directly involved; and, therefore, the Privileges of the House are immediately in question. I raise this question, which I am going to bring before the House, as a matter of Privilege, and on this account — that the moment the honour of a Member is involved, the matter becomes of a highly urgent nature that will not brook delay; and let me point out that why it is necessary to take notice of it now is because there is not the slightest guarantee that this Bill will ever be proceeded with. If, in order further to elucidate these very strange proceedings, we wait until the House can proceed again——

Mr. HOPWOOD: I rise to Order, Sir. I beg, Sir, to ask you whether we are not to understand that you have ruled that this point must come on when the Bill is taken at a later stage; and whether the noble Lord is not now, under pretence of suggesting several things to your consideration, violating your ruling in this respect?

Mr. SPEAKER: I repeat, it would be the most convenient course, in my opinion, that this matter should be reserved until the Bill comes on; and I stated I would then give a decision on the point raised as to whether this subject, now for the first time presented to my notice, is a violation of the Standing Orders. I said the point is so novel that

I should like to have time to see whether it contravenes any Standing Order or not. I submit to the House that is the most convenient course.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I, Sir, ask you one more question, and, in doing so, I do not in the least wish to question your ruling. I do not understand that you have given an absolute ruling against me. But I wish to ask you whether I should be in Order in moving as an Amendment, or as a substantive Motion, that the Circular communicated to the House by the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), and issued by the hon. Member for Stockton, is a gross breach of the Privileges of the House? Shall I be in Order in moving that now?

Mr. SPEAKER: No. That must be done as a separate Motion; it could not be raised in the discussion of the Bill.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Is it not the essence of a question of Privilege that notice should be taken at once on the matter involving the question of Privilege? I certainly take up the position that the House being in possession of the matter, the House is involved, and it is open to a Member to take the judgment of the House for the protection of its Members.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT:—[*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Chair!"]—I rise to speak on the Motion before the House in spite of the cries—the most disorderly cries—of hon. Gentlemen opposite.

Mr. HEALY: Not more than your own sometimes.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) has asked for an explanation.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I must rise to Order upon that. I asked you, Mr. Speaker, a question on your ruling which you delivered on a point of Order, and, in answer to the hon. Member for Stockport, whether I should be in Order in moving that the Circular is a gross breach of Privilege? I apprehend that if that Motion is not made now it never can be made?

Mr. SPEAKER: The Question now before the House has to be disposed of. It will be competent to the noble Lord to make a Motion afterwards.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) says he expected this Bill would come on, since it was put down by Order for to-day, and I must take the whole responsibility of the Order not coming on. I knew nothing of this personal question at all; but I saw it was extremely likely from the Notice on the Paper, and from what I heard of the opposition to the Bill, that it might interfere with the important Public Business coming on to-day. I know there is a great disposition when there is a peg to hang something of that kind upon it. I, therefore, made an appeal to my hon. Friend behind me to postpone this Bill, which, I am bound to say, he was extremely reluctant to do; and it was only at my earnest instance that he consented to the postponement, in order that the time of the House just now should not be occupied by the discussion of a Private Bill; and still less, I should say, should it be occupied with personal questions at this time, when everybody knows the time is limited within which the House has to dispose of Public Business. Now, I would, Sir, if I may take the liberty, support the appeal you have made to the House to postpone the whole of this question.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: It could never come on again.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, the Speaker has already ruled that the matter may come on as a separate Motion; and I am sure the House will be slow to reject your appeal, Sir, that time should be given for the consideration of the matter. The noble Lord said, as a matter of importance, it should not be hurried.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not say that. I said this particular matter.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, I say it is being hurried on now, and that there will be a better opportunity of taking the judgment of the House by a Motion. If hon. Gentlemen opposite think they have a strong case, then it will be none the worse for waiting; and I ask them not to hurry on the matter.

Mr. DODDS: Sir, I yielded most reluctantly to the solicitations of the right hon. and learned Gentleman not to proceed with the Bill to-day. I have in my hand two or three little notes made since I came down to the House, for I came quite expecting to hear the right hon. Gentleman opposite speak in opposition to the Bill and move its rejection, and I was prepared to answer him. When appealed to last night I declined to postpone the Bill; but I have now yielded to the suggestion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, after mentioning the matter to the Chairman of Ways and Means, who thought that the Bill might occupy considerable time; and, therefore, we agreed it ought to come on after Easter. That is the whole explanation why the Bill has not come on to-day. Just a word with respect to the Circular. I believe a portion of it was suggested before I left town on Friday. I left it in the hands of my secretary, with instructions to confer with the Parliamentary agents for the Bill, and to despatch it, with the reasons in favour of the Bill, to some of my personal friends, by Saturday's post. I left town on Friday, and it was not until Sunday or Monday morning, while in the country, that I saw the terms of the Circular. I then expressed regret that the one particular passage which has been referred to was contained in it. I only desire, further, to add that the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman, that there is something behind it in connection with my son, is wholly and entirely destitute of foundation. I have no more to do with the Bill and the matters involved in it than as Member for Stockton. I introduced the Bill into the House, and was desirous to pass it through, in the belief that it would be of great benefit to the district; but I will not go into that at present. The right hon. Gentleman says he attended a meeting where he saw my son representing me, and that there was something like an exchange of work between us. The right hon. Gentleman knows perfectly well that my son is associated with me in the office of chief clerk to the Tees Conservancy Commission, and is only discharging his duty, whilst I am discharging mine in the House.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: To meet the convenience of the House, I am willing to withdraw my Motion to discharge the Bill, which I only made in order to allow of an explanation being given. But I should like to have a distinct assurance as to what day the Bill will be put down for, for Members have to attend at great inconvenience. I must again take exception to the fact that I was allowed to leave after the Division last night without being informed that the Bill would not be taken. Nor, apparently, was the Chairman of Ways and Means informed, for I am sure, had he known, he would, with his customary courtesy, have informed me.

Sir ARTHUR OTWAY: I knew nothing of it.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: I am sure of that. It must have been concealed from the Chairman of Ways and Means. I will not follow that up; but I must say it is most inconvenient that Members, having public and private Business to attend to in and out of the House, should be kept in ignorance up to the last moment of the intention not to proceed with a Bill in which they are interested. I do not wish to go into the merits of the Bill further than to say that I have in my hands ready for presentation to the House Petitions on the subject, signed by a majority of the Local Board of Stockton, and from a public meeting of the inhabitants, protesting against the Bill—[" Order, order!"]—and when the time comes I will go into this matter, notwithstanding the disorderly interruptions of the Secretary to the Treasury, to which I must call your attention, Sir, for they are too habitual to be passed over. Meanwhile, I will withdraw my Motion, provided I am assured as to what day the Bill will positively be taken.

Mr. DODDS: I have already moved that it be taken on April 21. I will only add, further, that when he came into the House the Chairman of Ways and Means fully expected the Bill was going to be taken. I had been in his room a minute before.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: I must object to that date positively, and I must take the sense of the House on my Motion, for I am already for that day engaged to attend a public meeting of importance in my own constituency—an engagement which it is impossible to put off. I must beg that it be taken not earlier than Thursday.

Mr. DODDS: In response to the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman, I have no objection to alter the date to Tuesday the 22nd. It cannot be longer delayed. While I am on my feet, I take the opportunity of saying that I exceedingly regret if any passage or paragraph in the Circular seems in any way to infringe the Privileges of the House.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: I am sorry to appear pertinacious; but I understood it was to be the earliest day after the Recess. I would suggest the Tuesday after the Recess.

Mr. DODDS: That will be the 22nd.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Very well.

Mr. HICKS: I beg to draw the attention of the House to the understanding that was arrived at a few days ago, that we were to have a Morning Sitting on the first Tuesday after the Recess for the express purpose of taking the Cattle Diseases Bill, and I will ask hon. Members whether they think it reasonable that a question of this nature, which, on the showing of the promoters of the Bill, is likely to take up a large portion of the Sitting, should be put down for Tuesday—I will ask hon. Members whether it is right that a most important Bill, to which the agricultural interest is looking forward with so much anxiety, should be postponed for the purpose of devoting that Sitting to a Bill of a private nature? I must offer the most strenuous objection to the date Tuesday, the 22nd.

Mr. DODDS: If the right hon. Gentleman prefers Tuesday, the 29th, I have no objection.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: No; I cannot do that. I cannot withdraw my Motion until I know what day the Bill will come on. I propose Thursday, the 24th.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: We are anxious to meet the right hon. Gentleman's wishes. We have mentioned two days, and they are objected to. Now he proposes to put it down for the Budget day. Let us say Friday, the 25th.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I must remind the right hon. and learned Gentleman that the arrangements for today, which are the ground of the hon. Member for Stockton putting off the Bill, were made at such an early period that the whole re-arrangement might have been made in good time, and my right hon. Friend might have been informed at an early hour.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: I accept the suggestion for the 25th, and beg to withdraw my Motion.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Bill to be read the third time upon *Friday* 25th April.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE (STOCKTON CARRS RAILWAY BILL).

RESOLUTION.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I rise now to speak to a substantive Motion—that of Privilege—and in order to take as early as possible the opinion of the House on the Circular which has been communicated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire. The reason why I raise the point now is that I do not myself perceive how it is possible for the House of Commons to command the confidence of the public in matters relating to private legislation, where, as I have said before, enormous pecuniary interests are involved, if individual Members of the House lend themselves to such proceedings as are undoubtedly set forth in the Circular now before us. The private interests of a particular Member are set forth particularly as a motive why particular Members of the House should support a Bill. There is not a line in this Circular, from first to last, about the public interest—from first to last it is a personal appeal from a Member of the House to his own Party to defeat a Motion of opposition to a Private Bill on the ground of the lowest personal interest. Now, I say that the explanation with which the hon. Member for Stockton has favoured the House is no explanation at all; and it adds to, rather than detracts from, the gravity of the occurrence. There was some kind of an arrangement by which the hon. Member for Stockton left town, leaving to his son and secretary the duty of Lobbying Members of the Liberal Party, and after or before he came back to town the Circular was issued, and at once became public property. Allusions were made to it in the Press, and, I believe, it was current talk in the Reform Club. But I cannot understand that the hon. Member for Stockton made the slightest effort of any sort or kind to withdraw this Circular before the Bill came on. Therefore, although the hon. Member for Stockton says now that the personal portion of the Circular, or a particular portion of it—I do not know which he said—was issued without his knowledge and consent, assuredly he was perfectly willing to derive any benefit that might follow from it. Now, what is this passage in the Circular, which I will venture to say is quite unprecedented in the history of the House of Commons—

> "My son is Solicitor for the Bill, and I am exceedingly anxious to carry the Third Reading and defeat Mr. Lowther's opposition."

Why is he exceedingly anxious? Not on account of any public good, but because "my son is Solicitor for the Bill," Now, I want to ask the House what would they have thought if, instead of the words "my son is Solicitor for the Bill," they had been—"I have an interest in it to the extent of £10,000?" What would the House have thought of it? But what is the difference? The son of the hon. Member is pecuniarily interested in the passage of the Bill. The son of the hon. Member is not only pecuniarily interested, but he is absolutely the partner in business with the hon. Member in regard to it. And that is put forward, without concealment, in the face of day—such are the morals of the Liberal Party now—put forward as a reason why the Liberal Party should support this Private Bill; and then we are asked to allow this matter to stand over, after the publicity which has been given to it, and after all the censures that are freely lavished on the mode in which this House conducts Private Business, though I must allow it has never yet been attempted to connect it with the private pecuniary interest of Members. We are asked to pass this over, to allow it to stand over, as the Home Secretary says, as a matter of very little importance—one of those personal questions hon. Members are so fond of raising, but altogether a triviality that ought not to delay the speech he is going to make. Now, I venture to say, the honour of the House of Commons is of far more vital interest than the Government of London. Whether the hon. Member belongs to the Liberal or the Tory Party, it is absolutely necessary for the House of Commons, if it is to maintain its character and retain the confidence of the people, to dispose of this matter without the slightest loss of time. I move, with every confidence, in the absence of any much more satisfactory explanation, and a much more apologetic withdrawal of the Circular in question than we have heard offered—

"That the issue of the Circular concerning the Stockton Carrs Railway, by the hon. Member for Stockton, is a gross breach of the Privileges of this House."

MR. G. W. ELLIOT seconded the Motion.

Circular put in, and read as followeth:—

"Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
"5th April, 1884.

"Stockton Carrs Railway.

"This Bill stands for Third Reading on Monday next, but Mr. James Lowther, M.P. has given Notice of opposition, and consequently the Third Reading will be taken on Tuesday next, at Two o'clock p.m. precisely:

"My son is the Solicitor for the Bill, and I am exceedingly anxious to carry the Third Reading and defeat Mr. Lowther's opposition:

"May I beg that you will do me the very great personal favour to attend the House on Tuesday next, precisely at the hour named, to support the Third Reading:

"Hoping very earnestly for a favourable response,

"I remain, yours faithfully,
"JOSH. DODDS."

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the issue of the Circular concerning the Stockton Carrs Railway Bill, by the honourable Member for Stockton, is a gross breach of the Privileges of this House."—(*Lord Randolph Churchill.*)

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT rose, and was called upon by the Speaker.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I rise to Order. I wish to ask whether, under the circumstances, the hon. Member for Stockton ought not to withdraw?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT endeavoured to speak, amidst cries of "Dodds!" and "Order!"

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The course the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) suggests was followed the other day.

An hon. MEMBER: It is usual for the Member to withdraw.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I rise to Order.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: It seems to me that no one is to be allowed to speak except the noble Lord.

MR. SPEAKER called on Lord Randolph Churchill, and Sir William Harcourt resumed his seat.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I rise to a point of Order. It will be in your recollection, Mr. Speaker, I am sure, that when the vote of the hon. Member for Middlesex (Mr. Coope) was contested on the ground that he was personally interested in the Corporation Water Bill under discussion, he was told to withdraw. The conduct of the hon. Member for Stockton with respect to a Private Bill being now under consideration, I submit that he ought also to withdraw.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Stockton will be heard in his place. I do not know with what object the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) intervenes, Mr. DODDS: I do not know that I can add anything to what I have said on this subject. Perhaps I had better repeat what I said. I stated that I had no personal interest whatever in this matter, either as partner or in any other way with my son, any more than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire has; and I beg to repeat, in the most unqualified terms, that if there be anything in this Circular not merely in contravention of the Privileges of this House, but which, in the slightest degree, is supposed to approach to a breach of the Privileges of this House, I am exceedingly sorry for it, and beg at once and fully to withdraw it. I should be exceedingly sorry to infringe the Privileges of this House in any way whatever. I had not the remotest intention of doing anything of the kind. I thought I had said that before; but, at any rate, I say it now. If there was anything in the Circular which can be supposed, in the least degree, to infringe the Privileges of this House I am exceedingly sorry.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Stockton will now withdraw.

[Mr. Dodds accordingly withdrew.]

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I rose before, because I thought the hon. Member for Stockton had already made the explanation which the House demanded from him. He has now repeated it, and I really do ask any fair-minded man in this House whether, after the explanation he has given, there is the smallest foundation for this Motion. Let us see what the hon. Member for Stockton has said, and what it is averred he has done. There is a Bill before the House affecting the town which the hon. Member represents. It is habitual in this House to send round private Whips. Whether the practice is a good or bad one I do not say; but, at any rate, it is a practice very frequently adopted in reference to Private Bills. I have received Whips of this kind myself from Members of both Parties, although they are things I never pay much attention to. If the hon. Member for Stockton is to be attacked under the Orders of the House, it must be because he used his position as a Member of the House to seek some personal interest for himself. The noble Lord said that this Circular indicates the lowest and most grovelling personal interest. Well, I believe the noble Lord is a father himself, and I do not know why he should describe a reference to his son as the lowest and most grovelling of all interests. The point is this—Has the hon. Member any personal pecuniary interest in this matter? He has said he has none, and there is no pretence for saying he has any. He sends a Circular round to his friends—a sort of "fiery cross"—asking them to come and meet a gentleman whom he describes as "Mr. James Lowther." I believe that up in the North there are feuds very similar in character to those which used to prevail between the Border men of old, the Lowthers being ranged on one side, and the Doddses on the other. As to the expressions contained in the Circular, the hon. Member says that he did not draw up the document; but that it was drawn up in his absence, by his secretary.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: He signed it.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Or it was signed on his behalf. He has told the House he is not responsible for the wording of the Circular, nor, I suppose, for this reference to his son; and then he added that if there was anything irregular, or that the House had reason to complain of, in what he had done, he very much regretted it. After that, I should like to know whether there is the smallest reasonable ground for this violent proceeding of a Vote of Censure on the conduct of the hon. Member? Suppose he did invite his Friends to come down to the House, it was, no doubt, out of regard to his son, and in opposition to Gentlemen on the other side. The right hon. Gentleman opposite says his own Friends have come down to oppose the Bill.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: In consequence of this Circular.

Mr. WARTON: On public grounds.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: At any rate, hon. Gentlemen engage their Friends to come down on the one side and the other. There is no question of pecuniary interest; and, so far as there may be anything improper in the wording of the Circular, the hon. Member has expressed his regret that such language was employed. Under these circumstances, I think the House will see there is no ground for raising this question of Privilege.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I must say I was greatly surprised when I came down to the House to-day and found what was going on. I had not seen or heard anything of this Circular; but, from what I have heard since I have been in the House, it does appear to me that, whatever may be the amount of blame that may be applied to one person or the other, the House has a matter of great importance before it, and has to consider how far its Privileges are concerned in what, as far as I can judge, is certainly a step in advance of anything ever known to take place in regard to a Private Bill. It has been said that the practice of summoning Members to vote against Private Bills is one liable to abuse, and one which it is not desirable to see extended. I concur in that opinion; and this, it seems to me, is a case where there is a distinct step—I do not say whether it is a long step or a short one—in advance of the ordinary practice. It is hardly to be expected that the House will pass over such a matter without taking some note of it; otherwise it would be set up as a precedent, and we may incur greater and more serious inconveniences than we have at present. When the hon. Member for Stockton told us he had not been responsible for the drawing up of the greater part of the Circular, it struck me that it must have been a document setting forth at considerable length the public aspects of the case, that he had allowed his secretary to fill in the facts, and that he was sorry to find that some expressions had been introduced without his subsequent approval. When, however, we heard the Circular read, it seemed to rest entirely on the fact of the hon. Gentleman's interest in the Bill, or his connection with the Bill, either through his son or otherwise. This is a step beyond anything we have known, and certainly deserves the notice of the House.

Mr. RAIKES: I wish to say one or two words on this extremely painful incident in the history of Private Bill legislation. I am the more sorry to have to animadvert on the conduct of the hon. Member in this connection, because we know that for some time past he has been good enough to assist the hon. Baronet the Member for Walsall (Sir Charles Forster) in taking under his especial charge the management of private legislation. I cannot help thinking that is a circumstance it will be well to take into consideration, because the House should always have a scrupulous and a nice regard to the propriety of the conduct of those who undertake, even voluntarily, the transaction of Private Business. Apart from the personal question as it relates to the hon. Member for Stockton, the House has to deal with not only an individual, but an overt act. We have heard the Circular that is under discussion read; and, I must say, I fail to see how any explanation, even if it were more satisfactory than that offered by the hon. Member for Stockton, or the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, could operate to prevent the House expressing its regret at such an attempt to influence Members in regard to a Private Bill. Observations have been made as to what the Circular contains; but nothing has been said with regard to what it does not contain. From beginning to end there is no reference in it to the public interest, or the interest of the borough represented by the hon. Member who signed it. There is no reference to any public interest in it in any shape or form. There is a reference to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire, whose name is brought into the matter for reasons best known to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stockton. We have, then, a reference to the son of the hon. Member for Stockton—Members being asked to support the Bill as a "very great personal favour" to the hon. Member, because of his son's connection with it. I venture to think that if the House does not, in some way, record its sense of this sort of conduct in connection with a matter on which the honour of the House ought to be above all suspicion, it will be paving the way to great trouble and misrepresentation in the future, and that it cannot, at this moment especially, when we are engaged in the consideration of a great question affecting its actual constitution, be too particular to preserve intact for our successors that untarnished honour which has been handed down to us.

Mr. RYLANDS: I rise to express a hope that the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) will not think it necessary to put the House to the necessity of going to a Division on this question. If we are compelled to divide, I shall feel myself at liberty, after the remarks of the hon. Member for Stockton, to vote against the Motion. At the same time, I am bound to say that I do not meet the Motion in the spirit, or even in the words, of the Home Secretary. I do not think the hon. Member for Stockton met it in that spirit, because he expressed the greatest regret that he should have done anything, through accident or inadvertence, approaching a breach of the Privileges of this House. The noble Lord has performed a public duty in calling attention to the subject; and I think we should, to as great an extent as possible, put our foot down, in reference to Private Bill legislation, upon everything which bears even a shadow of a shade of a suspicion of any personal interest of private Members being involved in transactions of this kind. It is essential to the dignity of this House that we should seek to keep it above suspicion. If I am able to judge the feelings of the House, we are pretty much at one in regard to disapproval of this Circular; but I think that on this side of the House we are disposed to deal with the question leniently, having heard the handsome manner in which the hon. Member has apologized for the Circular. We are disposed to prevent, if possible, any such Resolution as that which has been put before the House being forced to a Division. But, from what I have gathered from the other side of the House, there is not the same disposition there to look on my hon. Friend's conduct leniently. The result of taking this matter to a Division, therefore, would be that on one side you would get Gentlemen of one Party, and on the other side Gentlemen of the other Party; and I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition whether it would not be a misfortune if, on a matter in which I agree with him—["Oh, oh!"]—yes, I say on a matter in which I agree with him, we were not jealous of the reputation of the House, and avoided a Party Division? I think the feeling of the House has been sufficiently shown, and that the noble Lord has attained the object he has in view; and, seeing that the hon. Member has absolutely withdrawn the Circular, I submit that the course which would be most likely to promote the Privileges of the House, and support its character, would be the withdrawal of the Motion.

Mr. HEALY: I should like to ask the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down whether he himself received a copy of the Circular in question; and I would put it to the House whether it is not a very remarkable thing that the Liberal Party, who condemn the Circular now it is exposed, should have come down here to support the Motion of the hon. Member for Stockton? The Home Secretary has taken up a most extraordinary position in this matter. He said—"You must not ask a personal favour for yourself; but you may ask it for your son." It is a breach of the Privileges of the House to ask a favour for yourself; but it is not a breach of Privilege to ask one for your sister, your cousin, or your aunt. Such is the declaration of the Home Secretary. I should like to point out that we cannot altogether dissociate this Motion from the personality of the Gentleman who has issued the Circular. No one in the House can be unaware of the fact that the hon. Member for Stockton has set himself up as a *censor morum et arbiter elegantiarum*, therefore any offence committed by the hon. Member must be viewed with much more severity than one committed by anyone else. On the 30th May, 1881, a Motion was made by the hon. Member for Galway County (Mr. Mitchell Henry), supported by the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) to declare certain matter published in *The Freeman's Journal* relative to a vote in this House on the Land Bill a breach of Privilege. The vote in question had been given so that, in spite of the heat of Party passion, there could be no question in regard to the anticipation of the decision of the House; but the matter complained of was decided to be a breach of Privilege. Now, however, the House is going to declare that it is no breach of Privilege for an hon. Member to ask a favour in this House in connection with a Private Bill for family reasons; and in so doing, I must say, you are taking up a most dangerous position. You may vote this Motion down by a Party Division, and the effect will be to give hon. Members a licence in the future to do as the hon. Member for Stockton has done. This House, by the machinery of the Liberal Party and its majority, will have endorsed the

Circular of the hon. Member, and Ministerialists will have an additional cry to go to the country upon. Before now we have heard of Circulars of various kinds —now you have the Stockton Circular. We have had the Slave Trade Circular, which has been turned into a Party cry, and now the Government use their majority—get their Whips, the two noble Lords whom I see opposite—to drill up their followers and bring them into the Lobby to vote that to ask a personal favour for your son in connection with the passing of a Private Bill is no breach of Privilege. I trust the Liberal Party will put itself in that position, and that we shall have the Home Secretary or the Prime Minister bringing his big battalions into the Lobby to declare that the action of the hon. Member for Stockton is not a breach of Privilege. That will put a weapon in the hands of the Tory Party that no previous act of the Government has given them.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have only two remarks to make. The first is, that I think it much more important for the honour of the House that we should have a retractation on the part of the Home Secretary of the support he has given to the hon. Member for Stockton than an apology from the hon. Member himself for the issue of the Circular. It appears to me that the credit of the House is in much greater danger from the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman than from the Circular issued by the hon. Member for Stockton. The other remark I have to make is that the hon. Member who has just sat down seemed to think that the chief objection to carrying the matter to a Division was that the whole of the Liberal Party were going to support the hon. Member for Stockton. Well, I would point out to the hon. Member that any evil which is likely to result from such a course can be obviated by himself and his Friends voting for the Motion of my noble Friend.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I do not at all agree with the action of the hon. Member for Stockton, or with the speech of the Home Secretary; but it does seem to me that when the whole House, with the exception of the Home Secretary, agrees in disapproving of the conduct of the hon. Member for Stockton, and when the hon. Gentleman himself has practically thrown over the Home Secretary by apologizing for that conduct, it would be a mistake to divide the House on the question. So far as I am concerned, I disapprove of the conduct of the hon. Member for Stockton; but if the noble Lord pushes this Motion to a Division I shall certainly vote against him, because I regard it as a species of persecution because of the loyalty of the hon. Member for Stockton to the Ministerial side of the House. If the hon. Member were sitting on the opposite side, I am perfectly certain the noble Lord would not have brought forward a Motion such as this, unless, indeed, he had been sitting on the Front Opposition Bench. Under these circumstances, I do hope, for the honour and credit of the House, that after this general expression of opinion the noble Lord will withdraw his Motion; but if he does not, I trust we Liberals will stand by the hon. Member for Stockton.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Should I be in Order, Mr. Speaker, in moving as an Amendment to the Motion proposed by the noble Lord—

"That the hon. Member for Stockton, having apologised for the issue of the Circular concerning the Stockton Carrs Railway, the House will now proceed with the further consideration of the Private Business appointed for this day?"

MR. SPEAKER: Will the hon. Member bring up the Amendment?

SIR WILFRID LAWSON accordingly brought up the Amendment to the Clerk at the Table.

MR. SEXTON: Before you put the Question, Mr. Speaker, I would ask, as a point of Order, whether it is in accordance with the usage of the House that a Motion of Privilege should be met otherwise than by a direct negative?

MR. SPEAKER: There is no Rule applying to questions of Privilege. The Amendment is perfectly in Order.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, "the honourable Member for Stockton having apologised for the issue of the Circular concerning the Stockton Carrs Railway Bill, this House do now proceed to the further consideration of the Private Business appointed for this day,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson,*)

—instead thereof.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 99; Noes 139: Majority 40.—(Div. List, No. 61.)

Main Question, as amended, put.

Resolved, That the honourable Member for Stockton having apologised for the issue of the Circular concerning the Stockton Carrs Railway Bill, this House do now proceed to the further consideration of the Private Business appointed for this day.

QUESTIONS.

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STATE OF IRELAND—ALLEGED RIOT AT CASTLEREA.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a young man named Thomas M'Greevy has been sentenced to a month's imprisonment, with hard labour, at the Castlerea (county Roscommon) Petty Sessions, for alleged obstruction of the police; whether it is the fact that the obstruction consisted in asking Sub-Constable Nolan not to kill a man whom he had in custody, and whom he was brutally maltreating; whether Nolan replied by rushing at M'Greevy and dealing him a terrific blow on the head with his baton; whether several respectable witnesses (including Mr. O'Kelly, Professor in the Castlerea Seminary) swore that M'Greevy was standing seven yards away from the police, and gave no provocation for the assault upon him; and, whether, if this be so, he will advise the Lord Lieutenant to examine the evidence, with a view to the remission of the sentence?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that the sentence of one month's hard labour was passed in this case for riot and obstruction of the police. The obstruction did not consist in a mere verbal remonstrance, but in raising a stone and advancing to strike the constable, who, in self-defence, was obliged to raise his baton. The witnesses did not swear the alleged circumstances. They contradicted each other; but they all agreed that there was a riotous mob.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SEC. 14—SEARCHES FOR ARMS.

Mr. HARRINGTON (for Mr. O'Brien) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many searches for arms have taken place in the counties of Fermanagh and the proclaimed portions of Tyrone since their proclamation under the Arms Act, and with what result; how many resident magistrates' licences for arms have been granted in these counties; how many of the licensed persons are Protestants, and how many Catholics; and, whether, having regard to the fact that hundreds of revolvers were fired off in the landlord meeting at Rosslea, and to the statement that "sackfuls of revolvers" were brought to the meeting at Dromore, any steps have been, or will be, taken to disarm the Orange Association in these counties?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, there have been no searches for arms in Fermanagh and Tyrone, as the having of arms in houses is not prohibited. The licensing officer for Fermanagh informs me that he has granted 475 licences—365 to Protestants and 110 to Roman Catholics. He mentions that the application for licences from the Roman Catholic parts of the county are comparatively few. He gives the respective numbers, as his personal belief that the religion of applicants for licences is not recorded. The licensing officer of the Dungannon end of the County Tyrone states that he granted, in all, 477 licences. He cannot distinguish as to the religious persuasions of the recipients. I have not yet received a Return for the Omagh district. The licensing officer for that portion of the county has been on duty in Dublin and away from his records. It is not intended to take any action "to disarm the Orange Association" in either Fermanagh or Tyrone, as is suggested in the Question of the hon. Member.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—COMPENSATION FOR MALICIOUS INJURY—THE BOROUGH OF TRALEE.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that the ratepayers of the borough of Tralee have been taxed for the compensation awarded in the case of outrages which had been committed seven miles from the town; and, whether several magistrates and others who were not residents of the borough gave evidence in favour of its exemption; and, if so, would he state the grounds on which it was included in the area taxed?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, from inquiries made by the County Inspector, I think this Question must refer to the compensation in the case of the murder of Mr. Herbert. In that case, as in all others, the district taxed was reconsidered by the investigator after careful consideration of the evidence. In that case the murder arose from a conspiracy spread all over the whole barony in which Tralee is situated. If the Question refers to this particular murder, that is my answer; but I shall be glad to inquire if it refers to any other case.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Tralee is 12 miles from that place.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Yes.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. GEORGE BOLTON.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, What fee did Mr. George Bolton obtain by each appearance in the Ballyfarnon case; and, would he explain why the Tipperary Crown Solicitor appeared in a case in Galway?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): Mr. Bolton has not yet sent in his account; but he will be paid the usual charges in such cases. The ordinary charges fixed are one guinea a day, besides travelling charges and other actual payments, except hotel expenses. I am informed a full day's work was done on each day of the investigation except one, when there was an adjournment, principally to suit the prisoner's solicitor. The Attorney General exercises his discretion in all cases when a Crown Solicitor has to be chosen for special duty.

Mr. HEALY: May I ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether the practice in Dublin Castle is for Mr. Matthew Anderson to get for every case three guineas; whether he then passes the case on to Mr. Murphy, who gets two guineas; and whether Mr. Murphy passes it on to Mr. Bolton, who gets one guinea; and, if so, why such a system is permitted, and does the Crown intend that it should continue?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): I never heard of such a practice.

Mr. SEXTON: Would the Irish Government have any objection to insist on Mr. Bolton paying over a part of this money in discharge of his debts?

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—INSTRUCTIONS TO THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will lay upon the Table of the House a Copy of the suggestions and instructions issued from time to time to the Sub-Commissioners under "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881?"

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Land Commissioners inform me that there is no objection to laying the Papers referred to before Parliament.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—LORD ARDILAUN'S BAILIFFS.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If it is a fact that the Crown entered a nolle prosequi against one of Lord Ardilaun's bailiffs, who fired at and wounded two men who cut a bit of stick for a boat's rowlock on his lordship's property; and, if another of them who pleaded guilty was released on his own recognisances?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): The Crown did not enter a *nolle prosequi* against anyone. Two of Lord Ardilaun's keepers having come upon two men trespassing upon his Lordship's property and cutting rods, a scuffle took place, during which an attempt was made to upset the keeper's boat. The gun of one was fired—whether accidentally or not was a question—in the dispute, and the two men were wounded. This keeper was put upon his trial and pleaded guilty, and afterwards, by an arrangement made with the men wounded, which was sanctioned by the Judge, he was allowed out on his own recognizances on his paying in Court £40 to one of the men and £20 to the other. The other keeper pleaded guilty to a common assault, and as he did not fire any shot he was allowed out on his own recognizances.

IRELAND—THE DUBLIN MURDER TRIALS — COMPENSATION TO MR. FIELD.

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can give the date on which Mr. Field received £600, part of the £3,000 awarded to him as compensation for injuries inflicted upon him;

why this payment was so long delayed; and, why only £600, out of the award of £3,000, has been paid to Mr. Field, having regard to the fact that the Return published on the 7th of March last states that the levy was ordered to be made "Forthwith, in one sum?"

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Collector General of Rates handed £600 to Mr. Field's solicitor on the 14th of last month, the amount collected up to that time. The meaning "forthwith in one sum" is that the collection is made as rapidly as possible under one warrant—this being done. The warrant lasts for 12 months, and in order to meet Mr. Field, although it gave additional trouble to the officials, the money is being paid as it comes in without waiting till the whole sum is collected. A further payment of £600 will be made directly.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: What is the date of the warrant?

MR. TREVELYAN: The 20th of October, 1883.

SCOTLAND—THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, If the Report of the Royal Commission upon the condition of the Crofters will be issued before the House rises; and, if not, if he can say positively when it will be issued, and what is the cause of the delay?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): The hon. Gentleman must be well aware that the Rules in regard to the issue of official documents are very strict; and it is not the system under those Rules to issue them until a printing order is obtained from this House, which could not be done until the Report was laid on the Table of the House. There will be no avoidable delay in throwing off the copies.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman if he could give any indication as to the probable date of issue?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have made inquiry, and I have given all the information I can. The Office assures me there will be no delay in the matter; but I believe it will be a matter of a fortnight or three weeks. I can give no further information.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—NUBAR PASHA AND MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Who is accountable for the appointment of Mr. Clifford Lloyd to the responsible post of Home Secretary in Egypt; whether, prior to his appointment, he possessed any special knowledge of the language or customs of the Egyptian People; and, if he has yet succeeded in promoting any of the internal reforms indicated by Lord Dufferin? The hon. Member complained that his Question had been altered. He had referred to Mr. Lloyd as lately a magistrate in Ireland.

MR. RYLANDS wished to know whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd could be dismissed by the Khedive, or whether it was necessary to have the sanction of the British Government before he could be deprived of his office?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I can, of course, only answer the Question on the Paper. I have already stated in this House that Mr. Clifford Lloyd was appointed by the Egyptian Government. There was a recommendation on the part of Lord Spencer and Lord Dufferin. I have no information as to the second Question; and, in reply to the third, I would refer him to the statement which I made in the House on the Vote of Censure. The Question of the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) should be placed on the Paper of Business. I hardly think it desirable to go into a general reply as to the position of Mr. Clifford Lloyd in Egypt further than to say that he is employed by the Egyptian Government. I cannot say anything about the Irish part of the Question.

MR. M'COAN asked whether the Report of Sir Evelyn Baring with regard to the action of Mr. Clifford Lloyd in suppressing certain Egyptian newspapers would be issued during the Recess?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that it would be presented to Parliament in the next batch of Egyptian Papers.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked whether Her Majesty's Government had received any confirmation of the statement in the papers of that morning that the action of Nubar Pasha in intriguing against Mr. Clifford Lloyd in his absence had been generally condemned?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That is a Question I cannot answer without Notice.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Can the Government give us any information as to the state of things described in Cairo respecting the relations between Mr. Clifford Lloyd and Nubar Pasha, and especially as to whether any information has been received with regard to the retirement, or contemplated retirement, of Nubar Pasha from office?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; no definite information can be given to the House in a matter as to which we have not ourselves received any information. A difficulty, as is well known, has existed between Nubar Pasha and Mr. Clifford Lloyd; but no decision has been arrived at with respect to it in Egypt. No resignation has been received.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether Mr. Lloyd could appoint his own subordinates without the sanction of Her Majesty's Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That is a matter of detail in Egyptian administration, and does not arise out of the Question.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Has Nubar Pasha's resignation been withdrawn?

MR. GLADSTONE: No resignation has taken place.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Is it true that he offered it?

MR. GLADSTONE: No resignation has taken place.

PERU AND THE POWERS.

MR. WILLIAMSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it is the case, as stated in *The Daily Telegraph*, that the Foreign Diplomatic Body at Lima has refused to acknowledge the Government of General Iglesias; whether the action of the Diplomatic Body includes the Representative of Great Britain; whether any assurance can be given to the House, and to the Country, that our name and power will not be used in Peru for the recovery of debts, real or fictitious, due to Foreigners by that Republic; and, whether instructions will be at once telegraphed to our Representative to abstain from any course which would weaken a Government so recently established under circumstances of extreme difficulty, and which might lead to the renewal of war in that part of the world?

SIR WILLIAM M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it be true that the Foreign Diplomatic Body have broken off relations with General Iglesias, President of the Republic of Peru, declining to recognize his Government; and, if the Foreign Office has been informed of the reasons of such conduct?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, on the 19th of December Her Majesty's Representative at Lima was instructed that Her Majesty's Government intended to recognize the Government of General Iglesias upon the recognition by Congress of his appointment. The recognition took place early in March. On the 3rd of April the European and American Representatives were convened by the Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs, who requested the immediate recognition of the Peruvian Government. The Ministers, including Her Majesty's Representative, appear to have desired to receive further instructions before replying. The Peruvian Foreign Minister thereupon informed them that henceforward relations with the Legations were suspended. I have already explained to the House the action of the Foreign Representatives in regard to the Treaty of Peace between Chili and Peru; but this question is quite separate from that of the recognition of the Peruvian Government, and it is evident that the questions raised by the Treaty cannot be properly discussed until diplomatic relations are restored. Her Majesty's Representative will, accordingly, be instructed that there is no departure whatever from the intention of recognizing the Government of General Iglesias, and he will be directed to do so. In regard to the claims alluded to by my hon. Friend, there is no intention of departing from the terms of Lord Palmerston's Circular of January, 1848, on the subject.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—TRAINING OF THE WICKLOW MILITIA.

MR. M'COAN asked the Secretary of State for War, Why the annual training of the Wicklow Militia Artillery has been put off until August, when the service of most of the men of the Brigade will be needed for harvest labour; and, whether such postponement has any relation to the convenience of Lieutenant Colonel Bayley, whose vacation as a Land Sub-Commissioner will then take place?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, the date of training was fixed on the recommendation of the General Officer. There was not time enough to get information to enable him to answer the second part of the Question.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS — RATHDANGAN, BALTINGLASS.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If, as President of the Local Government Board (Ireland), a charge of misconduct on the part of Mr. Dagg, Returning Officer, and George Driver, Poor Rate Collector, has been brought under his notice, in regard to the election of a Poor Law Guardian for the electoral division of Rathdangan, in the union of Baltinglass; whether the complainants have applied to the Local Government Board for a sworn investigation; and, whether their application will be complied with?

MR. TREVELYAN: Complaints have been made with respect to the course pursued by the Returning Officer and the Collector of Poor Rates in connection with this election, and a sworn inquiry has been asked for. The Local Government Board are not yet in a position to say whether there is any necessity for such an inquiry, as they have not received the explanation which the officers concerned may have to offer.

THE WAR OFFICE—LOWER DIVISION CLERKS.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, since 1878, the Secretary of State for War has received several petitions from the Lower Division Clerks of the War Office on the subject of holidays and sick leave; and, whether, having regard to the statement made by the Secretary to the Treasury in this House, on the 2nd August, 1883, that the question of holidays is one to be decided by the Head of each Department, it is the intention of the Secretary of State to accede to the prayer of his petitioners by extending their ordinary leave to the period allowed to Lower Division Clerks at the Admiralty, and by placing them, as regards sick leave, on the same footing as Higher Division Clerks and established Messengers, and by authorizing arrangements whereby as many clerks as possible should be granted the privilege of the half-holiday on Saturday?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes, Sir; several such Petitions have been received. The question of clerks' leave is one which, as stated in the Question, has been arranged departmentally; but it raises some points of rather wider application, and I am in communication with the Treasury on the subject.

CRIMINAL LAW (SCOTLAND)—CASE OF LACHLAN M'LEOD.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Lord Advocate, with regard to the Skye prevarication case, If he could state whether Sheriff Substitute Speirs based his sentence on Lachlan M'Leod upon Statute Law or upon a fiction of Law; and, if upon the latter, whether he will at once introduce a measure defining the powers of the sheriffs and minor judges in dealing with and punishing those guilty of prevarication on oath or of contempt of court?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Sheriff-Substitute Speirs based his sentence neither upon Statute Law nor upon a fiction of law, but on the Common Law of Scotland. I do not see any reason for dealing separately with the case of minor Judges; but I may say that the whole matter of punishment for contempt of Court was under the consideration of the Government last year, a Bill dealing with it having been introduced into the other House. If such a measure should again be submitted to Parliament, the case of minor Judges will doubtless be provided for in it.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—BERBER AND KHARTOUM.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that the Governor of Berber has telegraphed to Cairo that the tribes between Berber and Khartoum are in open rebellion, that all communication with Khartoum is cut off, that in his opinion Dongola and Berber will soon be invested, and that the Great Bisharên tribe are momentarily expected to rise; what is the date of the last Despatch from General Gordon; and, what steps Her Majesty's Ministers propose to take to save him from the grave danger in which he and those dependent upon him now stand?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the Governor General of Berber has telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Baring that the number of rebels round Khartoum is said to be increasing, and that the population between Khartoum and Berber is in a very disturbed condition. He adds that the rebels are believed to be in communication with the Bisharên Arabs. The last intelligence from General Gordon received by Sir Evelyn Baring, as already stated by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War, is the intelligence of the 23rd. I have nothing to add to the statement made by my noble Friend as to the policy of Her Majesty's Government in regard to General Gordon.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked whether the House was to understand that in the present critical state of affairs absolutely nothing was to be done to save General Gordon?

Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice not rising to reply,

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he will answer the Question which I have put to the noble Lord?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I will not answer that Question. It is intended only to bewilder and mislead, and I will give no answer.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Then I beg to give Notice that on the earliest possible occasion after the Recess—or to-night, if possible—I shall call attention to the abandonment by the Government of General Gordon.

INLAND REVENUE—DRAWBACKS ON SILVER PLATE.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will cause the Records to be searched, to ascertain if any "drawback" was granted to holders of silver plate when the Duty thereon was repealed in 1758, after being many years in force; also, to ascertain if trade holders of gold and silver plate paid the additional Duties when these Duties were increased from 8*s.* to 16*s.* and then to 17*s.* per ounce on gold plate, and on silver plate from 6*d.* to 1*s.* then to 1*s.* 3*d.* and finally to 1*s.* 6*d.*; and, if he will direct the official Return of Duties collected on plate to be separated in the Finance Accounts and in the Report of the Inland Revenue Board, so as to distinguish the Duties from gold separately from the Duties on silver plate?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, said, his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had no objection to search the Records in respect to the first part of the Question; and with respect to the second part of the Question, he would consider the suggestion before the issue of the next Financial Account.

IRELAND—REGISTRY OF DEEDS OFFICE, DUBLIN.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (for Mr. Molloy) asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, with reference to his statement that "the third class of clerks is being put an end to in the Registry of Deeds, Dublin," Whether he is prepared to offer to the gentlemen concerned in that Department the special terms of retirement given to the staff of the War Office and the Admiralty five years ago?

Mr. COURTNEY: There is no legal power to grant these terms.

LAW AND JUSTICE (INDIA)—THE JUDGES OF THE HIGH COURT OF BENGAL AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON (for Mr. E. Stanhope) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the Letter of the Judges of the High Court of Bengal, dated 15th December 1883, protesting against the language used by him in the House of Commons on the subject of their Minute on the Ilbert Bill; and, whether he will, in justice to the Judges, urge the Secretary of State for India to lay it upon the Table of the House?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that this document would be included in Papers which would be presented, and would shortly be in the hands of Members.

TURKEY (EUROPEAN PROVINCES)—GOVERNOR GENERALSHIP OF ROUMELIA—RE-APPOINTMENT OF ALEKO PASHA.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is a fact that the Russian Government alone among the Great Powers opposes the re-appointment of Aleko Pasha of Governor-General of Roumelia; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will continue to support his appointment?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The question of the re-appointment of Aleko Pasha is now under consideration, and it is not in my power to make any statement at the present moment.

EGYPT—SECRET AGREEMENTS WITH FOREIGN POWERS.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the late Conservative Government entered into any covenants with Austria, Prussia, or any other Power, besides those regarding Egypt, which are not known to the House; and whether, if so, he will lay them upon the Table of the House?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I would beg to refer my hon. Friend to the reply to a similar Question put by him on the 28th of May, 1880, when my Predecessor in the Office which I now hold stated that, for reasons which the House would readily understand, it was obviously impossible for Her Majesty's Government to give an answer which would completely satisfy the curiosity of the hon. Member. It will, however, be satisfactory the House to know that, subject to the statement made by the Prime Minister last night, Her Majesty's Government are able to state that this country is under no other engagement for the future than those on the Table of the House.

MR. BOURKE asked when the Papers referring to agreements with other Powers, to which allusion was made on Monday night, would be presented to the House?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that he intented to communicate with the right hon. Gentleman on this subject.

MR. BOURKE observed that the noble Lord was quite at liberty to publish the whole of the Correspondence.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that he had no intention of going back upon what had been said on the part of the Government. He had only wished to state that he was willing to communicate with his right hon. Friend on this matter.

PORTUGAL—THE CONGO RIVER.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he would present to Parliament Copy of the full Reports, during the past two years, received from Mr. Cohen, Her Majesty's Consul at Saint Paul de Loanda?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There will be no objection to presenting a selection from the Reports of Her Majesty's Consul at Loanda to Parliament; but I cannot, of course, undertake to lay confidential communications before the House.

ARMY — ARMY CLOTHING FACTORY, PIMLICO—RETURN OF NUMBER AND COST OF GARMENTS.

MR. DAWSON asked the Secretary of State for War, If his attention has been called to the fact that the cost of making clothing at the Government Factory, Pimlico, is from twenty to fifty per cent. in excess of that paid to contractors, and that the Director of Clothing, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, admitted that there was a loss of £8,000 on the work done the previous year at the Government Factory; also, that the sum of £20,000, voted last year for making up clothing by contract, was not so expended, while the amount voted for the "Government Factory" was exceeded; that, in addition to the higher price paid at the Government Factory for making up, a larger quantity of material was used than that issued to contractors; and, whether he will grant the Return, of which Notice has been given by the Member for Queen's County, before Vote 11 of the Army Estimates is taken?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, there would be no objection to give the Return referred to by the hon. Member.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Government will communicate to the House the Despatch from General Gordon, in which he is stated to have asked that a small British force should be despatched to Berber, and a British, India, or Egyptian force to Wady Halfa, for the purpose of effecting a diversion against the Mahdi; and, if General Gorden stated in this, or in any subsequent despatch, that, in his opinion, it was the delay of the Government which rendered this decision a necessity?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: It is intended, shortly, to present further Papers on this subject. I cannot say exactly what despatches or telegrams will be included in those Papers; but it would certainly be inconvenient and most undesirable that the particular despatch referred to by the hon. and gallant Member should be laid on the Table separately from the others which explain it.

Colonel KING-HARMAN wished to know whether the extracts in question would be included among the Papers presented?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, that the selection of the Foreign Office Papers to be presented to Parliament did not rest with him. He would, however, communicate with the Foreign Office on the subject.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked whether the Papers would contain the communications with reference to the proposed appointment of Zebehr?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I said before, and I think the right hon. Gentleman must be aware, that the publication of these Papers does not rest with me or my Department. All I can say is that I will make the right hon. Gentleman's request known to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. J. LOWTHER asked whether the Papers would contain the despatches from General Gordon relating to Zebehr?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot undertake to state exactly beforehand what will be produced; but there is every desire to give the House the fullest information. There has been no Session of Parliament in which Papers have been presented so voluminously or so quickly as in the present.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN asked what was to become of the refugees who had left Khartoum at the suggestion of General Gordon, and whether they had reached Berber or gone beyond that place?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Speaking from recollection, we certainly heard of the arrival at Berber of a considerable number, and I think we have heard of their having proceeded further.

Mr. J. LOWTHER wished to know by what force they were protected?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot state exactly the numbers of the force at Berber.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Does the noble Lord speak of the refugees only, or of the troops as well?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Colonel Coetlogen himself has arrived in Egypt Proper. The women and children were, as I understand, sent from Khartoum with a certain number of soldiers, some of whom were in ill-health. It was these persons I referred to as refugees.

Mr. MACARTNEY asked whether the soldiers sent with these refugees were not recalled to Khartoum by General Gordon?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot answer that Question immediately. I will, if the hon. Member wishes, give him privately the information which he desires to have.

EGYPT—ALEXANDRIA INDEMNITY COMMISSION—CASE OF MRS. RIBTON.

Mr. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When may Mrs. Ribton, widow of Mr. Ribton, C.E. expect to be paid the amount awarded to her by the Indemnity Commission of Alexandria?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the sum of 65,000 francs was awarded to Mrs. Ribton as an indemnity for the death of her husband. No decision has as yet been come to by the Egyptian Government as to the mode and time of payment of the award; but Sir Evelyn Baring has reported that, owing to the exceptional circumstances of this case, the Egyptian Government will make an advance of 5,000 francs to Mrs. Ribton, and she has been so informed.

INDIA (MYSORE)—GOLD MINING COMPANIES—CONCESSIONS TO BRITISH OFFICIALS, &c.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Report by the Viceroy of India promised early last Session, on the connection of Madras officials with the promotion of Gold Mining Companies in Mysore, will be laid upon the Table?

Mr. J. K. CROSS, in reply, said, that the Report would be laid upon the Table immediately after Easter.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

Sir EARDLEY WILMOT (for Viscount Lewisham) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If it is a fact that General Gordon is under no constraint and under no order to remain in the Soudan, and that he is under no inability to leave the Soudan at this moment?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, this appears to me a reference to an answer already given by me, and it states, with general accuracy, what I then said. General Gordon is under no order and under no constraint to remain in the Soudan. But, so far as we are acquainted with his intentions, he is anything but desirous to leave it at the present time; and so far as we are aware, he is under no inability to leave the Soudan at the present moment.

Mr. J. LOWTHER asked what grounds the right hon. Gentleman had for his assertion that General Gordon could leave Khartoum if he wished?

Mr. GLADSTONE: That is the inference which we draw from the information at our command.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked if it was the fact that when the Government refused to appoint Zebehr Pasha they distinctly invited General Gordon to remain at Khartoum?

Mr. GLADSTONE: That it was the desire of the Government that General Gordon should find himself able to remain at Khartoum, if the reasons were sufficient for it, is beyond all question; but there was nothing sent to him approaching an order or an injunction to remain.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: A request?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No.

SUEZ CANAL COMPANY—ARRANGEMENT WITH THE EASTERN SHIPOWNERS' ASSOCIATION.

Sir ROBERT PEEL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What arrangements have been made, in the interests of British commerce, in the matter of the Suez Canal difficulty?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, arrangements have been made with the Association of Shipowners, who represent, I believe, not less than three-fourths of the tonnage passing through the Canal, and we believe that those arrangements are satisfactory, and they are now being carried into effect. If the right hon. Gentleman desires further information, he will, perhaps, put his Questions to my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but I may say that Papers have been laid before the House which explain the whole of the matter.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—BRITISH TROOPS AT SUAKIN.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked, Whether it would not be advisable, the heat at Suakin being so intense, to substitute Indian troops for English as the garrison of that town?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I think I stated the other day that the British troops at present at Suakin are not intended to remain there permanently, but that the European portion of the garrison would consist of Marines, for whose accommodation preparations were being made by the Admiralty, partly on shore and partly on board.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Of what will the garrison consist?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I stated the other day that it was proposed to send a portion of Sir Evelyn Wood's troops.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF wished to know whether it would not be possible to substitute Indian troops in the place of the Marines?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Of course it would be possible, but we do not at present propose to do so.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

LONDON GOVERNMENT BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [7th April],

> "That leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better Government of London, and other purposes connected therewith."—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, in introducing this measure I shall endeavour to make as short as possible the observations I have to offer on behalf of the Government. I have great need to ask for your patient indulgence, for I am sure the House will feel that mine is a task of great difficulty and complication, and I approach it not without the feelings of a navigator who enters a sea strewn with many wrecks, and whose shores are whitened with the bones of many previous adventurers. Still I think we may approach this question with some hope of a solution, for, as time has gone on, both the public outside this House and this House itself —I venture to hope without distinction of Party—have come to believe that this question is one which ought to be dealt with, and one with which it is worth their while seriously to grapple. There are, however, one or two preliminary questions with which I must occupy the time of the House, and there are just one or two main points in the previous history of this question to which I should like to advert. There have been many attempts to solve it, which it was the duty of those who present this scheme to the House to have carefully studied; but I will not delay the House by going in detail through them. There can be no doubt, if you look at the origin of the present municipal institutions of London, that the Corporation of London in old days did, and was always intended to, represent the whole Metropolis. Why it did not extend itself as the Metropolis grew is an interesting question as a matter of history; in some degree it was due to the jealousy of the Crown; the Tudors and Stuarts were very unwilling to see the power of the Corporation increase; in some degree also it was due to the fact that London was surrounded by great manors, especially the great ecclesiastical manors, and the whole system of these manors was incompatible with the enlargement of municipal and corporate rights. The result was that, while London grew, the Corporation remained stationary, and the City of London, as represented by the Corporation, is now about one square mile in extent, and has a resident population of about 50,000—that is to say, is equal to about a second or third-rate Provincial town in respect to population. When we consider that its population a few years ago amounted to about three times that figure, it will be seen that the resident population of the City of London, so far from increasing like the rest of the Metropolis, has of late years been constantly diminishing. Indeed, although it can hardly be compared to—

> "Sweet Auburn, loveliest village of the plain,"

there is no spot on earth of which it could not be more truly said that it is a place—

> "Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

I do not mean individuals, of course. When the general reform of Corporations took place throughout the United Kingdom it was always intended that the Corporation of London should be included. Lord John Russell stated he never intended that Corporate Reform should stop short at Temple Bar. But there was one reason why the Corporation of London did not become the first subject of inquiry; and I mention it because it was a reason to the honour of that Corporation. It was because, amidst the decayed and decaying municipal institutions in England at that period, the Corporation of London was a real Corporation, with a real municipal life, and, whatever were its defects, was discharging a great duty to the community over which it presided. But a few years later, in 1837, the Corporation of London became the subject of an inquiry by the same Commissioners who had previously examined into the state of other Municipal Corporations in England. They dealt with the City in a Supplemental Report, and I will read to the House what was said by the Commission of 1837. The Report states—

> "We do not find any argument on which the course pursued with regard to other towns could be justified which would not apply with the same force to London, unless the magnitude of the change in this case should be considered as converting that which would otherwise be only a practical difficulty into an objection of principle. We have pointed out how small a proportion of the Metropolis is comprehended within the municipal area. We are unable to discover any circumstances justifying the present distinction of this particular district, except that it is and has long been so distinguished. . . . . . We hardly anticipate that it will be suggested, for the purpose of removing this inequality, that the other quarters of the town should be formed into independent and isolated communities, if, indeed, the multifarious rela-

tions to which their proximity compels them would permit them to be isolated and independent. This plan, as it seems to us, in getting rid of anomaly, would tend to multiply and perpetuate an evil."

After referring to various subjects of local management, they add—

> "These matters have never been so well and economically managed as when superintended by an undivided authority, and the only real point for consideration is how far those duties for the whole Metropolis can be placed in the hands of a Metropolitan Municipality, or how far they should be intrusted to the officers of your Majesty's Government."

I will merely state to the House that we are not going to make the second proposal here named, or to delegate these functions of municipal authority to any officers of Her Majesty's Government. Anyone familiar with the political and Party history of that epoch will understand why the whole question of Municipal Reform slumbered until 1853-4. At that time there was appointed another Commission to inquire specially into the Corporation of London. I observe that the Order of Reference to that Commission was exclusively to inquire into the Corporation of London; it had no reference to report upon a general scheme for the management of the whole Metropolis. Certainly I wish to speak with the greatest respect, not only on public, but on private grounds, of the individuals who constituted that Commission. They were Sir G. Cornewall Lewis—a name I never mention without feeling the greatest personal veneration and regard—Mr. Labouchere, not the present one, and that eminent Judge, Sir John Patteson. Now I state frankly and candidly to the House that this Commission arrived at a different view to that stated by the Commission of 1837. They were alarmed at the notion of a single Government for a town of the magnitude of London, and they preferred a scheme for the creation of seven Municipalities to represent practically the seven Parliamentary boroughs, and they indicated in general terms a Central Body to be elected from these Parliamentary Municipalities. I refer to that because I have no doubt that the Report of that Commission, and the opinions to which I have referred, will be frequently insisted upon in the course of this debate; but while I have said that the Commission thus reported in 1854, the Government of Lord Palmerston, which took up the question of the reform of the Government of London, in that year declined to accept the principle of independent Municipalities, and in the ensuing year that measure was passed which, whatever may be its defects, has given some sort of government to the Metropolis, which was previously in a condition of absolute chaos, I mean the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855. That Act was conducted through this House by a man of great practical ability—Sir Benjamin Hall—and was introduced by a Government of which, singularly enough, Sir G. Cornewall Lewis was one of the chief Members.

Did that Government adopt the principles laid down by the Commission of 1854? No; it rejected them altogether. It declined to accept the principle of separate Municipalities. Sir Benjamin Hall said it was an idea that London would not accept, that it was not wished for, that if it had ever been desired, any of the London Parliamentary boroughs would have got it. Sir George Grey, as Home Secretary, in fact offered to any of these boroughs the privilege of incorporation if they desired it. They did not wish it, and therefore the Government did not propose it. That was the action of the Government of which Sir George Cornwall Lewis was a Member. (I forget whether Mr. Labouchere was a Member of the Government in 1855.) The Government and Parliament of that time distinctly declined to accept the doctrine of separate Municipalities in London. To that question of separate Municipalities, I have to ask the attention of the House for a few minutes, because I have noticed a disposition to revive the theory now. It has been raised repeatedly in Committees and in Bills before this House, but always rejected. The noble Lord opposite, the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners), took a very active part in the Committee which sat in 1861. In 1861 the proposal was made to create separate Municipalities, and was voted against by the noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire. I do not see the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith); but in 1870 the proposal to create separate Municipalities was brought forward by Mr. Buxton, and it was condemned by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster. He said there was no desire for separate Municipalities, but that, on the contrary, there was an impression that their creation would lead to considerable difficulties. Therefore I say that, as far as authority goes, the authority of the Commission of 1854 has been overruled by the authority of Parliament and the Government.

I venture to say that the creation of separate Municipalities in London is impossible, and is not compatible with any real conception of a Municipal Corporation. What do you mean by a Municipal Corporation? Is it not one which represents the interests of the community over which it presides? But in all these schemes you must recognize the fact of some Central Body or other. This Central Body must deal with the large affairs, and the consequence is that you must have—according to everybody's theory, according even to the theory of the Commission of 1854, and according to everybody who has proposed it since—a Central Body doing all the great things; and then what is left for the other Municipal Corporations to do? There is nothing left for them but the minor matters, which are now dealt with by the Vestries of London. I suppose the Central Body would have to manage the drainage, the main roads, the fire brigade, the housing of the poor, open spaces, questions of water and gas, building regulations, embankments, and so forth. What, then, is left, after all these, for the separate Corporations? Nothing but the most subordinate duties. Under such a system you will have a number of second-rate inferior Bodies, overshadowed by the power of this great Central Authority. People are proud to live in London; but I do not think there are many people who, till a General Election comes on, are certain which particular borough they live in; and it seems to me that there is not a geographical or local feeling in London which would justify the creation of separate boroughs. As to founding them on the Parliamentary boroughs, that would not do; everybody knows that they are not fixed stars, and that their limits and character may from time to time be altered. It is these facts that account for what Sir Benjamin Hall pointed out, that none of these Bodies had ever asked for incorporation, and that, if offered it, they have refused. Even Westminster, which has a sort of name of a Corporation, has not got a real Corporation, and has never desired to be incorporated; and no feeling in favour of separate boroughs has ever been manifested in London. It would be an absurdity, I think, to create 10 or 12 minor Corporations. The people do not want them. There would be an absurdity about having a Mayor, and a Sheriff, and Common Councilmen, and Aldermen, all to perform comparatively subordinate functions. They do not rise to the dignity of turtle soup—[*Laughter, and a cry of* "Conger!"]—they would hardly rise, as an hon. Member says, to the dignity of conger. Therefore I think that a proposal to create these petty Corporations is not one which is likely to commend itself to the House. I would venture, then, to dismiss, as Parliament has previously dismissed whenever it has been proposed, a scheme of this character. It is a sort of attempt to revive the Heptarchy, and I do not think that is a plan on which London would wish to be reformed.

There are two questions which, leaving that scheme, we ought to ask ourselves. Are things satisfactory as they are? Because, if so, we have to ask ourselves — first, whether things are satisfactory as they are; because, if they are, of course no scheme is wanted at all; and, secondly, if things are not satisfactory, what are the defects of the present system, and what are the remedies to be applied to it? Does anyone assert that the present system is satisfactory? Shortly after the reform of 1855, there were Parliamentary Committees sitting to discover remedies for a system that was admitted to be in many respects defective. There was Committee after Committee and Bill after Bill. I will not go into the details of these various schemes; but in 1870, when Mr. Buxton produced one of his Bills—it was in the time of a Liberal Administration —proposing to create separate Municipalities, the noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster called upon the Government to introduce a Bill to reform the Government of London. In 1878 Parliament expressed an opinion very definitely upon this subject when a Motion was brought before this

House by Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth, who moved—

> "(1) That the present state of Local Government is unsatisfactory and calls for reform; (2) that the whole Metropolis should be united under one administrative authority directly representing the ratepayers, and so constituted as to command general confidence; (3) that these conditions are not fulfilled under the present system; (4) that the ancient Corporation of the City should be extended over the whole Metropolis and remodelled so as best to form a Representative Body of the Metropolis of this country; and (5) that these reforms be undertaken by Her Majesty's Government without delay."

That Motion was carried by a considerable majority. From that time unquestionably the Party sitting on this side of the House considered themselves pledged to undertake the task. It has been frequently discussed; it was before the constituencies at the last General Election, and the Government have always regarded it as one of their duties to deal with this matter. The House is aware of the circumstances that have from time to time delayed it; but at last we are making an effort to redeem our pledge, and to do the work which Parliament has called upon us to undertake. So much for the question of whether there is any occasion for us to handle this matter at all.

Now, what is the nature of the evil which we have to combat? Everybody feels that it is the multiplicity of independent authorities in London. If you want anything done for London as a whole, you have the greatest difficulty in finding anybody to do it. A familiar example of this difficulty is the Water Question, and we have had indications of it in the question of the housing of the poor. You have a Central Body in London, it is true, for all London in the Metropolitan Board; but its powers are strictly limited. My hon. Friend opposite, the Head of that Board (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg), knows very well there have been frequent complaints that the Board has not a general authority to act for London in matters that concern its interests as a whole. Everyone sees that if you have in London an outbreak of cholera or small-pox, it is a matter that interests every part of London; but how to deal with that outbreak is a question which can only be considered in the small part where the disease commences. If you wish to send out orders and see that that locality takes the measures necessary to stamp out the disease and prevent it from spreading, where is the Central Authority that has power to control the independent Vestries? It does not exist; and that is one among many instances that might be given of the evils from which we at present suffer. The question of the dwellings of the poor is also a question in which it is easy to see that there is an immense want of some controlling and superintending Central Authority to give vitality to and to arouse action among the small Bodies in the different parts of London, not only in great matters, but in small ones. No one has ever seen a snow-storm in London without observing how incapable the fragments of London are to deal with matters affecting the traffic of the whole of the Metropolis. What everybody feels that we want is some single Central Body having authority, of its own right, to meet the exigencies of the whole community of the Metropolis. That is what every other great town has, and we cannot help asking why London has not got it? But here I wish to guard myself. I do not say that the Central Authority should execute all details of administration in each locality. But you want a Central Authority to control the local action of the particular parts of the Metropolis and to bring them into harmony; and, in my opinion, that controlling and harmonizing force ought not to be in the Executive Government of this country, but in a Representative Body of the community of London. Now, if we take that as our general principle, is it a sound principle? I do not think that my hon. Friend at the head of the Metropolitan Board will dispute that, because in the year 1870 the Metropolitan Board passed a resolution to the effect that the Committee had considered the question of the future government of the Metropolis; and, as the result of their deliberations, they reported their opinion that it was desirable that there should be a Central Municipal Government, with jurisdiction over the whole of the Metropolis, and that there should be a readjustment of the districts into which the Metropolis was at present divided for the purposes of Local Government. What does that mean? That you are to have one Central Municipal Government for the whole of London, and that you are to readjust and alter the various districts. That was the resolution of the Metropolitan Board in the year 1870. Well, what objection is to be urged against a proposition which seems on the face of it to be almost self-evident? Why, it is said, the size, the magnitude of the area, the vastness of the population, and the variety of London make this impossible. That is the fear that actuated the Commission of 1854. But then the Commission of 1854 had never seen one Central Body charged with the interests of the whole Metropolis; but immediately after that Commission reported, such a Central Body—namely, the Metropolitan Board—was created; and, therefore, the very thing that was then said to be impossible does to a certain extent exist. You have one Central Body, consisting of 46 members, who do for many—aye, and for some of the most important—purposes of Local Government deal with the whole of the Metropolis and its 4,000,000 of people. Therefore, you cannot say it is impossible, for the thing exists. I take this opportunity of saying, as I may not altogether find my hon. Friend opposite in accord with me, that he will bear me witness that our official relations have always been of the most cordial character; and I wish to bear my testimony to the admirable, and, I may call it, extraordinary, work, under the circumstances, which has been done by the Metropolitan Board of London. That 46 men should have been able to accomplish such vast and laborious work as they have achieved, upon the whole with considerabte success, is a thing which deserves a tribute of public approbation. The Metropolitan Board was originally limited in its scope—namely, it was created with a view to main drainage works; afterwards the Thames Embankment work was added to it; and gradually its authority was extended to other matters. And that is a point to which I wish to direct the attention of the House. You have got a Central Body, for limited purposes, in London. You have a number of smaller Bodies in the Vestries. From time to time you have found that there was important work to be done. To which of these Bodies did you give the new work? Was it to the single Body, which it was said would not do for the whole of London, or to the Central Bodies? It was given almost invariably to the smaller Body. And why was that? Because in that way it was more efficiently and effectively done. Therefore, since the constitution of the Metropolitan Board you have added to it almost all the important new functions that have been created in the Metropolis, including among others the charge of the fire brigade, the dealing with slaughter-houses, explosives, tramways, theatres, locomotives, and even with destructive insects. Therefore you have this Central Body which you say cannot deal with the minuter interests of London; and yet whenever you have a new job to be done it is to this great Central Body that you give it, and not to the Local Bodies. But it is said it cannot deal with minute matters in the different and distant parts of London. What more minute and daily or more constant operation can there be than the superintendence of buildings under the Metropolitan Building Acts? And to whom are the care and administration of that matter given? Why, to the Metropolitan Board. That, therefore, is the practical answer to the contention that it is impossible for a single Body to deal with so vast an area and such an immense population as that of London. I am told that the City of Manchester, which is, of course, small in comparison with London, but which still is a great town, was originally placed under a district system; but it was found that that was not nearly so beneficial as a central system, and the district system was abandoned in order to have a more central system under the Town Council. When it is said that you cannot administer minute interests spread over a great distance by a single Body, I should like to know how the London and North-Western Railway Company manages to do it. Looking at the enormous magnitude of our great railways, and the vast mass of minute details which enter into their daily administration, is it not absurd to say that, even in a town like London, it is impossible that a single Body could attend to this work? I conclude, therefore, that the size of London is no argument against a Central Control, although I make this proviso—that it may be a very good reason for having subsidiary arrangements for administering minuter local affairs in the districts themselves. To my mind the very vastness of London, and the impossibility of

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breaking it up into well-defined areas, is an argument rather in favour of a Central Control than against it.

Then I come to close quarters with this question. If we are to have a Central Body, where is that Central Body to be found? We might make a clean sweep of all that exists, but I am not in favour of that. I think it is not in accordance with the genius of English Reform. I would much rather build on ancient foundations. We have always built on ancient foundations, but we have never attempted to keep up rotten buildings. Now, we have a single Central Body already. I have indicated the character of the work, and the good work as far as it has gone. That Body is the Metropolitan Board. It has done much, but it has not done enough. It is constantly obliged to acknowledge its inability to undertake work which London requires, and which the Metropolitan Board, I dare say, also desires to do. It is not fit under its present constitution to bear a greater burden. It is not a Body directly elected by the ratepayers. It is elected by an indirect process, which is a source of weakness to it, and it is constantly conscious, I think, of that weakness. It is too small in its numbers to undertake much greater work. The nature of its election, as I have said, is not a good one. I desire to speak with respect of the Metropolitan Board, and I will therefore not adopt the phrase that was used in one of our debates, which characterized it as "a vestrified Vestry." If we were to take the Metropolitan Board as the basis of our Central Government it would have to be reconstructed altogether; and, therefore, you would not be taking an old Body—it is not very old—but you would have to take it entirely to pieces and reconstruct it upon new lines. That would not be taking what was practically an existing Body. Then it would involve another thing—it would involve the extinction of the ancient Corporation of London. Now, the extinction of the Corporation of London would be a great shock to the sentiment of this country and the sentiment of this House. I have said before that this House adheres to the traditions of its forefathers. It is willing to reform its institutions; it is not desirous to destroy them; and there are no traditions more illustrious than those which cluster round the Guildhall. I am afraid that during the progress of this Bill I shall have to encounter the opposition of the Lord Mayor; but I will assure him beforehand that he shall not hear a word from me in these discussions that is inconsistent with the high personal esteem which we all hold for himself, or with the high respect which I feel for the great Office that he holds, and the famous Institution that he represents. I would very unwillingly part, unless there was the greatest necessity for it, with the traditions of the Guildhall and the Corporation of London. They belong to the most famous chapters in the history of the making of the English people. I should be as adverse to destroying the Guildhall as to destroying Westminster Hall or the Abbey. But the Palace of Westminster has adapted itself to the constitution of this House and of Parliament, and to the growing wants of the country; and the Abbey includes many memories which are strange to the traditions of the Plantagenets. I do not see why the Guildhall, or the Corporation of London, should not be willing to accept the same enlargement of their action as those two other famous Institutions have received. We have therefore come to the conclusion that if you are to have a Central Body, and are not to make a clean sweep of all that exists, but are to build on the foundation of that which exists, we ought to take as the foundation of the municipal life of London the ancient Corporation of London. And the object of the measure which it is my duty to explain to the House, is to adapt the Corporation of London, and to make it what it originally was intended to be, and what, in my opinion, it is capable of becoming—the great Municipal Government of the Metropolis of the United Kingdom. There is no originality in this recommendation, but there is great authority for it. It was indicated in the Report of the Committee in 1837, and in 1861 it was proposed by a man of great ability and great knowledge of London, as well as of other affairs—whose absence from this House is a matter of general regret—Mr. Ayrton. I think the first definite proposal of adopting the Corporation of London as the foundation of our Municipal Institution was in the draft Report of the Committee of 1861. The great advocate of this scheme was another gentleman extremely well acquainted with London affairs, the late Mr. John Locke; and he always advocated this proposal as the proper system of Municipal Reform. He was supported at that time by Mr. Benjamin Scott, the Chamberlain of the City of London, who gave evidence before this Committee, and who admitted that it was quite possible to adapt the Corporation of London to the wants of Municipal Government. But there is a still more important supporter of that scheme—and I am sorry he is not here to-day—the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster. In 1870, after having condemned the principle of separate Municipalities, Mr. W. H. Smith is reported to have said that—

> "It appeared to him there was but one mode of dealing with the subject—that suggested by the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Locke)."—(3 *Hansard*, [201] 870.)

Now, what was the manner suggested by the hon. Member for Southwark? Mr. Locke said—

> "The view he took of the matter was shared by a number of the members of the Common Council of the City, for he had read with great interest a debate which had occurred a short time ago, in which excellent arguments were adduced in support of the plan, that, instead of having these different corporations established, the whole Metropolis should be divided into wards, and that there should be one corporation for its government; and this view was strictly in accordance with the principle upon which the City acted when, centuries ago, they included within their bounds such districts as Cripplegate-without, Bishopsgate-without, and Farringdon-without."—[*Ibid.* 870.]

That was the opinion of Mr. Locke, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster, who now sits on the Front Opposition Bench, said—

> "There was but one mode of dealing with this subject, and that was the manner suggested by Mr. Locke."

Now, I think that that plan is the plan to which all those who have been occupying themselves with a consideration of this question have ultimately come. It is very well known that a gentleman who took part for many years in the discussion of this matter, and who formerly advocated the plan of separate Municipalities (Mr. Beal), himself came round to this opinion; and my hon. Friend, who has done so much to advance the cause of Municipal Reform—I mean the junior Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth)—arrived also at that conclusion. But, Sir, there is an authority that I rely upon even still more than those Gentlemen to whom I have referred, because this plan of Mr. Locke's was proposed in a definite form before the Committee of 1867. He proposed a resolution that the limits of the City of London should be extended to the Metropolis as defined by the Metropolitan Management Act, and that the Metropolis should be divided into wards for the election of Aldermen and Common Councilmen. One of the persons who voted for that resolution was my hon. Friend the Liberal Member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman Lawrence); therefore we have, in favour of this proposition, the recorded opinion of such a distinguished citizen as my hon. Friend behind me, combined with the authority of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster, as a concentration of light upon a single point not often to be found.

Well, therefore, the foundation of our plan is to adopt the Corporation of London as the basis of the Central Municipal Body which is to administer its affairs. Now, there is a very great advantage in thus extending the Corporation of London, because, as I have already said, it has never lost the instincts, the habits, and the forms of municipal life. In its Committees you have—if I may use a military phrase—complete *cadres* of municipal administration. You have a Body by reason of its numbers, its ability, its wealth, and of the whole system of its organization, capable of administering a much more extended area. When you have a Body like that, with all its grand traditions, and with all its resources and means of public benefit, why, in the name of common sense, should it not be adopted and adapted to the requirements of this great Metropolis? How this is to be done is much more simple than people will suppose. We adopt the existing Institution, with all its privileges, with all its traditions, with all its customs, but with certain modifications. What is to be the area? The right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor need not be alarmed. We only extend his arms so that he may embrace a much larger population. I think nobody will doubt much about that. It ought to be the area now under the authority and control of the Metropolitan Board of Works. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), in a speech which he delivered on this subject, and which I read in the Recess, observed that there are many parts of London which ought to be included in the Metropolitan area, especially in the North district. That I admit; and a Bill would be very incomplete which did not give the Municipality the power of including other districts which ought to be included, and of excluding other districts which it was thought ought to be excluded. But there is immense advantage, I think, in taking areas with which people are acquainted, in which they are in the habit of working together, in which they know their relations to one another; and, therefore, in the area to be taken, we adopt the area of the Metropolis Management Act, not as the real basis, but as the basis to start with. We propose to incorporate into the existing Corporation the whole of the citizens within the area of the Metropolis Management Act of 1855. We shall maintain the Corporation, and incorporate therein the inhabitants, who will then be "members of the ancient body corporate and politic of the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London."

Now, as to the provisions of the Bill. The qualifications of the citizens will be the same as in other Municipal boroughs. What are the powers of this Corporation? Now, first of all, we merge in the Corporation a number of semi-independent Bodies; and as it is the essence of this Bill that the whole original authority shall be in the Central Body, we merge in it the powers of the Commissioners of Sewers, of the Court of the Mayor and Aldermen, so far as they are administrative, of the Common Hall, the Wardmotes, and so on. The Lord Mayor will understand that I mean those satellite bodies which are not exactly the Corporation, and which are not exactly independent of it. Those Bodies, then, are to be merged in the Corporation. In addition to that we transfer to the Corporation of London the existing powers of the Metropolitan Board; the existing powers of the Vestries under the Metropolis Management Act of 1855; the powers, so far as they are administrative, of the Justices of the Peace of the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent; the powers of the Burial Board; the control of baths and wash-houses, public libraries, and other minor matters. The House will see, therefore, that the main transfer is a transfer of the powers of the Metropolitan Board, the Vestries, and the Justices of the Peace. Of course, we transfer with that the property and the debts; and, in fact, we transfer the whole administration of all the material questions in municipal life, with three exceptions. We do not meddle with the administration of the poor; we do not meddle with the administration of education as it exists; and we do not meddle with the existing administration of police.

Now, the Corporation is to act exclusively through its Common Council for all purposes—that is to say, it will appoint all its own officers. It will not elect its officers, as it at present does, through the Liverymen in Common Hall.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor): Some of them it does not.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Theoretically it does not, but practically it does, because it elects its chief officer, and that is the Lord Mayor. I may say, that in doing away with the authority of the Common Hall we are really following the advice of the Commissions and of the persons who were examined in reference to the question. I say nothing about the Parliamentary rights of the Livery Companies, but, so far as their municipal rights exist, they are universally condemned. They have nothing whatever to do with municipal life. Their claim to take a sort of part which they have been supposed to take in the affairs of the City of London, recommends itself to nobody. If I had the time at my disposal, I could quote authority after authority on this point. The institution of the Liverymen is entirely alien to City life. We owe the presence of the Lord Mayor here, it is to be noticed, to the fact that the Liverymen were overruled. How is the Common Council to be elected? It is to be elected, as was recommended by Mr. Locke, by what will correspond to wards. We propose to divide London into municipal districts—I adopt that word, as, perhaps, more appropriate than the term "ward," having regard to the size of these districts. I do not say that I propose the ideally best division of London into districts for this purpose; but we take the districts as they now exist under the Local Management Act. I dare say these areas may require a good deal of correction, and powers for that purpose will be given to the new Corporation. These areas, I admit, are by no means perfect; but I think it is better to start with areas that are well known and familiar. What is to be the number of Common Councilmen? I have taken the number that at one time existed in the present Corporation. In the year 1837 there were, I believe, 240 Common Councilmen, although this number is now reduced to 206. The question of redistribution in regard to the new Corporation will, I have no doubt, excite a good deal of interest as it does in regard to another subject. Among these municipal districts it is proposed to distribute 240 Common Councilmen in the manner that will be found in the 1st Schedule to the Bill. We propose to allot those members upon the principle that exists in the present Municipal Corporation and under the Metropolitan Management Act—namely, of taking population and rateable value jointly as the basis of calculation. The allocation of members will, of course, not be correct to a decimal; but the principle will be that which I have mentioned. In regard to the City of London, having respect to the smallness of its resident population and the greatness of its rateable value, we do not think it would be fair to deal with it on the same footing as the other districts, and we have given it a proportion of representation upon the basis of rateable value alone. This will ultimately give 30 members to the City of London, which will be one of the municipal districts. The other districts will have a number of representatives on a scale descending from 14 to 1 each, according to their population and rateable value. We shall then have a Council of 240 members, which will be fairly Representative of the whole Metropolis, and which will be invested with complete municipal authority.

The Lord Mayor will be annually elected by this Body, and will then be what he is supposed abroad to be—the Representative of the whole Metropolis of England. He will no longer be elected out of a couple of dozen Aldermen by a few hundred Liverymen who have no connection with the City of London, but by a Body which will be fairly representative of 4,000,000 of people. I do not think that we are thus doing much to degrade the Office of Lord Mayor of London. The election in Common Hall will, as a consequence, be abolished. In consideration of the great amount of work which will fall on this Central Body, it is proposed to have a Deputy Mayor, who will be a paid officer, and who will assist and take the place of the Lord Mayor when he is unable to be present. He will receive such salary as the Common Council may decide.

We now come to the question of the Aldermen, which is a very delicate subject. The present position of the Aldermen in the City of London is very peculiar — almost an unexampled one. They are a body of elected magistrates —an institution not favoured by the Constitution of this country. In 1843, Lord Brougham, in an eloquent speech, denounced it; and in 1837 a Royal Commission reported as follows:—

> "The Court of Aldermen still offers an instance of that union of magisterial, judicial, and legislative authority which Parliament has recently condemned and dissolved in other Corporations. An additional inconvenience is found in London from the separate existence of the Court of Aldermen as a Municipal Court, the exclusive character of which appears to excite jealousy, while at the same time, by the constitution of the City, whatever advantages might be obtained from it as a second Legislative Chamber, are not secured or arrived at."

It is also noticeable that in 1854 the Common Council themselves, in a document handed in to the Royal Commission, recommended the abolition of the extra-judicial authority of Aldermen. The Commission of 1854 recommended the abolition of the Court of Aldermen. We propose to do more than that. We propose to transfer the magisterial authority of the Aldermen to stipendiary magistrates. The administrative functions of the Court of Aldermen we shall transfer to the Common Council. The peculiar and exceptional features of the Aldermen of the City of London will disappear. The rights of existing Aldermen will, however, be reserved. We might, of course, create Aldermen upon the footing that they exist in other boroughs. In the Bill of 1835 Aldermen were given no distinction save that of rank, and I do not know that the change introduced in the House of Lords was very beneficial. Nor does it appear that the creation of Aldermen is very popular in boroughs where they exist. Only the other day I received a resolution adopted at Leeds praying for the total abolition of the office of Alderman. There are people—I do not know why, because it is a very ancient and honourable title—who do not like being called Aldermen, and it might be more difficult to obtain suitable persons to serve in this capacity if the old title of Alderman was retained. Although this will be a matter for consideration, we do not, therefore, propose to create any titular Aldermen.

Of course there will be a burgess roll for each district, and the term of election in each would differ. It would be a great affair to have a general election throughout London, especially an election which we hope will attract a great deal of interest. We are anxious not to tax London by too numerous elections of this kind, and therefore we propose, instead of the alternate system being adopted, as in the other municipal boroughs, to have the whole of the Common Council elected at triennial periods, in the same manner as is adopted in the election of the School Board.

Hon. Members will also find in the Schedule of the Bill a number of clauses of the Municipal Act incorporated, which we think is the most convenient course. The Central Common Council under this Bill will be invested with all the original powers of the present Council, and it will be organized into committees in the same way. It may be objected that the work to be performed by the Central Council is too large and too varied to be all brought into one centre, and that, therefore, the interests of the particular localities will be overlooked and postponed. I am not going to argue against that view, because, although the fears thus expressed may be founded upon an exaggeration of the difficulties of the case, I am going not to put them aside, but to meet them. It is said that the local work can be done much better by the Local Vestries than by any Central Body. Happily it is not my business to attack or to impeach any of the existing Bodies in London or to deny that those Bodies have done much and useful work. Of the Vestries there are some good and very good, some indifferent, some bad and very bad; but the worst of it is, when they are bad, there is nobody to control them, nobody to superintend them, nobody who can bring their work into one common whole, and exercise any supervision over them. The existing Bodies are absolutely independent in the exercise of the powers they possess, and there is no common bond of action between them. This has a bad effect. Thus, sometimes one Vestry will do its work very badly, while an-another will do its work very well, and the result usually is that the one that does its work well will suffer. It may be said that the local work might be done by the Central Body; but I do not think that would be a good plan, or that it would be calculated to give satisfaction to the different localities who like to look after their own affairs. Therefore, in addition to the Central Council, we propose to establish District Councils in each municipal district. These latter Bodies will not be like the present Vestries, inasmuch as they will have no original or independent authority. If these District Councils were to have such independent authority and powers conferred upon them, it would be impossible to control them or to bring them into harmony with each other. These Bodies, therefore, will have merely a derivative authority delegated to them by the Central Council, and that authority and those powers will be defined by district orders emanating from the Central Council. These District Bodies will not be nominated by the Central Council, they will be elected by their municipal districts, but they will possess no power except that which is conferred upon them by the Central Council. I wish to indicate to the House the advantages which will result from this plan. The Central Council, having original authority, will be able to judge how much of the work it can do itself, and how much of it it ought to delegate to the minor Local Bodies, whose action it will supervise in order to see that the work is properly done. We, therefore, propose that these Local Representative Bodies, acting under their derivative powers, shall take upon themselves the great mass of the minute work to the relief of the Central Council, and shall do that work in accordance with the wishes and the desires of the locality in which that work is to be performed. It might be asked—"Why do you not describe in the Bill what are to be the powers of the District Councils?" That would be a very bad thing to do, as it would perpetuate the very evils that now exist under the present Vestry system, and would destroy the elasticity of the plan I am now submitting to the House. It is far better to leave the Central Council to ascertain for itself the matters which it will be best to leave to the District Councils to look after. It may be said that the Central Council will arrogate too much power to itself. But this check has been provided to meet that difficulty—namely, that the Central Body will have to provide the funds out of a central rate for the work it does itself, whereas the Local Bodies will have to pay for the work they do out of a local rate. This proposal will, therefore, operate as a check upon either Body undertaking more than their fair share of work. I omitted to mention this important fact—namely, that the members of the Central Council elected by the municipal district will be members of the District Councils, and thus will be the connecting links between them and the Central Body. In this manner we shall establish local subordinate Bodies, which will be in relation with the Central Body. The members of the Local Bodies will be elected at the same time as those of the Central Body are.

Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG asked how the members of these Bodies would be elected?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: In the same way as the Municipal Councillors are elected now. Each will have its own budget, and by the exercise of the counteracting influences of these centrifugal and centripetal forces we provide that what each asks for it must pay for. Under the scheme, there will be 240 members of the Central Council, and there will be, with the City, 39 municipal districts. After a training up in life as District Councillors, they will become Common Councillors. When the Central Body consigns the duty of rating to the Local Bodies, it will consign to them the duty of preparing an estimate for carrying out the works, and the Local Bodies will be elected at the same time as the Common Council. The District Councillors will be in one sense the agents of the Corporation, who will have the confidence of the localities which elect them, and an understanding can be arrived at between the Central and the Local Bodies as to the powers best to be transacted by each. We hope that this combination will relieve the Central Body from all work they cannot do. It will not be like surveyors or agents going into parishes; the Local Councils will give to active persons in the district a field of usefulness and ambition, a power which the Vestries do not possess. There will be 39 of these subsidiary Bodies, including the City, with powers of raising money by district orders granted by the Common Council. That is our plan for meeting the desire of local administration.

I now come to a chapter which I cannot altogether pass over, and that is the question of finance. I cannot go into great details in regard to it, because the Corporation, remaining the Corporation as it is, will retain the whole of its property, and I hope we shall not hear the word confiscation on this occasion. The funds of the Corporation are practically in three categories. The first is that of the City cash, which is a semi-private and semi-public property. Then there is their Trust Fund, and next there is the rate which the Commissioners of Sewers apply. The City cash is applied to municipal staff purposes. It finds the emoluments of the Lord Mayor and of the staff, the Guildhall, the Mansion House, certain charities and schools, and so forth; and likewise certain magisterial salaries and expenses. All these purposes, or almost all of them, are equally as applicable to the whole of London as they are to the City. We think that the Lord Mayor of London, though he will perhaps be a more dignified, will not be a more expensive person. I have never been a party to the charges, as to waste of money, that have been brought against the Corporation of London; but if I had any complaint to make, it would be that the Corporation has a staff which is rather expensive in proportion to the work to be done. We do not propose to take it away; we only propose that it shall be available for the whole of the Metropolis instead of the centre. There is one other matter to which I should like to call the attention of the Lord Mayor. We are not going to abolish the hospitality of the Corporation. Allow me to read the 4th sub-section of Clause 20. It provides that—

> "Whereas the Corporation has been accustomed to spend money in conferring the freedom of the City upon distinguished personages, and in contributing to public and charitable objects, and also in the prosecution and defence of legal

proceedings for the promotion of the interests of the citizens, and whereas it is expedient to provide for the continuance of the power of expending money for such purposes, it is declared that all such expenditure properly incurred in pursuance of the resolution of the Common Council shall be deemed to be expended for the public benefit of the citizens of London."

I think it would be a great mistake to deprive the Corporation of the Metropolis of the power of exercising that municipal hospitality, which, in my opinion, is not a dishonour, but an honour, to the Corporation of London, though I hope they will not offer too many invitations to Her Majesty's Ministers. The City will, of course, have its own expenditure for its own services within its own district, as at present under the Commissioners of Sewers. That will be a local rate.

Now, I have already alluded to what I think is a very important economical principle in the Bill—that is to say, that the things which are administered and done by the Central Body of the Common Council will be paid for out of the general rate, but that the things administered by the District Council in the district shall be charged specially in the district. If you depart from that principle, you will have infinite extravagance. We know, by experience, what a tendency there is to extravagance if you allow people to put their hands into the pockets of the General Body.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS: Does the Local Body make the rate?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: No, it makes a budget and an estimate, but the rate is made by the Central Body. They say how much they will want, and they receive the money, and they levy that money on the people in their own district. That we regard as a very important economical principle. We also think that this is fair—that the assets and debts of municipal districts shall be credited to and debited against them, for, otherwise, we might have a district, which had incurred a large debt, placed in a position of advantage as compared with a district which had been more economically administered. As to the Audit, we propose to apply to it generally the principles of the Metropolitan Board Audit, although, from the jealousy which I know this House has on the subject, we have nothing to do with the power of surcharge. But if the Auditors see anything which they disapprove, they may make a Report which will be published, and we regard that publication as a check on any improper expenditure. Now I must pass over a good many details. I have said that we keep alive the privileges and the customs of the City of London. I see no reason why we should not do so. The real truth is, that although there were privileges and customs and charters in old times which were found to have an expensive operation, yet in modern times the Corporation has been prudent, and I do not believe that the privileges and customs, with the exception of one or two, which are specially abolished by this Bill, will be injurious to anybody. We have limited the power under these customs to those which are actually now in use, so that there will be no power to go back upon any former practice.

Of course, the burgesses of the City of Westminster must disappear. The real truth is that they never had any municipal character, and the officers of Westminster were really the officers of a Manorial Court. They exercised no power except as to weights and measures, and they never constituted a real municipal institution.

Then there are other matters which we should like to deal with in this Bill, but we cannot afford to do so—like the episodes of gas and water. We cannot transfer the hackney carriages to the Municipal Body from the Police. We cannot undertake to do by this Bill what the Commission of 1854 recommended, and that was to transfer to another Local Body the Irish Fund. We have indicated our opinion that those things can be done by clauses which require the Corporation of London to introduce Bills for those purposes. We have also a larger power of making schemes, subject to appeal to the Privy Council, for the alterations to which I have referred. There is another episode which we cannot undertake in this Bill. I have often been asked my views on the licensing system. We cannot fight out the liquor question as an episode of this Bill; but although, as I have said, the view of the Government is that the power of licensing should be transferred to a local representative authority, we have been obliged, in order not to have too many side issues in this Bill, to leave the licensing authority as it is, or rather as it will be under this Bill, in the Borough Justices.

Mr. RITCHIE: Did you say you are going to require the Council to deal with the Water Question?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes. Clause 48 enacts that the Common Council of London shall provide as soon as possible for the purchase or regulation of the undertakings which at present supply water and gas to any part of London, or any one of them. That, I think, sufficiently describes our ultimate municipal plan.

There remains the County Question. The City of London is a county in itself; but the best of the Metropolis is dispersed among the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, being subject to a sort of haphazard jurisdiction as fractions of these counties. I do not think that anybody will consider that the administration of the Middlesex magistrates, for instance, is at all adequate to the requirements of a Metropolis like London. Well, we propose to include the whole of the Metropolis in the county of the City of London. For that purpose, of course, we shall remove the county jurisdiction out of London. That is done in the second part of the Bill. I have not time to refer to the peculiar history of the origin of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex in the Reign of Henry I. London will, in the future, appoint its own Sheriff, and the Sheriff of Middlesex will be appointed, as in other counties, by the Crown. The Quarter Sessional jurisdiction of the various County Authorities will be transferred to a Recorder and Deputy Recorders. We shall keep the Recorder of London, and the Common Serjeant will be a Deputy Recorder; and we propose that there shall be three other Assistant Recorders to take the place of the Assistant Judges at the Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent Sessions. Practically speaking, the county jurisdiction in London ceases, and the administrative part of the business goes to the Common Council, while the judicial part of the business goes to the Recorder. There will be a Judge who will sit for the purpose of assessments. As to Petty Session jurisdiction, we shall have Stipendiaries. There will be a Borough Bench for London, and, subject to power of alteration in the Bill, the Police Court Divisions will be the Petty Sessional Divisions of London. The Coroners will be appointed by the Common Council.

The Central Criminal Court will be altered in this respect, that the Aldermen will no longer sit there. The Lord Mayor's Court will be retained until otherwise provided by Parliament, though its jurisdiction will not be extended over a further area. The City of London Court will be what it really now is—a County Court. Of course, too, in the Bill there is no alteration of the Trusts that exist—there will be a saving of all the nominations to the different Trusts. Above all, I desire to say this, with respect to the loud voices which have been raised on the subject—that the interests of all existing officers will be considered. There will be plenty of work for the admirable staff of the Metropolitan Board and of the Corporation of London, which will now be amalgamated, and the Vestry Clerks and the other officers of existing Bodies will continue to be officers of the Corporation. There is a Schedule in the Bill which I would commend to the attention of my hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). There will be a great number of Departments which are now under the Crown and charged to the Imperial Revenue—among others the Police Courts—which will in future be under the control of the Corporation. I am also happy to say that, though the Municipality will be larger, the Treasury will not be any richer. We have to encounter a difficulty which it is necessary to provide for. We are not creating a new Body to do a new business; we are taking over a going concern. We have therefore to provide for a transition period, so as not to lead to confusion. We must take care that chaos does not arise in the transfer to the new Body of the power which was exercised by the existing Body. For that purpose two things are necessary—first, that the new Body should have time to organize itself and make preparation for the duties it has to undertake; and, secondly, that the new Body shall include the persons who are now engaged in the old business. We have endeavoured to provide for both these things. The first thing wanting will be to provide a burgess roll, because there is now no burgess roll for the whole of London. That will be commenced immediately after the passing of the Bill, and come into operation on the 29th of January following. Common Councillors will be elected upon that day for the several municipal districts. But we do not propose that they shall elect the whole 240 members. They are to elect 150, who will be rateably distributed among the municipal districts. The other 90 members will be chosen in the following manner:—We take over bodily into the first Triennial Common Council the whole of the 46 members of the Metropolitan Board, including their Chairman. We think we cannot testify more completely our sense of the services which the Metropolitan Board has rendered, and of their capacity to bring their knowledge and experience to bear upon the starting of the new machine. Next, we propose to elect out of the Common Council of the City of London 44 members to be members of the first Common Council—the best and most experienced members of the present Common Council. Thus we shall start in the new Common Council with 90 members perfectly familiar with the working of the Corporation, and the Metropolitan Board, with the finances and the various questions which are of importance in municipal affairs; and they will be 90 out of 240 members of what I may call the first "Constituent Assembly" of the Corporation of London. Those 44 members will take their places for the City districts. That Body will be thus constituted in the last days of January. I now come to the question of time; I have dealt with the question of persons. This Body will not at once enter upon its complete executive functions. It will have time to make itself acquainted with its duties, to organize and prepare its Committees, to appoint its officers, to consider and determine what work it shall do itself and what it shall assign to District Councils. In point of fact, they will have time to set the machine in motion. For that purpose they will have three months till the 1st of May. During that time they will be a Provisional Council. It will be elected at the end of January, will so exist for three months, and come into complete life and action on the 1st of May. We provide for this in the latter clauses of the Bill, which we call the Transitory Clauses, by which we provide for the period of confusion and chaos and transfer of authority. That being so, at the end of April the Councils will be elected. Then the whole machine will be taken over in its new form, and in that manner we hope that by securing time and experience the whole work will be secure. Now, Sir, the fact that it is necessary to prolong, under the present Bill, the existence of the present Body will render it my proud privilege to have continued the existence of a Lord Mayor of London for a term of six months. I shall be the first person who will have continued a Lord Mayor in office for 18 months; and my right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor will probably be the last man and the first who will have the office of Lord Mayor of London for 18 months.

The House will be glad to hear that I am now coming to an end. I have endeavoured to explain this scheme—very imperfectly, I fear. At all events, it will not be said that it is a revolutionary scheme. As far as possible, consistently with the objects of the Bill, it is placed on the basis of existing institutions, and is built upon existing foundations. Now, there is one great objection which may be taken to it. That is a political objection. It is said that this will be such a terribly powerful Body that the State will reel under it. That objection was taken by a noble Lord in "another place" to the institution of the Metropolitan Board of Works. The noble Lord said that you, Sir, would tremble in your Chair. You are new, Sir, in that Chair; but I do not think your Predecessors have felt that terror. If my hon. Friend opposite (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) is a despot, he is a mild despot. If he possesses that great power, he exercises it with moderation. We have not suffered under the political reign of the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works. There have been times when there has been political danger from the Corporation of the City of London. We have read the history of John Wilkes and Alderman Beckford. There are to be found inscribed in marble in the Guildhall certain words said to have been employed on a famous occasion by Beckford, about which the strangest fact is, I believe, that they were never used. And, *horresco referens*, this House has sent a Lord Mayor and Alderman to the Tower. But those events took place in the old days of the old Corporation, and are not the political dangers of some dreadful new Democratic Body. They were the work of the Corporation of the last century. I see no reason in the present century that the Corporation, as it becomes more representative of London, will become a danger to the State. How will this Bill affect the Mayor and Corporation? Does it do indignity to the present Corporation of London? This Bill merely magnifies and enlarges the power, dignity, and influence of the Corporation of London? And as to the Metropolitan Board, it will not exist completely as in the old Body; but it undergoes a transmigration of soul. The spirit of the Metropolitan Board will be transformed into the body of the Corporation of London. As to the Vestries, they will have as their principal Members, what they have never had before, members of the Corporation of London. It is idle to suggest adherence to the principle of independent local authority, which is at the root of all the mischief. I have done all I can to facilitate the understanding of the Bill by means of marginal references, and it will be accompanied by an explanatory summary which will make it more easy to master. The first and second parts are the skeletons of municipal and county government, while the third and fourth are the expansion of existing Bodies. I would make an appeal to the House to discuss this important question. The Bill of 1855 was one of 250 clauses, and it was dealt with in three or four months; this is a Bill of 73 clauses, and it is not so complicated as was the Bill of 1855. I hope the present House of Commons will show itself equal to that of a generation ago. The Bill is one of great complexity; it may contain errors of omission and commission. If there be any errors no one will be more happy than I to correct them. All I claim on the part of the Government is that we have made an honest and painstaking effort to grapple with a considerable question, which, I believe, does in a very great degree affect the happiness and the welfare of 4,000,000 of people.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Mr. HIBBERT, and Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 171.]

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.—[BILL 144.]

(*The Marquess of Hartington, The Judge Advocate, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he begged to move a new clause which had been drawn up in pursuance of the engagement entered into with the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). It was as follows:—

(Unauthorised Punishments.)

> "Whereas questions have arisen as to the punishment which may be inflicted on persons subject to military law under 'The Army Act, 1881,' under or by virtue of power derived from Foreign potentates or rulers, and whereas it is expedient to determine such questions: Be it therefore enacted as follows:—There shall be added to section forty-four of 'The Army Act, 1881,' at the end of this section, the following enactment:—No officer or non-commissioned officer shall, under or by virtue of any power or authority derived from any Foreign potentate or ruler, inflict, or cause to be inflicted, on any person subject to military law under this Act, for or in respect of any offence against such law, any punishment not authorised by this Act. The above enactment shall be numbered section twelve."

That, he thought, would meet the views of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. It would be observed that to bring the clause into operation three things must concur. The person inflicting the punishment must be an officer of the Army; the offender must be subject to English military law; and the offence must be an offence against that law. He could go no further.

New Clause (Unauthorized Punishments,)—(*The Judge Advocate General,*)—*brought up,* and read the first and second time.

MR. PARNELL said, he was doubtful whether the clause would meet what he desired; and what he wished to know was, whether by the clause an officer would be prevented from punishing persons serving under the military law of England for any offence against the military law of the State in which they might be serving; if the offence was one against the military law of England and also against the military law of Egypt, whether the punishment should proceed under the English or under the Egyptian Code? His object was to prevent the recurrence of such an action on the part of a British officer as the flogging of Egyptian camel-drivers by Admiral Hewett.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, there could be no doubt that an English officer could only act under the English Code. This Bill, however, dealt only with the Army, and would not cover the case of a naval or civilian officer. Admiral Hewett had acted under a civil authority; and the Bill would not, therefore, affect such circumstances.

Clause *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*The Judge Advocate General.*)

MR. HEALY asked whether the Government would give a Return of the number of non-commissioned officers in each regiment who were Catholics, in continuation of the Return granted to the hon. Member for Leitrim? His object was to ascertain whether Protestant non-commissioned officers had been unduly favoured in the matter of promotion.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he believed it had been the practice of his Predecessor to decline to give Returns relating to particular regiments; but if the hon. Gentleman would communicate with him, he would consider what amount of information he could furnish him with.

MR. PARNELL asked whether the Government would consider the possibility of extending the effect of the clause just added to the Bill to the Navy by an amendment of the Queen's Regulations?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he would communicate with the Admiralty upon the subject.

Motion *agreed to*.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

It being ten minutes to Seven of the clock, the House suspended its Sitting.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

Mr. Parnell

MOTIONS.

—o—

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn till Monday the 21st of April."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY ACT (6 AND 7 WILL. IV., CAP. 14, SEC. 13)—EXTRA POLICE FOR THE CITY OF CORK.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. PARNELL: Sir, I wish, before the Motion for the Adjournment of the House is carried, to direct the attention of the House, and of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to a matter which I trust, he will find time to consider during the Recess; and I trust that the result of his considerations may be that he may see his way to afford a favourable answer to the representations made to him from time to time with regard to this matter. I refer to the taxation of the City of Cork for extra police. This matter is one which has engaged the attention of several of the right hon. Gentleman's Predecessors for a number of years, and it has never been possible for us to bring it to a satisfactory issue. In fact, the laws regulating the powers of the Lord Lieutenant with regard to the quartering of extra police are in such a very unsatisfactory and confused condition that it is almost impossible to know what the law on the subject of this quartering of police in the City of Cork really is. And although the Corporation and Town Council of Cork have made several attempts to obtain a judgment in the Superior Courts of Law with regard to the legality of the tax for this extra force they have never been able to carry the matter any further than the Recorder's Court. That official had expressed, in a judgment of the day, his very grave doubt as to whether he was interpreting the law correctly, or as to whether he could determine what the state of the law really was with regard to these old enactments under which forces of extra police are quartered in any Irish counties or towns. The first Act which applies to the Irish Constabulary, is one of the 6th and 7th *William* IV., 14th chapter, 13th section. That Act empowered the

Lord Lieutenant to declare by proclamation any city or county in a disturbed state, and thereupon he was empowered to send extra police. Section 35 of this same Act provides that the expenses of the police should, in the first instance, be paid out of the Consolidated Fund. The 37th section directs that the Inspector General, with the assistance of the Receiver, was to ascertain the cost; and in case where an extra police force was sent, he was to send to the secretary of the Grand Jury a statement of the amount which any county or city in which extra police should be quartered was liable for, and a certificate, and lay it before the Presentment Sessions, and then the under secretary should send before the Assizes another circular nearly a duplicate of the other which was sent to the secretary, and was mandatory on the Grand Jury to present for the amount. The legal effect, to which I wish to direct attention, of the extraordinary provisions of this Act of Parliament, has constituted one of the great difficulties in obtaining any real legal decision as to the legality of the action of the Irish Executive in reference to this quartering of these extra police in Cork. The effect of this was declared to be binding and conclusive, even though it was proved to be a fact that the police charged for were not in Cork at all, or even though there was a palpable overcharge. I can only compare any of these certificates to the warrants by which the right hon. Gentleman's Predecessor, the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), was empowered to issue under the Coercion Act. There can be no question whatever that the authority on which they were raised is entirely removed from the purview or jurisdiction of any Court of Law whatever. Under this first and original Act regulating the Irish Constabulary, which were a certain fixed quota, there were originally 100 men free appointed to Cork under the Act. The next Act was that of the 2nd & 3rd *Vict.* c. 75, and under this Act the reserve force was established. This reserve force was for the purpose of meeting contingencies which, in the Preamble of the Act, are clearly recited. The reserve force was intended to meet contingencies when the ordinary force was deemed insufficient for the maintenance of order, as in the case of elections or other temporary excitements, such as the July celebrations in the North of Ireland. The services of the reserve force were to be obtained as might be required. This reserve force was also to be available for all parts of Ireland, and they were to be maintained at the depôt in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, which is the nursery for recruiting, and training of officers. Section 6 of the same Act provides that under the order of the Lord Lieutenant the whole of this reserve force can be sent to any part of Ireland, there to remain as long as any order might be made. I should like particularly to direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to that section. The importance of that section is that it clearly indicates the temporary character of the order, which was intended to be for a definite period. It was necessary that the Lord Lieutenant should state the period which this force was thus to remain away from the depôt. And yet it is a very remarkable thing that we have never been able to secure the production of that document, although the Corporation have endeavoured from time to time to obtain it. Moreover, so far as we know, that order has no existence — indeed, it is very likely that it has no existence. The order was not made by Lord Spencer, nor was it made by Lord Cowper. It was an order made many years ago when it was intended to meet a temporary emergency, and for a limited period. Cork had for a long time been in a condition of peace and good order; and he hoped the Chief Secretary would show his appreciation of this fact by withdrawing the heavy tax for extra police. The 3rd & 4th *Vict.* c. 128, and the 6th section, was a very important one, to which he begged to draw the attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland, which empowered cities to make applications with reference to the force. The Town Council of Cork, some 30 years ago, finding that 100 men were not sufficient for the police requirements of the City, voluntarily applied, in the first instance, for six extra men, in order that a police station might be established in the district of St. Luke's, one of the wealthiest portions of the City, which, up to that period, had been without police protection. By further applications that force was increased to 16 extra men, which were paid for voluntarily and without any grumbling, and the total force of the City remained for a considerable time at 116 men. When the Fenian period came, Cork being, from its geographical situation, the nearest port of call on the way between America and Liverpool, it was found necessary by the Government of the day—not for the purpose of checking violent disorders in the City, but solely as a matter of precaution, and for the purpose of protecting Irish-Americans and others who landed in Cork from America—to send an extra force of Constabulary to be stationed at Cork. This was done by one of the several Constabulary Acts passed from time to time to enable the Lord Lieutenant to distribute the Constabulary in Ireland; but these were free. The force was raised from 116 to 150, and it was still a free force, the Government being satisfied that it was owing, as I have explained, to the geographical position of the City of Cork, and not to any local causes, that the additional force was requisite. Up to 1866 the force was increased to 200 men and retained in the City, and in 1866 it was still a free force—the force of 200 men. In April, 1866, a letter was received from the Chief Secretary, in which it was stated that the time had arrived when it was necessary that the extra police of the City should be reduced, and only such number retained as the Town Council should decide upon in accordance with the 3 & 4 *Vict.* c. 108. The Council, having considered the application fully, arrived at the conclusion that, for all practical and legal purposes coming within the purview of police duties in the City of Cork, 16 extra men added to the 153 men were ample; and, in fact, that the number of 16 extra police were necessary, and they instructed the Mayor to make that representation to the Lord Lieutenant; and that if, in the opinion of the authorities, there would be no reduction made in the force, the Council should not be asked to pay anything in respect thereof. No further action was taken in compelling the Corporation until 1879, when the Chief Secretary (Mr. Chichester Fortescue, now Lord Carlingford) wrote stating that the Council should make formal application, under the 3rd and 4th *Vict.* c. 108, for 50 extra men, so that the permament force might be made up to 200. If they did not do this, Mr. Fortescue said he was directed by the Lord Lieutenant to inform the Council that an extra force of 50 men was necessary for Cork, and a moiety of the charge was to be defrayed by the City. This was the first real attempt made by the Castle to compel the City of Cork to pay for an extra police force; and it was a long time after the Fenian outbreak, and when the City had resumed its normal aspect of orderly quiet. The object sought by this letter was to endeavour to coerce the Corporation of Cork to follow the example of the Corporation of Belfast. The Corporation of Belfast had placed themselves under the provisions of an Act which enabled them, practically speaking, to levy their own police force. That police force, however, was not under the local authorities, and the Corporation of Cork declined to follow the example in question. After some controversy, it was decided by the authorities that the entire extra men should not exceed 50—that is, 16 men which the Council had originally applied for, and 34 fresh extra men, which, by the Lord Lieutenant's order, were directed to remain in Cork. The Council of Cork, Mr. Speaker, have ever since remonstrated, and are continually remonstrating, against this extra force of 34 men. They have disputed the payment from time to time. They have endeavoured to seek relief from the Courts of Law; but, owing to the state of confusion in which the Act regulating the powers of the Lord Lieutenant regarding the importing of extra police, it has been found impossible to bring any case before any of the Superior Courts. The Corporation have in vain remonstrated against what they believed to be the absolute illegality of the conduct of successive Lord Lieutenants in this matter in abusing an Act of Parliament, which clearly was never intended to give an authority for such a police force in the City. This state of affairs continued up to 1881, when the noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington) became Chief Secretary. He, in alluding to the subject, suggested that the Council should consider the precedent of Belfast and do likewise. But as the Town Council still continued to refuse to adopt the suggestion, the extra force of men was increased from 50 to 70, I suppose as a sort of punishment for declining to be as amenable as the Corporation of Belfast. In 1879 the

Under Secretary again wrote to the Council on the subject of the extra police, which at that date was reduced to 30, calling their attention to the fact that the reserve force was short of its strength by reason of 30 men being still retained in Cork, that his Excellency could not see his way to remove them, and he again recommended them to make a formal application with the view to their reduction. You will observe in all these proceedings the central executive authority in Ireland has been exceedingly anxious to get an application from the Corporation of Cork to get some endorsement of this illegal quartering; but although these attempts have been going on for a very long series of years, when the power of election to Town Councils in Ireland was not as it is now, but very much in the hands of wire-pullers and local magistrates, still they have never in one single instance obtained from the Town Council the slightest endorsement, direct or indirect, of this most illegal levy. Well, Sir, a case was prepared by the legal advisers of the Town Council, and it was argued before the Recorder in November, 1882, not two years ago. The result was that on technical grounds, entirely apart from the merits of the case, the Recorder held that, as a matter of fact, a certificate, countersigned by the Under Secretary, was conclusive as to the amount. He could not go behind it. Now, Sir, I think the judgment of the Recorder is a very important one. It was the highest judicial decision that it was possible for the Corporation to obtain. They applied, during the progress of the case, to the Recorder, and asked him to state a case for the Queen's Bench; but that was resisted by the legal representative of the Crown Solicitor, and the Recorder held that he had no power to do it. I would wish to direct the particular attention of the House to the judgment of the Recorder. His worship said—

> "I have been trying to guide my blind footsteps through the labyrinth of police legislation, with the aid of Mr. M'Carthy, whom I may call a legal Ariadne; but I must say that, after an argument lasting more than a day, I am not at all satisfied on the point under consideration, because, since the time of William the Fourth, the Legislature have been passing Act after Act—amending Acts, repealing Acts, explanatory Acts, and contradictory Acts—and really it is monstrous that nothing has been done to consolidate those Constabulary Acts. The Constabulary are a most important force in the country. It would, therefore, be most desirable if some plain legislation were produced which would enable us to know where they are, what they are, what they ought to be, and what are their laws. Now, it appears to me that, beginning with the Act 6 & 7 *Will.* IV., and comparing it with the Act 20 & 21 *Vict.* c. 17—that, upon the whole, the Inspector General, with the concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant, has the right, in addition to the 100 men allotted to the City of Cork, to distribute the force as he pleases without any restriction; but I am not at all certain that I am right in that construction of the law. But I am bound by this certificate, and if the Corporation require an alteration in the law, which, in my opinion, is demanded, they should send Mr. Lawrence to Parliament. Mr. Lawrence was the legal gentleman engaged, and let him vindicate their case there as he has done here. I do think that under the circumstances I am bound by this certificate, and I cannot get out of it. The Corporation ought to take the course I have suggested. I, for one, would be very glad to see Mr. Lawrence in Parliament, where his great abilities would help to bring Irish Members to rational, reasonable, and sound views."

This learned Judge does not recommend an appeal to the Superior Courts—in fact, he would not state a case for the Superior Courts, because he said he could not. All the relief he could give the unfortunate ratepayers of Cork was a sort of extra-judicial advice, which does not appear to have been acted upon up to the present, to send this legal gentleman to Parliament, where their case might be brought forward for review by the highest Court in the land. Well, Sir, I bring the case forward to-night, and I say it is a monstrous state of affairs that under a variety of enactments, which are, according to the Recorder of Cork, self-contradictory and impossible to be understood, which permit of no appeal, which simply rely upon the existence of a written piece of paper, purporting to bear the signature of the Chief or Under Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, that it should be possible to saddle the ratepayers of an industrious and peaceful city with such a monstrous charge as that without any remedy. Cork has now been charged for extra police for a period of 30 years, commencing with the year 1855, when the Corporation voluntarily agreed to pay a yearly sum of £175 in respect of an extra force of five men. The sum paid in 1881, which was the last year in which payment was made, the Town Council having refused to pay the amount since then, was as high as £1,025. The total extra force in Cork amounts to 180 men. Now, I wish to compare this total of 180 men, which is the ordinary police force, *plus* the extra force, with that of the other towns, and with the number of policemen to the population in other towns. The number 180 makes 23 policemen for every 10,000 of the population of the City of Cork in September, 1881. In Derry the Returns showed that there were, for the same year, 30 men for every 10,000 inhabitants—that is, an increase of 7 per 1,000, or nearly one-fourth as many more as in Cork. In Waterford the number was from 27 to 29 for every 10,000 of the population; but the House will bear in mind that in the two cases I have mentioned—the cases of Derry and Waterford—there was not an extra police force, and there was, consequently, no extra police tax. [The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) dissented.] The hon. and learned Solicitor General shakes his head; but I am quoting from very accurate information, which I have reason to believe is absolutely correct. The authorities, in fact, provided 30 for every 10,000 of the population in Derry—I am not speaking of the occasional bringing in of men for particular occasions like the celebration of the shutting of the gates—and in Waterford they provided for every 10,000 of the population 27 men, whereas in Cork they only provide for every 10,000 of the population 20 men; for that 20 men they charge one-fourth, or about five men as an extra force—thus reducing the free force of Cork by one-fifth of these men. In other words, the cities of Derry and Waterford have a considerably larger free police force than Cork, counting the extra police force for which they pay. If there is one city in Ireland which deserves from the Government more consideration than another, entirely apart from its peaceful condition, it is the City of Cork. It is the chief inlet and outlet for the vast passenger traffic of the Atlantic steamers, and also for the passenger traffic from Munster to England. It has more police force thrown upon it in respect to offences of a local origin than all the other Irish ports, excluding Dublin and Belfast, put together. In this respect the City of Cork does the work of the Empire. I find that, excluding Dublin, but not Belfast, Cork has now 1-16th the population of Ireland. The distributive Constabulary Force, including Belfast, taken on the average of 1880-1, which is less than that of 1882-3, and divided by 60, would give a free force of over 170 for Cork. The other day I asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he could hold out any hope that this extra police force would be removed. The right hon. Gentleman replied that he had consulted the Bench of Magistrates and the local authorities, and that they were of opinion that the present force was not more than sufficient for the preservation of the peace of the City. I should be very glad to know what Bench of Magistrates or what local authorities the right hon. Gentleman had consulted. After the best local inquiry I have been able to make, I do not find that a single independent magistrate, and by "independent" I mean magistrates not directly subject to, and in the pay of the Government, was consulted. I find that the Mayor and Town Council were not consulted. I find that no meeting of magistrates was held in reference to this matter, and that no recommendation opposed to the removal of the extra police force has proceeded from any public body. I am at a loss to know what Bench of Magistrates the right hon. Gentleman consulted, and what authorities. If he consulted magistrates and authorities they must have been very few. They must have been persons interested in maintaining the present position of affairs in order that they might retain their swollen and exorbitant salaries. When the right hon. Gentleman's reply was reported in the newspapers, the Corporation of Cork met and passed a resolution unanimously declaring that if the so-called extra police force were continued in the City, it should be placed permanently on the ordinary free establishment, which, even with the increase, would be very little, if anything, in excess of the quota the City should receive on the ground of population, and emphatically claiming exceptional consideration in this matter on account of the peaceable state of the City. Notwithstanding all this, they found that the Government, so far from treating Cork like Derry and Waterford, gave that City a smaller free force, and placed a heavy impost on her by this levy of extra men. Many thousand pounds have been paid by the citizens since the establishment of this force, and since there is no possibility for them of redress from the law; since they are prohibited from asking the intervention of the Superior Courts, and since the only magistrate whom they have been able to approach has declared his opinion that it is impossible for him to understand what the state of the law is, or, if he did understand it, to decide the case upon its merits, the citizens have come to the conclusion, and I think they are right, that they will not pay this tax unless it is dragged out of them. Cork has been exceptionally peaceful during the whole of the Land League agitation. There have been no outrages of any description. I say exceptionally peaceful as compared with the rest of Ireland, because Cork has been always peaceful. We have been told by Government officials that inflicting fines for extra police is of the greatest importance to deter districts from crime or disturbance; but there has been no crime in Cork, not even any disturbance. I should have thought that the right hon. Gentleman, with his traditions and history, would have seized this occasion for showing the appreciation by the Government of the peaceful and quiet City of Cork. Instead of that, for purposes which are inscrutable to us, the Government insist upon maintaining this heavy taxation. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will carefully consider this matter during the Recess, which I trust he will very much enjoy, and that he will be able to announce to the House on his return that the Government see their way to remove the extra force from Cork, or to leave it there as portion of the permanent free force. When the Exhibition was held the Exhibition Committee had to pay, in addition to the extra police, for every policeman on duty within the walls of the Exhibition. I trust that the right hon. Gentleman will see I have made out a reasonable and fair case, and that it is an instance in which he ought to exercise his own judgment and authority, and not be guided by the biassed opinions and interested motives of subordinates.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that he would not follow the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) very deeply into legal questions, nor, indeed, did he gather that Her Majesty's Government had done more than state the extreme perplexity in which the Corporation of Cork found themselves with regard to the various Constabulary Acts; but he was bound to say that to qualify the Constabulary Acts according to the suggestions of the hon. Gentleman and those who sat beside him was a thing which the Government could only do as a last resource. He should not enter into the legal right of the Government to exact what they had for a good while partially exacted, and what, at the present moment, they were endeavouring to exact with not quite equal success. These legal matters were, in his opinion, outside the purview of the House until they had been brought to the consideration of the highest tribunal to which they could go; and he did not agree with the hon. Member in holding that there were no means of taking the question before a higher tribunal. He concluded, if the decision of the Recorder was not a sound decision, it could not be enforced by *mandamus* from the higher Court, and that in that way, if no other, the case could be brought to appeal. As regarded the treatment of Cork in the matter of extra police, as compared with other towns, he thought that the hon. Member had been somewhat misled by a very natural predilection for that City, with which his name was so thoroughly identified. The hon. Member said if there was one city in Ireland which deserved more consideration than another it was Cork. From that dictum he (Mr. Trevelyan) should be very unwilling to dissent. But he must go further, and say that there was no great city in Ireland, or, for that matter, in England or Scotland, which, on the point of paying for its police, had received such treatment as the City of Cork. He did not say that that decided the question; but it was a proposition he was ready to support. The hon. Gentleman, not having access to that official information which was at once at his (Mr. Trevelyan's) command, had a little erred in comparing Cork with other Irish towns and cities, especially with reference to Londonderry. He thought he heard him say that it had to pay for no extra police.

Mr. PARNELL: I was speaking of the free establishment.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he would come to that afterwards. Limerick paid a sum less, indeed, than Cork, but still a very tangible sum, £340 or £350 a-year for extra police, and Londonderry paid £1,550 a-year. What was the sum which Cork paid for extra police?

Mr. PARNELL: Londonderry has a very much larger free force. I gather that the right hon. Gentleman does not dispute the accuracy of the proportional figures I gave regarding the free force in Londonderry.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he was not at all inclined to dispute the figures which he had heard. What he desired to say was that Limerick and Londonderry, in proportion to the population, was very much heavier taxed than Cork. It was quite true now that in Kilkenny, Galway, and Drogheda there was a much larger free force; but he found that in Londonderry the free force only numbered 10 in every 10,000, in Belfast only 17, and in Carrickfergus only 10, the average of the Irish towns being 16. Cork, therefore, was not excessively, although sensibly, above the charge made on other Irish towns; and, comparing Cork with English towns, he thought it would be found that for a population of 80,000, £1,100 a-year was a very small charge to make.

An hon. Member: But the local authorities have charge of the force.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he would come to that. He might say that he was not now referring to the mere extra police lately stationed in Cork. Now, he would like, first of all, to compare the extra police force in Cork with that in other Irish towns. In Belfast the extra police cost £11,000 a-year, or 10 times more than Cork. Londonderry paid £1,500 a-year on a smaller population. Londonderry, in fact, paid 5*d.* in the pound for police, Belfast 4½*d.* in the pound, and Cork only 1*d.* in the pound. Taking for comparison an English town of nearly the same size as Cork—namely, Wolverhampton, which had a population of 75,700, whereas Cork had one of 80,000, he found that the Government contribution for police at Wolverhampton was £3,000 a-year, while £3,600 a-year was paid from the local rates—a great deal more than Cork had been paying for many years past. In Northampton again, with a population of 50,000, £2,846 a-year was paid for police; while Birmingham, with five times the population of Cork, paid 25 times as much for its police as the citizens of Cork had done during the last 10 years. However, he quite agreed with the hon. Member (Mr. Parnell) that paying money against the grain, and for a service that was not asked, was not a very pleasant thing. He knew that many historical non-payments were for small sums of money; but the question was—Was the City of Cork over-policed? Were they paying the moderate sum of 1*d.* in the pound on their valuation for police that they did not want? In April, 1871, when this question was discussed, a resolution was passed by the county magistrates, stating that they could not recommend any reduction in the police force of the City of Cork; and in the following August a resolution was passed by the Mayor and magistrates of the City of Cork expressing their opinion that the force of the City could not safely be reduced. Then there came a correspondence in which the Government wished to have the extra police paid for by the Corporation of Cork; and the Corporation, on the other hand, wished to keep the extra police, but at the charge of the public Exchequer. On the 10th of January, 1880, a resolution was passed unanimously by the Mayor and magistrates that the force should not be less than 180; and at the latest period, as far as he knew, at which the opinion of the Mayor and Corporation was authoritatively declared, it was their opinion that the present force—he did not speak of nine detectives—was the least that could keep the peace of the town, but that it should be paid for entirely by the Exchequer. He thought it was little to demand of a flourishing City like Cork, which had been characterized by the hon. Member, in not overstrained words, as one of the gates of the Empire, that if it was to have the full amount of police which its elected authorities considered necessary for its safety and good order, it should pay 1*d.* in the pound, when the cities and towns of England frequently paid 10*d.* or 1*s.* Nevertheless, he allowed that it was the duty of the Government to communicate with the Corporation of Cork and ascertain what their real wishes were. He was not at all sure that if the town were perfectly satisfied with the free force as it at present stood, whether the police of Cork should not be reduced to that free force; but that the free force should be increased was a proposition to which, until they came again to the quintennial period of revision, he could not for a moment assent. He was such a lover of self-government that he should be very glad if the responsibility of the ordinary police of Cork was placed to the greatest possible extent upon the elected Municipality of Cork; and if he found on careful inquiry that there was no real danger to the peace of the City, he should be very glad to see the force reduced by the greatest possible amount. With regard to what was required for the detection of special crime, he should be allowed to say that the immense advantages of Cork as one of the gates of the Empire imposed upon it the same duty which would be imposed on Liverpool of seeing that the gate was safely guarded; and he would promise the hon. Member very carefully to inquire into the matter, and if the stipendiary authorities could make out with the elected authorities, and should come to the conclusion that the mere peace of the City could be preserved with a smaller force than were now allotted to preserve it, he, for one, would be very glad to endorse that conclusion.

MR. GRAY said, it was to be regretted that the right hon. Gentleman did not give them the benefit of his very elaborate and exceedingly laborious calculations with regard to the respective police forces of England and Ireland, though he confessed he (Mr. Gray) did not see the applicability of the comparison. The right hon. Gentleman had compared the cost of the police in Cork with the cost in other Irish towns, and then with certain English towns. Now, no such comparison was possible. The police in Ireland were a Governmental force, maintained for Governmental purposes, and in the Irish Municipalities that police force discharged hardly any of the many duties discharged by the police force in English and Scotch Municipalities. What the Chief Secretary seemed to think was, that the Irish towns should be satisfied to pay a police force over which they had no control, because English Municipalities, which had the control and management of the force for their own purposes, did so. Well, happening to have some knowledge of the working of local authority in Dublin, he should say that Cork was comparatively well off in having only to pay 1*d.* in the pound for its extra police force. In Dublin they had to pay 14*d.* in the pound for a police force over which they had not the slightest control. He was very glad to hear the Chief Secretary's declaration of principle over this matter, although he did not give any indication of a practical proposition of reform. One of the worst ways in which the present police system militated against the communities in Ireland was the enormous injury it inflicted on the country in the matter of public health. Now, the death rate was higher in Dublin than in many of the English towns. In Dublin, if they wanted to use a policeman as a sanitary officer, they first of all had to pay 14*d.* for him, in supporting the ordinary police of the City, and then the Government came and demanded £120, or £140, for his services as sanitary officer. The result was that the sanitary condition of the City was deplorable, and it must remain deplorable, as long as this system of Governmental control, as distinct from local control, was exercised. This was only one more example of how a vicious system of centralization permeated the whole working of the social organization down to the smallest detail, and poisoned the administration to an extent which was not dreamt of by hon. Gentlemen on the other side. Very likely they thought that the question of the control of the police in Ireland was merely connected with the maintenance of what they were pleased to call law and order. It had to do with a great many things besides that—as, for instance, maintenance of health and the preservation of life. Another means by which the control of the police operated most injuriously in regard to the public had reference to the most helpless class of the community. In Dublin the Government insisted, in spite of repeated remonstrances, and he believed of recommendations by a Royal Commission and of a Committee appointed by themselves, in placing an extremely onerous and oppressive tax upon the pawnbrokers of the City. He believed it amounted to over £100 a-year for each pawnbroker's licence. This was a portion of the indirect revenue which the Government received and devoted to a police maintained for purely Imperial purposes. Pawnbrokers taxed in this way were obliged, in order to recoup themselves, to tax their customers; and thus the Government in Dublin levied a most cruel tax upon the poorest of the poor for the purpose of maintaining a system which even the Chief Secretary objected to, and would like to see abolished. He hoped that during the Recess, the contemplation of which had put the right hon. Gentleman in an extremely good humour, probably because he would be free for eight or ten days from having to answer any more Questions, he would give the matter his consideration. It would be something, perhaps, for him to look back upon if he could say when he quitted Office that he had reformed in Ireland an exceedingly vicious system, which he (Mr. Gray) could assure him from personal knowledge worked most detrimentally against all classes. He very much doubted whether, under the reform system which the Home Secretary contemplated introducing for the Metropolis, or in any Municipality of the United Kingdom, he would find that any community would tamely submit to this tax, amounting directly and indirectly to 14*d.* in the pound, for a force maintained largely for Imperial purposes, and over which the local representative body had no kind of control.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that the burden of local taxation, of whatever nature in Ireland, was most keenly felt, because the sum of Imperial taxation in Ireland, as compared with England, was rateably something more than double, having regard to the means of each. He charged it upon the conscience of the House and upon the British Legislature that the system of taxes devised by the Imperial Parliament for Imperial purposes was, in its exaction, doubly greater in proportion to the means of the inhabitants in Ireland than in England; yet it was the habit to discuss questions like that before them as if taxation was generally equal in both.

Mr. DEASY said, the Chief Secretary seemed to have come to the conclusion that it was desirable, in the present state of affairs in Ireland, to consult with the local representatives, and to take counsel with them as to the future course which he would pursue in regard to the extra police force. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would carry out that principle; and he could assure him, from personal knowledge of the City of Cork, that it would treat him fairly, and expect nothing from him that was impossible. There was no Municipal Body more desirous of maintaining the peace of its City than the Corporation of Cork. The right hon. Gentleman must recollect that from 1871 down to 1884, the Corporation of Cork had been unanimously of opinion that the maintenance of this extra force in the City was altogether unnecessary. In 1871, it was true, they petitioned the Lord Lieutenant not to withdraw the extra force; but the circumstances of the time were peculiar. Ever since then they had been desirous that it should be withdrawn, and over and over again had passed resolutions calling upon the Lord Lieutenant either to withdraw it or to charge it to the State. If the Lord Lieutenant desired to maintain the force, it would be unfair to the City that the ratepayers should be charged with the maintenance of this extra force. There was a very strong suspicion in Cork that these extra police had of late years been drafted into outlying districts to attend National League meetings, and that they had not only been charged to Cork, but to the districts to which they had been drafted. He was strongly of that opinion himself, and until the Chief Secretary contradicted it he would continue to hold it. The right hon. Gentleman had contrasted the small amount which they paid in Cork with the amount paid in certain English towns. The ratepayers of Cork would not object to pay 1*d.* or even 6*d.* in the pound for the maintenance of a police force in Cork, provided that they had control over that force; but what they objected to was taxation without representation. If the right hon. Gentleman would advise the Government to place the police force under the control of the Corporation, he (Mr. Deasy) had no doubt that they would be willing to bear the entire cost. Not only that, but they would be able to keep the peace quite as well as it was kept now. From time to time the Corporation had felt very great difficulty in compelling these men to do the duty. Even in the streets the police would not regulate the car drivers or regulate the traffic. The force was a source of constant annoyance in their midst; and he was convinced that if they did not give some value for the money paid for their maintenance, the people of Cork would find them some work to do.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, that the extra police tax in the City of Cork was only a very small proportion of the grievance that pressed upon the people of Ireland. In a great many districts where the people had been unable to undertake an expensive litigation they had been driven to take the law in this matter into their own hands, for outside the City of Cork, in the various districts of the County of Cork, in Limerick, in Clare, in Galway, in Kerry, the people were universally refusing both to pay the extra police tax and the blood tax; and he thought he must say that the Government up to the present, as the right hon. Gentleman had almost admitted in his speech, had not exhibited any very great energy or conspicuous success in collecting it.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I deny that. That is a very important matter. I quite deny that I have said anything to-night which would imply that the Government are not exhibiting all the energy that they possibly can. As far as my attempts are concerned, I must say that the Government are determined to stand by their rights in this matter.

Mr. O'BRIEN observed that the right hon. Gentleman knew his own mind best. He (Mr. O'Brien) only spoke of the fact, and it was rather curious that the neighbourhoods where the police had been withdrawn were the neighbourhoods where the people had recognized that there was a very easy way of standing up against these proposals. In one of the districts within the jurisdiction of Captain Plunkett a system of vengeance against the people was pursued in the collection of these taxes. A large farmer named John Daly refused to pay except under compulsion, and Kavanagh, a policeman, came on his farm with a warrant for 11*s.* 7¼*d.*, and seized a valuable horse which was engaged in the work of ploughing at a very critical time of the year. Mr. Daly, his son, and the parish priest were ready to declare that the policeman was offered his choice of a large collection of cattle, sheep, and pigs, which were on the farm at the time; but his reply was that his instructions were to seize a horse from the plough, and he did so. The policeman afterwards denied that he made that statement. They always denied it, and equally, of course, he was believed by the Castle authorities. The horse, which was worth £40, was knocked down for £5, and the owner protested against the sacrifice of a valuable animal. The policeman knew he had landed himself in a serious legal difficulty; but he also knew the Government would support him in his illegality. The owner had served notice of action for wrongful seizure, and the authorities had boldly declared that the Government would defend that action at the public expense. Did the House think that was the way to maintain respect for the law in Ireland? If the police went on perpetrating outrages of this kind in vengeance for the protests of the people against these odious taxes the collection of those taxes would not become easier, and the item for law charges would have to be considerably swelled next year to pay the costs of the proceedings, for it was likely that Irish juries would have an opportunity of assessing the damages against the policemen—juries whom the Crown officials could not manipulate or pack. He wished they could have, as to this and other districts, some definite statement as to whether or not Ireland was in a peaceable condition. It was impossible to tell, from the statements of the Chief Secretary, what was the condition of Ireland. At one time he spoke as though the country had been in a blessed state of tranquillity since Lord Spencer and he went there. At another he would say Captain Plunkett and his extra policemen were necessary to keep down the disturbance. The fact was the English Minister in Ireland were the slaves of the officials whom they appointed. Even in the case of Mr. George Bolton they were obliged to shut their eyes to his frauds on his creditors and his wife, because it was difficult to get another person to do what he did. It was the same with Captain Plunkett and those who were responsible for the extra police. The Chief Secretary and the Solicitor General for Ireland got their briefs and made the best of them, and very contradictory the briefs were. One night they represented Captain Plunkett's district as free from crime, in order to show that Captain Plunkett had accomplished something for his money; the next they had to prove that the same district was in a dangerous state of disturbance lest his services should be dispensed with altogether. The Chief Secretary had claimed some glory for the pacification of Ireland, with which he believed he had no more to do than the fly on the wheel had with the dust which was raised. But be that as it might, if that pacification was to continue, he would advise him to shake off those military adventurers and disturbers, men who, wherever they went, in Cork like Captain Plunkett, or in Cairo like Mr. Clifford Lloyd, did nothing but make the name of England detested and detestable.

MR. SEXTON said, that the Chief Secretary had boasted of having information which was inaccessible to others. He said nothing, however, to warrant the boast, nothing to justify the presence of the extra police, beyond the opinion of half-a-score of county magistrates. He was glad the Chief Secretary had at last seen his way to consult the Cork Corporation. His promise in that respect was a sign of a hopeful departure. Not more than two months ago, in the debate on the Address on the Queen's Speech, the Chief Secretary said the condition of crime in Ireland was such as could not be discreditable to the most peaceful country in the world. In January last, leaving out threatening letters, there were only one offence against the person, two aggravated assaults, 11 offences against property. In February, there were one fire, two aggravated assaults, and four or five offences against property. He would ask for an assurance that there should be no repetition of the course pursued by the Sub-Land Commission, and afterwards on appeal by the Chief Land Commission in the case of a servant of Sir Richard Wallace's at Lisburn. This tenant, having purchased all the improvements on his holding five years ago, had actually had his rent increased. The case had aroused deep resentment throughout Ulster.

MR. HEALY said, he wished to call the attention of the House to the manner in which the six Orange murderers of an unoffending Nationalist in Cavan, one Philip Maguire, had been discharged. The evidence against those men was more conclusive than it was against Hynes, Walsh, or Myles Joyce; but only one of the Dublin jury who tried the case was challenged, and he, of course, was a Catholic. The Government had been carrying on a very extraordinary series of tactics in support of what was called law and order in Ireland. Could Government justify procedure of this kind? How could the Government justify such scenes as tainted the Court House in Green Street? How would Government like, since they refused to punish Orangemen, if the people were to adopt some Texan system of justice? What would they do if they formed Vigilance Committees, as had been suggested in *The Evening Mail* in the case of landlords? He would only say that if Philip Maguire were a brother of his, and his murderers were let loose to prey about the country, he would undertake to insure that they would not do such a thing a second time. He asked the Government to be warned in time in this matter. They were proving, by the light sentences which had been inflicted on the two or three Orangemen punished, and their connivance at the escape of others, that the whole prosecutions were a farce. The scoundrel Mathews, who was the first to issue a murderous placard against what had been called the Parnellite invasion of Tyrone, and then tried to roast alive a family by setting fire to a Land League hut with paraffin oil, was only sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, and his two confederates to only three months each. Mr. Doherty, who was brought from Derry to Sligo to be tried for having fired a fusilade from the roof of the Town Hall on the Lord Mayor of Dublin, found that his trembling limbs refused to bear him to the Court House to stand his trial, got an adjournment for months, and then was only sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. On the other hand, the young men who had been dragged from Mayo to Cork had been sentenced to years of penal servitude. Of Lord Ardilaun's bailiffs, who shot two unfortunate men who left their boat to seek on the shore a twig to make a rowlock for the boat, one who pleaded guilty got off, and by some trick of the law, which he would not call a *nolle prosequi*, the other got off by the payment of £50 or £60. The system of the Government was simply a conspiracy for the protection of criminals and murderers of one particular class. It was not justice, but vindictiveness, upon the one hand, and partiality on the other, and even these sentences they had no guarantee would be carried out. The scoundrel Hastings, who published a paper abusing Nationalists, for a scandalous libel got six months' imprisonment, was released after two months, on the ground of ill-health. Had Mr. Harrington been released on the ground of ill-health? When he (Mr. Healy) got four months' imprisonment, he did not get ill, nor would he have got ill had he got four years of it. He had no doubt, however, that, if he had been some person acquainted with Earl Spencer, it would have been alleged that he had disease of the "mastoid process," and some convenient doctor's certificate have been procured. He wondered that the Government carried on this game, and that respectable Englishmen would not be ashamed to support such conduct; yet it would be defended, if necessary, by the Chief Secretary, upon the Treasury Bench, for £2,500 a-year and coals. He would ask the Government, could they expect reasonable men to look upon this system otherwise than with horror? He could show that whilst one class of men were released from prison, another class were tortured to death. He had the report of a debate which he had raised on the 21st August last with reference to the unfortunate persons charged with the Crossmaglen conspiracy, who had been sentenced to long periods of penal servitude—aye, and these poor men were a great deal more innocent of having caused effusion of blood than some of Her Majesty's Ministers. One of them was now lying in his cold grave in Glasnevin, and it was better for him than to be as the others, wasting their lives away in the convict cells of some English prison. On the 21st of August he had told the Government that poor Patrick Waters, a boy of 18, was dying. He had told them at the time that they had released another man—Bernard Smith—belonging to the same batch of prisoners. He (Mr. Healy) observed that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was receiving with a smile his statement as to this young man's death. The right hon. Gentleman might laugh; it well became his callousness.

Mr. TREVELYAN: It is an absolute falsehood to say that I laughed at the death of that young man. [*Cheers, and cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) has reached such a high level of violence throughout the whole of his speech, that I feel bound to interfere. He has made charges of the most reckless description. He has charged Her Majesty's Government in language exceeding anything I have heard in this House. He has charged them with conniving at murder; and he has made a statement with reference to the Chief Secretary for Ireland which was couched in language which I conceive ought not to be used by one Member of this House to another. I can only warn the hon. Member that if this language is continued I shall resort to those powers with which the House has invested me to prevent what I consider a public scandal.

Mr. HEALY: When you rose, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. GRAY: On the point of Order, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. HARRINGTON: I rise to Order——

Mr. HEALY: I thought when you rose, Mr. Speaker, you rose for the purpose of drawing the attention of the House to the charge of falsehood made against me by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. [*Loud cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to enter into an argument with the Chair. I have simply done what is my duty.

Mr. HEALY: I rise to Order. If I am not entitled to enter into an argument with the Chair, I am entitled to submit to you, Sir, a point of Order. In the course of my speech the Chief Secretary interrupted me by stating that what I had said was an absolute falsehood. You, Sir, at that moment rose, and I was under the impression, naturally enough, that you rose for the purpose of calling attention to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was not entitled to use the words "absolute falsehood" towards another Member of this House. Perhaps you may have overlooked the statement of the Chief Secretary; but I wish to ask you, Sir, as a point of Order, whether, if I am not entitled to use the language you have condemned, the right hon. Gentleman is entitled to address to me a statement that my statement was an absolute falsehood?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I rise, Sir, upon the point of Order. [*Cries of* "Order!"] On that point of Order, I wish to state that my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary was engaged in a private conversation with me.

Mr. HEALY: That is not a point of Order. [" Chair, Chair! "]

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): My right hon. Friend was smiling at something in our conversation—[*Cries of* "The point of Order!"]—and without knowing what the subject of our conversation was the hon. Member for Monaghan alleged that the smiling of my right hon. Friend was a smile of approval that an innocent man had been murdered. [*Loud cries of* "No, no!"] The hon. Member stated that my right hon. Friend laughed at an innocent man being murdered.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I rise, Sir, on a point of Order. My hon. Friend has asked for your ruling, and is he not entitled to your ruling on a point of Order which he has raised without hearing a speech from the Attorney General? My hon. Friend was stating that an unfortunate young man in a delicate state of health was detained in prison until he died, while another man charged with the same offence was allowed to go free. Upon that the right hon. Gentleman rose and said the statement was absolutely false. We now wish to know from you if that statement was in Order? [*Ministerial cries of* "Sit down!" *and* "Order!"]

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I am speaking to a point of Order. When my right hon. Friend smiled—["Order!"]

Mr. HEALY: What is your point of Order?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): Upon the point of Order, Sir, I ask your protection and permission to address the House.

Mr. O'BRIEN, who was received with loud cries of "Order!" and "Sit down!" —I rise to Order. I ask for your ruling, Sir, on the point which has been raised.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): When my right hon. Friend was entering into a private conversation with me he smiled; but that smile had no reference to this debate, but to something I said. Seeing a smile on his countenance, the hon. Member for Monaghan at once charged him with a smile of approval of the fact that an innocent man had been murdered. [*Cries of* "No!"] Under these circumstances my right hon. Friend sprang to his feet with a natural impulse, and did state that that was untrue in the language that the House heard. It is in these circumstances that I ask you whether he has done wrong?

The Attorney General

Mr. HEALY: Where is your point of Order? Where is your point of Order? Mr. Speaker—I rise to Order. You have allowed——

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member proceeds in this disorderly manner I shall be obliged to Name him.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I admit, Sir, that I used a very strong word just now, and in consequence of that I think I am entitled to give an explanation. The hon. Member for Monaghan charged me——[*Loud cries of* "Order!" *from the Irish Members.*]

Mr. SEXTON: I rise to Order. [*Loud cries of* "Order!" *from the Ministerial Benches.*]

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The Chief Secretary for Ireland is in possession of the House.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I said I used a very strong word just now, and in consequence I contend that, like every Member who has done something which is very exceptional, I ought to have an opportunity of explaining it, and, perhaps hon. Members will find, of excusing myself to the House. I am willing to use the hon. Member's own words, whatever they may be, that I was smiling at the death of—whatever the words were——

Mr. HEALY: I will supply you with them.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I will take them from you.

Mr. HEALY: Perhaps I had better explain it. I was referring to a young man in prison, and in the course of my statement for upwards of half a minute I naturally supposed that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was attending to my remarks and observations on a subject affecting his Department. I observed him smiling. I was stating that this young man had died in gaol, and I saw the Chief Secretary receive this statement, as I thought, with a continuous ripple of laughter. I was saying that Bernard Smith was released from prison because he was spitting blood, and that Michael Waters had died in prison, and was now lying in his grave at Glasnevin. Seeing the Chief Secretary smiling, I assumed that he was smiling at the death of that innocent man; and the Chief Secretary, putting a construction upon my language, said that that statement was an absolute falsehood.

MR. TREVELYAN: I have used the exact words. It came to this really. The hon. Member said I was smiling at the death of an innocent man. Hon. Members heard the sentences uttered by the hon. Member. It is not possible that a Member could be in a smiling mood who was so addressed by a brother Member of the House of Commons. In these circumstances, when I was deeply moved already, the hon. Member makes this extremely strong statement. That statement of the hon. Member that I was smiling at the announcement he made I beg emphatically to deny as a fact; and I do not think the hon. Member himself believes that I was smiling at what he said.

MR. HEALY: If you deny it, certainly not.

MR. TREVELYAN: In these circumstances, I withdraw the words, because the hon. Member made the statement under an impression as to the truth of which he accepts my denial. I put myself in a false position under what I cannot but think was great provocation by using an un-Parliamentary expression, and I regret it.

MR. HEALY: Now, Mr. Speaker, I beg to ask your ruling as to whether the statement of the Chief Secretary was in Order or not? I have respectfully urged you to give your ruling, and you have not deigned to do so. ["Order, order!"] You have ruled when you were not called upon—["Order, order?"]—with regard to my general language; and now I wish to ask whether the Chief Secretary was in order in using the language that he did?

MR. SPEAKER: I understand the Chief Secretary for Ireland has withdrawn the expression he used on the understanding that the hon. Member withdraws the expression he used also. [*Cries of* "Rule!"] I did express myself, not, I think, too strongly in terms of strong reprobation of the course which had been pursued during several minutes by the hon. Member. I thought the language he made use of exceeded in violence anything I have heard while I have been in the Chair, and demanded the reprobation of the Chair, and I took upon myself to warn the hon. Member, in moderate terms, that if language of this kind was repeated I should be obliged to take serious notice of it, and to exercise those powers with which I am vested. I shall not take any further notice of the matter; I regard the point of Order as settled.

MR. HEALY: I am glad you have settled the point of Order to your own satisfaction. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Name him!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The language of the hon. Member is not respectful to the Chair, and is not respectful to this House. I hesitate to Name the hon. Member; I am very unwilling to exercise the powers intrusted to me, or to appear to act with anything like precipitancy; but I warn the hon. Member seriously that this sort of language will not be tolerated.

MR. HEALY, continuing, said, that at the time this interruption occurred he was speaking of the case of Michael Waters, as to which he trusted he should at least have the attention of the Chief Secretary, so as to avoid the risk of any further misunderstanding. Waters, who had been 12 months in gaol without trial, was dying of consumption, and on the 27th of June the Governor of Mountjoy Prison telegraphed to the uncle of Waters that he was dangerously ill, and wished to see his uncle. As Bernard Smith had been released because of blood-spitting, the uncle of Waters sent a memorial praying for the release of his nephew; but as the Lord Lieutenant was too much engaged in following the hounds to attend to it, no reply was received. The poor boy lingered on in prison without a sight of the blue sky until the 16th October. The Governor of Mountjoy Prison, on the 17th June, telegraphed that he was dying. He died on the 16th October. The Home Secretary told them in that House that it was a barbarity and cruelty which could not enter into his nature to keep a man dying in an English prison without releasing him. After the cruel and barbarous treatment by the prison officials and of the Castle officials of this unfortunate boy, what happened? The nephew's death was telegraphed to Michael Waters' uncle, and he sent this telegram to the Lord Lieutenant—

"Will you allow out of Mountjoy Prison the remains of my nephew, Michael Waters, or at least hold a fair inquest. Reply prepaid."

The Lord Lieutenant seemed to have put the shilling of Michael Waters in his pocket and did not reply. They kept this boy's wretched worn-out corpse, and at the dead of night shovelled it into Glasnevin Cemetery. He himself procured the money to pay for the shroud that covered his body. The prison officials would have buried him naked. The uncle of this man told him he had to beg and pray to the Governor of Mountjoy Prison for half-an-hour to allow him to put the shroud and some mementoes of Catholic devotion about the body, to show that his nephew had received Christian burial. He had no desire to continue this painful subject. Why did he and his Friends bring forward these cases? Because the victims were flesh of their flesh and blood of their blood. The feelings of the commonest people in Ireland were their feelings; the blood of the peasants were in their veins. For his part he would rather be a relative of that martyred victim in Mountjoy than the son of the proudest aristocrat in England. The name of Michael Waters in Ireland would be a holy name. On the hills of Armagh, where he was known, it would be treasured, and would be a war-cry amongst the people of the district against their oppressors. His blood rested not upon the head of anybody but the Government. They took him from his native place, kept him a year and a-half in gaol without trial, then dragged him to Belfast, and, before an Orange jury, convicted him without even giving time for his witnesses to be brought up. In the prison books of Belfast they would find the names of the Crown Solicitor and other officials as pretended visitors of this boy, placed there to suggest to his friends who might come to him that he had turned informer. It was a wretched trick they played for the young man's life with loaded dice, and they won the toss. His corpse was in Glasnevin, but his soul went marching on—[*A laugh*]—and he could tell the Government that the name of this young man—though it might form the subject of laughter to English Members, who wept over the slain Arabs of the Soudan—and the memory of Michael Waters, of his trial and his sufferings and death, would reverberate through the North of Ireland, and increase the flame which had been lighted against hatred and oppression, and which he hoped would continue until it consumed every shred and vestige of British despotism in the Province.

MR. HARRINGTON said, he was somewhat surprised that, after the speech the House had listened to from the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), there was no disposition to reply exhibited on the part of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland. He took it as evident, intimate as the hon. and learned Gentleman must be with the administration of affairs in Ireland, that his silence in regard to the grave and serious charges which the hon. Member brought against the Government showed that he had not a word to say by way of defence. It would not be possible for the hon. and learned Gentleman to defend the Government in an assembly of Irishmen—neither he nor any other official of the Crown would have the hardihood to stand up in a representative assembly of Irishmen to defend the system which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Monaghan had assailed. But the hon. and learned Gentleman knew the sympathy which existed for him and his Administration in this House—he was conscious that, however infamous was the system put forward in the name of the Irish Government, Members on the Ministerial side of the House would support it. Though the Government did not plead in vain for sympathy from hon. Members below the Gangway on their own side of the House—from hon. Members who went to foreign fields for the practice of their philanthropy—Ireland was passing through a system of maladministration and tyranny worse than was to be found in any other country in the world. He was acquainted with some of the facts his hon. Friend had mentioned. He had seen the very telegram sent by the Governor of the gaol—in the case referred to by the hon. Member—to the uncle of the young man, warning him to go up immediately because his relative was dying; and, looking at that telegram, he could not but remember that a few months previously the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary had said to him, in that House, that if imprisoment endangered the life of a man the Government would certainly think it their duty to release him. Later on, during the present Session, they had had a statement from the right hon. and learned Gentleman, in which he had gone a step further, stating that it would be heartless barbarity to retain a prisoner whose life was endangered by imprisonment. He (Mr. Harrington) would quote the right hon. and learned Gentleman as a witness against his Colleagues on the Treasury Bench. If it was heartless barbarity to endanger the lives of prisoners by keeping them in prison, that heartless barbarity had been perpetrated in Ireland by the responsible Officers of the Crown who, when an opportunity had been offered them this evening, had not attempted to deny it. Hon Gentlemen opposite who were so fond of applauding every expression of opinion which came from the Government Bench, and who, though they were the professed champions of liberty, were the first to cry down Irish Members when they spoke in defence of their fellow-countrymen, would, perhaps, like to know how it was that the Irish prison officials were empowered to do what they would not tolerate in the Governor of any English gaol. A short time ago he had had an opportunity of giving evidence before the Prisons Commission, and had drawn attention to the deliberate difference which had been made in the law between the two countries on the subject of prison rules. In England the rule was that if a prisoner's life became endangered, or was likely to become endangered, the doctor had immediately to report to the Governor of the prison, or to the Prison Board; but in Ireland the doctor had to report in the case of a prisoner in immediate danger of death, and not in cases where life was en-endangered, and the report had to be made to the Lord Lieutenant and the prison officials. Complaint had been made in the House time after time that prisoners in Ireland were in immediate danger of death, and the excuse for their non-release was that the doctors had allowed them to go so far before making up their minds that the sick prisoners were in immediate danger, that when they did at last make their reports the prisoners were not in a fit condition to be moved. Such a thing as that never occurred in England. But the release of a prisoner in Ireland on account of his being in immediate danger of death was of the rarest occurrence. They had had in Ireland during the past year about 10 cases of inquests on the bodies of prisoners who had died in gaol, some of the deaths having even been in the cases of persons serving short terms of imprisonment; so that there could be no doubt that life had been shortened by prison treatment. A case tried by the Prison Commission sitting in Dublin—the case of the man accused of the murder of Philip Maguire—had been referred to. In that case the accused was discharged by the Crown on the first disagreement of the jury; but, in the case of the unfortunate Mayo men, they were put repeatedly on their trial, and, finally, the case was withdrawn from Mr. Justice Johnson, who had been inclined to show some semblance of fair play to the accused, and though they were from time to time pressed to proceed with the trial, the Crown officials would not do so until they had got Mr. Justice Lawson on the Bench. Irish officials could deceive English Liberal Members, who would rather sympathize with them on Irish affairs than lose the smiles of the occupants of the Treasury Bench; but they could not shut the eyes of the people of Ireland to the system of administration they were pursuing in Ireland. Depend upon it, whilst they were pursuing a system of relentless hate against the people of Ireland, those people were treasuring animosity in their breasts which England and her Empire would one day feel the effect of. Then, as to the Dromore shooting case which was tried before the Commissioners, he should like to draw the attention of the House to the facts, in order that hon. Members might see that, from the Judge on the Bench to the lowest official in the land, the administration of law in Ireland was a perversion of justice. On the 16th December, four men passed through Dromore on a car and met two unfortunate young men walking in the opposite direction outside the village. The men on the car shouted "Down with the Pope!" or something of that description, and the two young men replied, whereupon the four got off the car and assaulted them, firing a revolver in the *mêlée* and wounding one of them. A telegram was sent by the Dromore police, directly the occurrence was reported to them, to the Omagh police, warning them to be on the Dromore Road to arrest the young men on the car as they entered the town. The contents of the telegram were, of course, supposed to be a secret from everyone but the Constabulary; nevertheless, they reached the local Orangemen, and two of them—one of whom occupied an official position in Omagh — went out on the Dromore Road, met the car, and took the revolver away from the four young men, in that way anticipating the police. The four young men were brought before the local Resident Magistrate and the local Justices, and were formally committed for trial, bail being fixed in the case of each at £50 and two sureties in £25. But what happened afterwards? Why, behind the back of the Resident Magistrate, the paid official of the Crown, one of the local Orange magistrates—a brother Orangeman of the criminals committed for trial—came and reduced the bail from £50 to £20 and two sureties in £10 each. The consequence of this had been that one of the offenders, the most guilty of the four, had escaped to America. This was the system of things the Government wished hon. Members to respect in Ireland. They refused to respect it—the Irish Members refused to ask their countrymen to respect a system which was so infamous and unjust. He (Mr. Harrington) could assure the Government that so long as they dealt in the present manner with the people of Ireland, so long might they expect to have a pretty hot time of it. And now, to go to another point, a question was raised earlier in the evening with regard to the levying of the extra police tax in certain parts of Ireland. The secret of the keeping up of this tax was that during the agitation the Government found it necessary to increase the police to an enormous extent; and now, rather than place the cost of the extra men on the Imperial taxes of the country and have to apply to the House for a large grant annually or increase the Estimates, they preferred to make the charge local and to keep the minds of the people in a constant state of disturbance. He challenged the Solicitor General for Ireland to stand up and deny that the Government had enormously increased the police, not only in those districts where disorder existed and it was necessary to have an enlarged force, but in the most peaceable and orderly districts of the country. Another tax which was imposed on the people, and of which they grievously complained, was the blood tax. He would give an extraordinary instance of the manner in which the blood tax system was being increased in Ireland. When the Prevention of Crime Act was passing through the House, the case made out on behalf of the Government, its sponsors, for the blood tax was that they wished to bring to justice certain men who had become perpetrators of crime in certain districts, and to raise up in those districts a feeling against crime and outrage. Those who were acquainted with the manner in which the blood tax was levied knew that even where men had been found red-handed and had been brought to justice this infamous tax had been imposed all the same. In order to convince the House of the iniquity of the manner in which the tax was imposed he would give a single instance which had occurred in the constituency he himself represented. Some time since a police constable was murdered in the neighbourhood of Mullingar on the very day on which he had come to the district to get married. There was no doubt the murder excited widespread indignation and that general sympathy was felt with those whom the murdered man left behind. But it was ultimately found that the crime was the act of a lunatic. The murderer was at once arrested. He was tried and found guilty, and because he was a lunatic he was sent into a lunatic asylum; where he now was. An application was made immediately to the Lord Lieutenant to order an inquiry in order that the widow of the murdered constable might be awarded a certain compensation; a certain amount of blood money. No doubt the widow was entitled to a great deal of sympathy and commiseration; but he would put it to the sense of justice and fair play of the House whether the people of a district should be taxed for an act committed by a lunatic? The Government themselves admitted the murderer to be a lunatic, having sent him into a lunatic asylum. It was known, of course, that unless an agrarian complexion could be given to a crime it would not be possible to levy the tax; therefore, in this case, it was declared that the cause of the murder was agrarian, and the Lord Lieutenant had been seriously prepared to have an inquiry held as to the motive of a murder committed by a lunatic. He should like to hear the Solicitor General for Ireland defend the policy of such an act as that. The fact was that the only effect of this blood tax and police tax was to incite people to the commission of crime and violence. It had done so and would continue to do so. They had had a spell of quiet and rest in Ireland, yet the legal authorities in that country—he would not say to increase their own emoluments, because he did not desire to constitute himself a judge of their motives—were going round hunting up cases for the imposition of the blood tax, and getting unfortunate people to give evidence and, too frequently, to commit perjury. Then there were men who had been 15 months in gaol in Ireland awaiting trial. It seemed an extraordinary thing for the Government, who professed to be wedded to broad principles of liberty, with all their machinery of law, with their Special Commissions, their Winter Assizes, their Crimes Act, their trial by Judges, their extraordinary packing of juries so that not a man who professed the religion of the majority of the people was allowed in the box—it seemed an extraordinary thing for them to allow a system to prevail in Ireland under which men could be kept in gaol awaiting trial 15 or 16 months with no possibility of being brought to trial for another six months to come. That system was in force in a country which the Government told them, from time to time, had the benefits of the British Constitution, which was so much admired throughout the world. If the country was governed so well, why were men kept in gaol for two years awaiting trial for agrarian offences? What was the reason for delay? The Crown, of course, alleged a reason of their own; but the people of Ireland alleged an altogether different reason, and both these allegations were worthy of the serious attention of the House. The reason for repeated postponements alleged by the Crown was, forsooth, that they were hunting in America—all over the Continent of America — for witnesses whose testimony was essential; but the reason the people of Ireland alleged—and in which he agreed—was that the Government wished, by continued detention, to force the prisoners to give evidence, to force them to save their own lives by sacrificing others, some of them probably innocent. And this continued detention without trial meant not only imprisonment, but isolation from friends and starvation. The food given to untried prisoners was less in quantity than that given to convicted prisoners. The Government, he could assure them, would never settle the Irish difficulty by such methods as this. He should be ashamed to see the day when his countrymen would give their assent to a system so scandalous. They had heard the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary make a comparison between English cities and Irish cities in regard to the police tax; but the right hon. Gentleman's figures were quite fallacious. There was no comparison to be drawn, the circumstances of the two countries being entirely different. English cities had their police under their own Government, and the people were prepared to sustain the Force. In Ireland that was not the case, the police being hostile to the people. The more the police oppressed the people in Ireland, the more they raised themselves in the opinion of the permanent officials. He would not trouble the House with any further observations. Some defence would be made on the part of the Crown, he trusted, in regard to the serious allegations brought forward against them and their system of government tonight. Hon. Gentlemen who supported the Government, of course, did not care for explanations; in fact, explanations were rather an inconvenience to them. He would do them the credit of saying that they had still some conscience left, and that they shrank from having it pricked by harrowing illustrations of the sufferings of the people of Ireland; but they might make up their minds that so long as a vestige of the present system of administration existed they would have Irish Members, in spite of the Rules that might be put in force against them, making them feel the influence of the passions and hatred they had excited in Ireland by their government.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, that having listened to the violent language that had been used with regard to the administration of the law in Ireland, and having seen the results of that violent language in the excited feelings that had been roused, he did not suppose any arguments he might use in reply would have much weight. He would, however, shortly call the attention of the House to the cases mentioned by hon. Members, in order to show those who would consider them calmly how little there was of substance in the charges brought against the Government. In regard to the first matter which had been noticed—namely, the police of Cork, he did not, on the present occasion, propose to go into it, because he thought his right hon. Friend had gone very far in the direction of concession when he said that, during the Recess, he would investigate the matter, and if he found that those charges were justified, he would do all in his power to remedy them. Five or six specific instances had been mentioned as charges against the Irish Executive, which it would not be right for him to pass over without notice. The first case was one tried at the last Commission, where the murderers, or one of the murderers, of Philip Maguire, named James Johnson, was arraigned. The hon. Member who last addressed the House had said there was a disagreement of the jury; but that was not the case. The evidence against James Johnson—as he knew, not only from having heard the evidence, but from having read the informations—was stronger than against any of the other prisoners accused of the murder, so that, very naturally, the Crown had him tried first. He was acquitted, and, in consequence, the Crown entered a *nolle prosequi* in the other cases, deeming it useless to put them on their trial after the acquittal of the prisoner against whom there was the largest amount of evidence. It was now declared that there had been some partiality displayed because James Johnson was a Protestant, and the man who was killed was a Catholic. It had been often charged in this House, and made a subject of complaint by hon. Gentlemen opposite, that Catholics were unduly challenged on Irish juries. Well, in the case of these men there was not a single challenge; the case was tried by a Roman Catholic Judge—a Judge whom he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) had the honour to know intimately, and who was undoubtedly a consistent, high-minded Catholic — and the Attorney General who prosecuted was a Catholic of the highest character and reputation. Was he to be told, therefore, that the trial was a partial one?

Mr. O'BRIEN: You had 12 Protestant jurymen.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, he would never believe that 12 gentlemen of the City of Dublin empannelled to try a case would ever stoop to partiality —would treat a prisoner with undue leniency because the man killed was a Catholic.

Mr. HEALY: They only challenge the juries.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, the venue was changed from Derry to Dublin in order to escape all possible prejudice on the part of the jury, and yet complaints were made simply on the ground that the murdered man was a Catholic and the accused a Protestant. He denied that there was anything in this case to justify prejudice against the administration of the law in Ireland. As to the case of Matthews, in which the venue had also been changed, all that could be alleged against the administration of the law, and all that hon. Members opposite could say, was that the Judge before whom the case was tried, who heard the evidence, and was the person most likely to form a correct opinion in the matter, gave a light sentence. In the next case, Doherty was charged with shooting a man in Derry at some celebration. The venue was moved to Sligo to secure an impartial trial. It was not contended that the case ought to have been left for trial in Derry. A punishment of 18 months' imprisonment was inflicted on the prisoner. He was a man 70 years of age, and it had been made the subject of complaint in this House, by Members representing the other side, that the man had ever been convicted at all. In the case of Lord Ardilaun's bailiffs, there was a question whether the gun did not go off by accident.

An hon. Member: Did not the prisoner plead guilty?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, the prisoner did plead guilty; but as no one was injured, an arrangement was made which met with the approbation of the prosecution, the parish priest, and the

Judge, that compensation should be paid, £40 to one man, and £20 to the other. With regard to Waters, it was declared that he was convicted wrongfully, and that he was, consequently, a martyr. But he was found guilty by a jury, and, therefore, could not be justly said to have been wrongfully convicted. He was taken ill; his uncle was informed that he was dying. The Home Secretary had said that it was barbarous not to release a man from prison whose life was jeopardized by his confinement; but Waters had no home to go to, and his state of health was such that it would have been a barbarity to have discharged him. In the case of another prisoner, he had been released in consequence of blood-spitting; therefore, there was an inconsistency in the arguments of hon. Members opposite. Waters was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery, the burying-place for Catholics, according to the prison regulations. The hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) had referred to the case in which four young men who were Protestants, driving on a car from Dromore to Omagh, met two young men who were Catholics and fired a revolver at them. The hon. Member had pointed out that the Protestants had been committed for trial, but let out on bail, and that one of them had escaped to America; but the hon. Member had omitted to mention that the three who remained were tried and convicted, and were this moment undergoing, one five years' penal servitude, another 18 months', and the other 12 months' imprisonment. He hoped, therefore, the House would agree that, in those cases, justice had been meted out to Protestants as well as to Roman Catholics. And now with regard to the question of extra police——

Mr. HARRINGTON: How about the young man who ran away to America?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, he had sufficiently referred to that matter. He was happy to say there were now in the whole of Ireland only nine cases of extra police, and it was hoped that they would soon be removed. The hon. Member for Westmeath had referred to the blood tax and the murder of the policeman Crowley; but, evidently, he did not know what had occurred in the case. He (the Solicitor General for Ireland) would tell the House what had transpired, and then, probably, the hon. Member would change his opinion. The widow of the policeman did present a petition to the Lord Lieutenant before the trial, declaring that the murder was agrarian. An inquiry was accordingly granted; but, after the granting of the inquiry, and before it was gone into, the prisoner was tried, and it was found that he was a lunatic and not responsible for his acts. The inquiry had taken place; but His Excellency had made no award, and it was not likely that he would make any, for, as it was shown that the prisoner was a criminal lunatic and that he was not responsible for his actions at the time the crime was committed, *a fortiori* the offence was not an agrarian offence at all.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Then why hold the inquiry?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, he had explained that point, he hoped, to the satisfaction of the House. An accusation had been made against the Lord Lieutenant with regard to his not taking the trouble to examine into matters himself, but in putting memorials aside for the sake of the enjoyment of his pleasure. Those who said that did the foulest injustice to the noble Lord, and, in saying it, showed that they knew but little of his character.

Mr. O'BRIEN: The hon. and learned Gentleman has not replied to the charge in regard to the seizure of a horse.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, he had already answered a Question on that subject in the House. The policeman went to receive the tax, and it was alleged that he stated he had received instructions to seize the horse. That was a most absurd statement, for the hon. Gentleman knew what the law was, or, at all events, if he did not, he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) could state it to him. The policeman would have no more authority to seize a horse for this tax than he would have to seize one for the landlord's rent.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was not prepared to say that the statements of the hon. and learned Gentleman as to the selection of juries shook his belief in the hon. and learned Gentleman's varacity, but they largely increased his faith in his credulity, and he certainly thought the House would be able to swallow most monstrous improbabilities if they could give credence to such an accidental concourse of atoms. He had no intention to revive the controversy between his hon. Friend and the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the subject of his conversation was very different from that which was raised by the hon. Member. He had no difficulty in expressing his perfect confidence in the statement of the right hon. Gentleman; but he considered that the case brought forward by the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) was one which demanded the concentrated attention of the right hon. Gentleman; and, although he was sorry to accuse the right hon. Gentleman of heartlessness, or of smiling at the death of an innocent man, he must charge him with a certain degree of levity in this matter. He was not surprised that his hon. Friend had imported into this discussion a considerable amount of strong and even fierce and passionate personal feeling. His hon. Friend was a man of strong emotions. This was a case with the details of which the hon. Member had made himself fully acquainted, and he remembered very well the strong speech which his hon. Friend made with reference to this man Michael Waters; and when he remembered that, in spite of the warnings of the hon. Member, the Government had allowed this man to die, he could not be surprised that his hon. Friend had expressed himself so strongly as to carry him beyond the limits of Parliamentary discussion. The case could be put in a nutshell. On the 27th of June, the Governor of Mountjoy Prison telegraphed to the uncle of Michael Waters that the prisoner was dying; on the 21st of August, the Chief Secretary announced in this House that Barnard Smyth, a fellow-prisoner with Waters, had been released because of blood-spitting. On the 23rd of August, the hon. Member for Monaghan brought the case of Waters before the House, and in the following October that man died. The Governor of the prison was aware that the life of that man was in danger, for he practically foretold his death, and, therefore, the Government were responsible to the country. The Chief Secretary was a Gentleman of kindly feeling; but he happened to be an Irish official, and had no public feeling that he cared for, while the Home Secretary was an English official, and had a public opinion which he dared not offend. The Home Secretary, in answer to his hon. Friend, declared that the retention of the prisoner, in a manner which would only be worthy of a savage country, was necessary; and he was defended by the Chief Secretary, because this happened to be committed in a country which was certainly savage so far as the administration of the law went, and so far as the present Government were concerned. This case, simple as it was, was quite sufficient to show the manner in which justice was done in Ireland. The Solicitor General for Ireland urged, as a plea for retaining this man in prison, that he had not a home to go to; but the man asked to be sent home, and his uncle applied over and over again that he might be sent home. To whom were these applications made, and how were they received? The uncle sent a memorial to be allowed to see this prisoner, who, according to the Governor's telegram, was in a dying condition; but he did not get even the courtesy of an answer. Nay, more, with a depth of meanness of which he could not have thought even the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland capable, Lord Spencer did not deign to reply to the prepaid telegram sent by the uncle. The hon. Member was perfectly justified in saying that if such a case as this had happened in Bulgaria or Turkey, and if a Tory Government were in power, the Liberals would come back to power upon that case, and Mid Lothian would be harangued, from one end to the other, on the barbarities of Turkish rule and the inherent wickedness of the Tory Government. This was one of the worst cases even among all the bad cases brought before this House, and justified him in saying that never in the past 80 years had there been a Government in Ireland more loathed, more detested, and more despised than the Government of which Lord Spencer was the head, and the Chief Secretary was the mouthpiece.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he was very sorry to interpose between the House and the Holidays; but the news had been confirmed by the Treasury Bench that the tribes between Khartoum and Berber were in full revolt, and that all communication with General Gordon had been cut off. In the face of this intelligence, the Government had stated that they were doing absolutely nothing to save General Gordon and the garrison and civil population in Khartoum. It was evident that the Government were wholly inappreciative of the danger in which General Gordon stood, and had decided to take no steps for his relief. The Secretary of State for War might not assent to that; but the Prime Minister had stated that General Gordon believed himself to be safe in Khartoum, and that he saw no danger; and the noble Lord himself had said that the Government had no knowledge that General Gordon desired that any troops should be sent to him. The Government had taken no steps to ascertain whether General Gordon needed troops or a military diversion at this moment. The Government had been accused of having abandoned the brave Governor of Sinkat; and that had been justified over and over again. Now a worse charge could be proved against them —namely, that they had betrayed General Gordon. The Prime Minister had stated that General Gordon was under no constraint to remain, but could leave; and yet, at that moment, the Prime Minister knew, as the noble Lord had subsequently informed the House, that the Government had actually asked General Gordon to remain at Khartoum in consequence of their refusal to appoint Zebehr Pasha as his successor. Could the Government say he was under no constraint to remain when they had invited him to remain in consequence of their refusal to assent to the only proposition he had made, and in face of the fact that he had undertaken to rescue the garrisons and the civilian population of the Soudan? As long as there was breath in his body General Gordon would consider himself bound in honour to remain and endeavour to save the people and the garrisons whom he was sent out to rescue. General Gordon informed the Government, four weeks ago, that he thought a military diversion was necessary to achieve the object the Government had in view. He urged that if Zebehr was at once appointed, a military diversion should be made by a British Force from Suakin to Berber, or by Wood's "Invincibles," to Wadi Halfa. He asked for that a month ago; but the Government now shielded themselves behind the pretext that General Gordon only asked for that aid because Zebehr was going to be appointed. Much had happened since to make this ten-fold more necessary. At that moment Gordon was in command of Khartoum and of the road to Berber; there had been no defeat of his Army; there had been no rising of the tribes; there had been none of that threatened revolt of the great Bishari Tribe; there had been no breach of communications. And yet, when Gordon gave that advice, and when the communications were perfectly secure, the Government decided that it was not necessary to make any diversion. Since then Gordon had been cut off; he had been surrounded, and Berber and Dongola were threatened. If there was any ungenerous and unworthy answer it was that which the Government had given. It was all very well for them to say now that the heat was too great to enable British troops to advance; but this was not a question of the present moment; they had had it before them ever since the 19th of January, when they sent General Gordon out on his almost impossible mission. They had repudiated the only important appointment that Gordon had made—the appointment of Zebehr. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had no great objection to that repudiation; but he would justify the proposal by saying that General Gordon only made it to save the Soudan from universal anarchy. Gordon practically said—"Better Zebehr than universal anarchy." The Government had known all along since the 19th of January that Gordon's position would probably become impossible—on the 12th of February, when they sent out General Graham; on the 29th of February, when Osman Digna was beaten at Teb; on the 14th of March, when the battle of Tamasi was won. Why, then, did they not take action, and send a few squadrons to Berber? It could have been done at a slight cost—they only wanted a few thousand camels to carry water. A slight cost would have saved Gordon, the Soudan, and the credit and honour of this country. But the Government allowed matters to drift along until they found themselves in this position, that this chivalrous officer, doing the highest work of humanity, had been cut off from communication with us, and he had practically been abandoned. That was the position with regard to General Gordon. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) asked the Government what had been the object of the slaughter—the frightful slaughter—near Suakin? What was it for? Why were 5,000 brave Arabs and 200 gallant Englishmen sacrificed near Suakin? What was accomplished by that terrible loss of life? A few earthworks, an expenditure of £10,000, and 1,000 troops—Indian troops, British troops, good Egyptian troops—would have protected Suakin against Osman Digna. But Her Majesty's Government, by the retreat they had ordered, had thrown away all they had gained. They did not relieve Sinkat; they were too late to relieve Tokar; they were too late to disperse Osman Digna's forces. If they had opened the Berber road and saved Gordon, and saved the garrisons at Kassala, at Khartoum, at Berber, at Dongola, or at any of the other places, they might have something to show for this vast sacrifice. But what they had to show for it now, or would have to show for it in the future, he knew not. The Government could not explain it, the country did not understand it. Only this afternoon he had put a Question to the Government on the subject, and the Prime Minister's answer that that Question was "misleading" had justified him in taking up the time of the House to-night for 10 minutes while he put the matter again before them. His Question was not misleading; it was a very simple Question. If hon. Members tried to save General Gordon by putting Questions in this House they were accused of Obstruction; when the whole Press of the world defended General Gordon's claim to be relieved they were charged with being bribed by financiers. It was, however, essentially necessary that these Questions should be put. His own Question had simply been—"Do you intend the House and the country to understand that you abandon Gordon?" It was a pointed Question, not a misleading one, and it was a justifiable Question. He wished to make this protest against the course pursued by the Government with regard to General Gordon as a course which was most unjust and ungenerous to that gallant officer, and which was discreditable to Her Majesty's Ministers. It was a course which cried aloud to the country for the most severe reprobation.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I quite understand that the House should desire to go to a Division, and I can assure them that I do not intervene at this late hour from any wish to continue the discussion upon this subject. The hon. Member who has just spoken has probably felt a considerable anxiety to deliver his own soul, and is not very anxious that there should be any long reply to his observations. I can only say over again, and I hope without any disrespect to him, that Her Majesty's Government have on several recent occasions placed before Parliament, both here and in "another place," their views upon the situation in general, and in regard to the position of General Gordon in particular. I do not think it would be possible to enter with advantage at this late hour into any of the numerous points which the hon. Gentleman has brought before us; but whenever the proper time comes we shall be ready to enter upon all these questions, as we have done upon other occasions. We have had much Egyptian debate in Parliament of late; and I hope the hon. Member will be satisfied with making his own speech, and will not think me disrespectful to him if I say no more upon the subject now.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 86; Noes 27: Majority 59.—(Div. List, No. 62.)

PUBLIC HEALTH (CONFIRMATION OF BYE LAWS) BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend 'The Public Health Act, 1875,' so far as relates to the confirmation of bye laws."—(*Mr. George Russell.*)

Mr. GRAY asked whether some explanation could not be given of the character of this Bill? Why was it proposed to amend the English Act of 1875 without amending the corresponding Acts for Ireland and Scotland?

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he had not intended to give any description of the Bill now, and would rather have reserved it for Committee. The Bill had been brought in in consequence of the decision of a Court of Law, who had given their view of the legal aspect of the question, and had made it appear that as the law now stood these bye-laws did not require the confirmation of the Local Government Board, which, up to the present time, had been thought necessary. The object of the Bill was to give the force of law to bye-laws which had already been passed, and to remove any doubt on the subject.

MR. GRAY said, he wished to point out that the same necessity would arise under the corresponding legislation for Ireland and Scotland, and he objected to this species of piecemeal legislation altogether. The hon. Gentleman ought to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and to be sure, before he brought in his Bill, that precisely the same condition of affairs, whatever it might be, did not exist in connection with the Irish law. He would ask the hon. Gentleman to delay the introduction of the Bill until he had made himself acquainted with the entire condition of the law on the subject.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, that in the meantime it was necessary for the Bill to be introduced.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, and Mr. HIBBERT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 173.]

ORDER OF THE DAY.

REAL ASSETS ADMINISTRATION BILL.

(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Warton.*)

[BILL 98.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. TOMLINSON said, he desired to move the insertion of a new clause, providing that real estate should not be applicable to the debts of deceased persons till the personal effects had been exhausted. He thought that such a provision was desirable, and he believed it would come within the intention of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) who had brought in the Bill.

Clause (Saving of specifically devised real estate,)—(*Mr. Tomlinson,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he should oppose the clause. It was objectionable, because it would discharge the real assets which were now available for paying the debts of specific legacies from that liability. He could hardly suppose that the hon. Gentleman intended to make so serious an alteration in the law.

MR. WHITLEY also opposed the Amendment, on the ground that it would make far too serious a change in the law for the House to assent to unless they were directly advised to it by the responsible Law Officers of the Crown.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he declined all responsibility for the Bill, or for the proposed change in it. All that he had done was to give such assistance as he could when the Bill was in Committee to remove some of its defects. The responsibility rested rather with those who permitted the Bill to pass its second reading and to go through the Committee stage. He was entirely opposed to the clause now proposed.

MR. TOMLINSON asked leave to withdraw the clause.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday* 21st April.

MOTIONS.

COMMONS REGULATION PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Bill to confirm the Provisional Order for the Regulation of Redhill and Earlswood Commons, situate in the parishes of Reigate and Horley, in the county of Surrey, in pursuance of a Report of the Land Commissioners for England, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HIBBERT and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 172.]

MARRIAGES LEGALISATION (WOOD GREEN CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Bill for legalising Marriages heretofore solemnised in the Wood Green Congregational Church, in the district of Edmonton, in the county of Middlesex, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, and Mr. HIBBERT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 174.]

COMMISSARIAT AND TRANSPORT SERVICES (EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN).

Select Committee on Commissariat and Transport Services (Egyptian Campaign) *nominated* of,—Mr. BRAND, Dr. CAMERON, Colonel MILNE HOME, Colonel STANLEY, Mr. CARINGTON, Mr. DAWNAY, Mr. BROWN, Mr. JACKSON, Colonel KINGSCOTE, Sir HENRY FLETCHER, Lord EDWARD CAVENDISH, Colonel NOLAN, Mr. EARP, and Mr. HERBERT, with power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.

CHARITY COMMISSION.

Select Committee on Charity Commission *nominated* of,—Mr. DAVEY, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER, Mr. PELL, Mr. WALTER JAMES, Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, Mr. BRYCE, Mr. YORKE, Sir JOHN KENNAWAY, Sir THOMAS DYKE ACLAND, Mr. MAYNE, Mr. BULWER, Mr. LONG, Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, and Mr. JOHN MORLEY, with power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock till Monday 21st April.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 21*st* *April,* 1884.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Earl of Abingdon, after the death of his father.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Army (Annual)* (59); Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment * (60); Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order * (61).

Report—Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment * (43).

METROPOLITAN RAILWAY (PARK RAILWAY AND PARLIAMENT STREET IMPROVEMENT) BILL.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, that he rose to ask a Question of his noble Friend opposite, of which he had given Notice, and which Notice was in these terms—

"To ask Her Majesty's Government whether, in view of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of properly ventilating underground railways without openings into the outer air, as proved by the evidence given on behalf of the Metropolitan and Metropolitan District (Inner Circle) Railway Companies when their Bills were in Committee in 1879 and 1881, the Government will consider the propriety of making the assent of Parliament to the proposed new railway under the public parks contingent on the company undertaking to work the line by electric power and not by steam?"

Before putting the Question he wished to make a very few remarks, and he certainly should not in any way go into the merits of a measure that was now before the other House of Parliament, but would only ask his Question for the purpose of acquiring some information. Before Easter, in answer to a Question put by a noble Lord who sat upon his side of the House, the noble Lord opposite described the railway which was proposed to be made under the Parks, and, if he remembered rightly, it was said that the line was to consist of three sections. The first section was to pass through the Edgeware Road, and he presumed that that would be an underground railway of the ordinary description and carried in a tunnel. Then there would be another section, beginning at that point and running through Hyde Park to a point in the neighbourhood of Albert Gate; whilst another section would run all the way under St. James's Park and the Green Park down to a point in the neighbourhood of King Street, Westminster, where there was to be the final station, but which station was not to be in any way connected with the existing underground railway there. His noble Friend, on the occasion to which he referred, said that there was to be no opening for ventilation of the line in the Parks. Having sat upon the Committee of 1879, upon which his noble Friend also served, and having sat also upon the Committee that sanctioned the ventilators upon the Embankment two years afterwards, he was not at all sure that if these tunnels were not ventilated, and if the ordinary locomotives were used, there would be any ventilation at all. Before the Committee of 1879 the opponents of the Bill proposed that there should be made long chimneys beside houses, through which to draw up the fumes generated by the engines from the line by means of the draught caused by fires; but Sir John Hawkshaw strongly opposed that proposition, and he succeeded in convincing the Committee against it. If he understood what he read in the newspapers, it was now proposed to employ, in connection with the tunnels under the Parks, a mode of ventilation which Sir John

Hawkshaw strongly opposed in 1879, and which the District Railway Company also afterwards opposed, and put Mr. Myles Fenton, who was formerly General Manager to the Metropolitan Railway, into the box to prove that the plan had been tried upon that line, under the superintendence of Mr. Fowler, the eminent engineer, and afterwards by Sir Edward Watkin, but without success. He was therefore very much afraid, in consequence of what he had gathered from the newspapers, that the plan of ventilation which was now proposed was the one that had been previously condemned by Sir John Hawkshaw, and which would not work satisfactorily in these tunnels. Now, he wished, under these circumstances, to draw attention to the fact that there had recently come into operation a plan by which steam locomotives could be dispensed with altogether. There had been for some months a railway six miles in length working in the North of Ireland, at Portrush. This railway, or tramway as it might be called, carried a large number of passengers, and with success apparently. Within the last few weeks he had himself personally tested this railway; and he had also had the good fortune to have the opportunity of being present when Sir William Thompson and other scientific authorities were trying experiments on the Company's premises. The line was carried upon the gradients of an ordinary public road, such as would have been made by any good engineer some few years ago; but, of course, the gradients of a railway would be much easier. The road upon which the carriages ran was also open to the wet, and not at all like a road which would be in a tunnel under the Parks, and quite protected from the effects of the weather. No doubt, improvements could be made in the way of working trains by electricity; but he was quite convinced that now, where there was a good railway, it was quite possible to run trains by this means. It was under these circumstances that he ventured to put the Question of which he had given Notice.

Lord SUDELEY: In reply to the noble Earl, I have to say that the approval of the Government to the scheme of constructing a railway across the Park was given under the distinct assurance of Sir John Hawkshaw, the great engineer, that there would be no difficulty in constructing it in such a manner as that there would be ample ventilation, and that there would be no necessity whatever for ventilating shafts. The First Commissioner of Works, on the understanding arrived at with the Railway Company, laid it down as a primary stipulation for allowing the railway to proceed that no ventilating shafts would be allowed. It was only on that distinct understanding that the Bill was allowed to proceed. The noble Earl referred back to the years 1879 and 1881, when the Metropolitan Railway Bills were brought before Parliament. Evidence was, no doubt, then given by eminent engineers to the effect that proper ventilation could not be secured without air shafts; but the circumstances connected with these railways and the present are totally different, and the noble Earl will remember that in that case the scheme was for a continuation of an old line—namely, that of the Metropolitan Railway. There was no proposition made then that the tunnel should be constructed in any way differently to the old one, or that it should not be exactly similar. There was, in fact, no reason why any new scheme or new plan should be carried out. In the present case it is an entirely new line that has to be considered, and it is the opinion of competent engineers that proper ventilation can be secured without air shafts; and, indeed, it is impossible to read the evidence given before the Committee on the Channel Tunnel a few years ago without being convinced that eminent engineers are of opinion that long lines of tunnel can be made without that means of ventilation being employed. If, in the opinion of these eminent engineers, it is considered possible that over 20 miles of tunnel can be ventilated without air shafts, surely it is possible to ventilate a line of 600 or 700 yards by some other means without any difficulty whatever. The noble Earl has said that the electric railway at Portrush is doing good work. There is no doubt that the electric railway at Portrush has been a great success; and that the experiments made in Austria and other parts of the world show that before long electric railways will be of great benefit, not only to small lines, but to main lines, for which they would act as feeders. When this is the case, and electric railways are used, of course all questions as to ventilation in tunnels will cease to be of such importance; but I must point out to the noble Earl that there is at present one insuperable difficulty with respect to the Parks Railway being worked by electricity. According to the scheme at present before Parliament it is intended that the line shall work in conjunction with the Great Western and Metropolitan Railways; and if the electric system were introduced in regard to the proposed line it would have to be worked not on one system, but upon two or three, and that is quite impossible at present. If the electric system is to be used it must be used as a separate and distinct system; and until the Metropolitan and Great Western work their lines by that method, the suggestion of the noble Earl cannot be carried out. Of course, as the noble Earl has stated, this Bill is before Parliament, and is about to go before a Committee of the other House, when the whole matter will be investigated; and it is quite possible that they may come to the conclusion that some better mode of working should be adopted, or some better system of ventilation should be carried out. But if that is so the Committee will be able to deal with it. In addition to this, the Bill, if passed in the other House, will come before your Lordships and be again sent to a Committee, and the whole matter will be dealt with.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: My Lords, I indulged hopes that, considering the extremely critical position which General Gordon now occupies, the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who was in the House only a few minutes since, might have condescended to give your Lordships some information upon the subject. Looking at the peculiar position of affairs, I do not think it was too much to expect that the noble Earl himself would have volunteered some statement upon the subject. As the noble Earl has abstained from doing so, and is no longer in his place to answer any Question, I beg to give Notice that to-morrow night I shall inquire whether the noble Earl will give this House some information as to the present critical position of General Gordon; and whether Her Majesty's Government are prepared to take any steps to relieve him?

House adjourned at Five o'clock,
till To-morrow, a quarter
past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 21*st April*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—William James Harris, esquire, for Poole.

SELECT COMMITTEE—Commissariat and Transport Services (Egyptian Campaign), Dr. Farquharson, *added*.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Royal Irish Constabulary [176].

Second Reading—Board of Works (Ireland) (No. 2) [165], *debate adjourned;* Intestates Estates [168], *debate adjourned;* Public Health (Confirmation of Bye-Laws) [173]; Marriages Legalisation (Wood Green Congregational Church)* [174]; Matrimonial Causes [175], *debate adjourned;* Fisheries (Ireland) [27]; Irish Land Court Officers (Exclusion from Parliament) [89], *debate adjourned.*

Third Reading—Real Assets Administration [98], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT LONDONDERRY—THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

MR. LEWIS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the course of his examination before the Commissioners, Messrs. Bewley and White, appointed to inquire into the disturbance at Derry on 1s December last, Mr. Inspector Bernar deposed as follows:—

"I have a list of people who can be identified in both processions, and am prepared with evidence when instructions are issued for a investigation:

"As what?—As in the procession firin shots:

"In both processions?—Yes; some firin shots from the Corporation Hall, and other from the Nationalists:

"Give us the names of any persons whos shots are supposed to have hit Durnion?— have the name of a man who is alleged to hav fired shots from the procession:

"What is his name ?—I do not wish to mention it:

"Mr. Bewley: I do not think the witness ought to be required to disclose it:

"Mr. Dane: Very well. At all events, you have the name of a man who is alleged to have fired shots ?—I have:

"Was he in the Lord Mayor's procession ?—He was;"

whether any investigation has taken place, or will take place, into the officer's statement; and, whether any prosecution will be ordered of the person whose name is known to the inspector?

Mr. TREVELYAN: District Inspector Bernard did depose as stated in the Question. His statement was not founded on any knowledge of his own, but upon allegations made that a shot had been fired from the Lord Mayor's Procession by a person named Lawrence Nash, wounding Durnion. At the trial of Thomas Doherty, for the shooting of Kelly, evidence was given by two witnesses for the defence that a shot was fired by a member of the Lord Mayor's Procession, Lawrence Nash, which wounded Durnion. This evidence, which was given for the purpose of showing that Nash was the guilty party, in the cases of both Kelly and Durnion was not believed by the jury, and was not acted on by them. It is not intended to order any prosecution against Lawrence Nash, as there does not appear to be any reliable evidence against him.

ARMY — THE ROYAL IRISH FUSILIERS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, If Sergeant Clarke, 4th Battalion Royal Irish Fusiliers (formerly called Cavan Militia), has been kept recruiting since the July of last year up to the present away from his family and head quarters; and, is it the usual rule only to keep them half that time?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, the non-commissioned officer referred to in this Question was upon recruiting duty from the 10th of July to March of the present year. He was at perfect liberty to take his family with him if he liked; but he preferred not to do so. Perhaps I may state that a letter has been received from the non-commissioned officer referred to expressing his surprise that the Question should have been put, and repudiating any connection with the hon. Member in regard to his action.

Mr. BIGGAR: I may explain that only a very small part of the Question has appeared upon the Paper; and I have a very different reason for putting it from that which appears to strike the noble Marquess.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — NORTH OF IRELAND ROYAL ARTILLERY.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (for Mr. Sexton) asked the Secretary of State for War, What provision the War Department has made to secure for the Catholics of the 2nd Brigade, North of Ireland Royal Artillery, the ministrations of their religion during the time of preliminary drill and training this year at Carrickfergus; and, whether, in the event of the Department not allowing the necessary expense of a special service for the Catholics of the Brigade during their stay for drill at Carrickfergus, directions will be given that the Brigade be assembled henceforth for preliminary drill and training at Belfast, or Ballymena, or some one of the larger towns in the county Antrim, where the church accommodation at the disposal of the local Catholic clergy will enable them to admit the Catholics of the Brigade to the parochial mass?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: The Regulations provide a fixed rate of remuneration for such ministrations, which is usually found to be sufficient for the duties to be performed; but in this case the local priest considers it insufficient. I have no power to increase the allowance. The place of training has been arranged locally by the General Officer commanding with reference to the barrack accommodation available and other considerations. I cannot undertake to alter it.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND) — OUTRAGES IN TIPPERARY.

Mr. LEAHY (for Mr. Mayne) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a series of outrages were committed on the night of Saturday the 22nd of March, or early morning of Sunday the 23rd, between the town of Tipperary and the Limerick Junction, two miles distant, including the breaking of railway lamps at Tipperary Station, the smashing of the distance signal of the Waterford and Limerick Railway at the Limerick Junction, and the robbery of the large lamp belonging to same, as well as the setting fire to a rick of hay belonging to Mr. James Dwyer, of Bohererone, about halfway between Tipperary Station and Limerick Junction; whether the night watchman in Tipperary met between 3 and 4 a.m. on Sunday morning, three youths with the large signal lamp stolen from the junction in their possession; whether these youths admitted their guilt on being arrested; and, whether they are being prosecuted by the authorities?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am informed that no such series of outrages on the railway occurred; but that on the night mentioned three school-boys in a foolish freak took a signal lamp from the line and carried it openly into the town of Tipperary. It was found with them, as stated, by a night watchman; and they were subsequently arrested by the police and brought before two magistrates, by whose desire the matter was reported to the Railway Company in order that they might take proceedings if they wished. The boys were severely punished by the school authorities, two being expelled and the third flogged; and the Government do not think the matter calls for further notice. There is no reason to suppose that the boys had anything to with the burning of Mr. Dwyer's hay, which occurred a mile and a-half away.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—IRREGULARITIES IN BELFAST WORKHOUSE.

Mr. LEAHY (for Mr. Kenny) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If disclosures of certain irregularities in the Belfast Workhouse have recently come to the knowledge of the Irish Local Government Board; and, if so, whether they are of sufficient importance to require a sworn investigation?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Some irregularities in the Belfast Workhouse did come to the knowledge of the Local Government Board; and the Board inform me that they were carefully inquired into and dealt with by the Guardians, and that they do not consider a sworn investigation necessary.

IRELAND—REGISTRY OF DEEDS OFFICE, DUBLIN.

Mr. LYNCH asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he can state the number of documents registered, and the number of searches issued, by the Registry of Deeds, Ireland, in the year 1883; whether the officials engaged in making such searches and constructing the records of the Department are liable for any loss that may arise through error or otherwise; whether, in a memorial to the Treasury in 1865, the property annually registered was estimated at nine millions sterling; whether there is any other department in Ireland in which business of such magnitude is transacted, or in which the duties are of such a responsible and technical nature; whether a Royal Commission which inquired into the Registration of Deeds issued a Report in October 1880, containing certain recommendations intended to confer a present benefit on the clerical staff; whether his attention has been drawn to Mr. Armstrong's note in the said Report, to the effect that the existing staff should receive such special improvement as their position justified; and, whether, with a view to remove the existing widespread discontent, and to ensure the efficient discharge of the functions of the Department, he will grant such an improvement in salaries, classification, and annual increment as will place the staff on an equality with those of other important offices?

Mr. COURTNEY: I have already dealt with all the points raised by this Question, in reply to the five Questions which have been put to me this Session on the subject of this Office. There is no necessity for increasing its cost, and no intention of doing so. On the contrary, we hope somewhat to diminish it by the substitution, when vacancies occur, of cheaper clerks than those employed in some of the Departments of the Office at present.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—THE MARKET AT ST. IVES.

Mr. HICKS asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether, seeing that the local authorities of Cambridgeshire have no control over the market at Saint Ives, Huntingdonshire, to which market a large proportion of the cases of foot-and-mouth disease in Cambridgeshire have been traced, he will direct the travelling Inspectors to pay particular attention to that market?

MR. DODSON, in reply, said, that he had not heard of any case of disease in the market of St. Ives; but the Inspectors had reported as to its unsatisfactory condition, and communications had taken place with the Local Authority. The market would be closely watched.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—DRUMCLIFFE WEST —SLIGO UNION.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (for Mr. SEXTON) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to a statement made in an official communication by the returning officer of Sligo Union to the Local Government Board—namely, that he had no knowledge of Mr. Thomas Simpson, one of the candidates in the election of a guardian for the Drumcliffe West electoral division, having illegally taken away the voting papers of persons entitled to vote for the said division, Whether it is true that, on the 21st ultimo, the day before the scrutiny, Mrs. Mary Currid, a person entitled to vote for the said division, declared to the said returning officer, in the Board room of the Union, and in the presence of the Rev. J. C. Madden, C.C. of Castletown, Drumcliffe, that Mr. Thomas Simpson had taken away her voting paper against her will, and against her demand and protest, and, on the next evening, had given her the paper of another voter; whether, upon this statement, it was the duty of the returning officer to declare Mr. Simpson disqualified and the other candidate elected, or to report to the Local Government Board, with a view to proceedings against Mr. Simpson, under 1 and 2 Vic. cap. 56, sec. 99, and 6 and 7 Vic. cap. 92, sec. 25; whether any steps have been taken by the Local Government Board, or by the returning officer, to initiate such proceedings or to take the evidence of Mrs. Currid and the Rev. Mr. Madden; and, whether the other candidate has been declared elected, or a new election has been ordered?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Returning Officer has reported to the Local Government Board that Mrs. Currid did not make the statement that Mr. Simpson had taken away her voting paper forcibly; but that she did state that Mr. Simpson had not given her back the proper voting paper, and that the policeman would not take the paper she tendered to him, as it did not bear the number of that given to her. Mr. Simpson had a majority of 23 votes, and the Local Government Board do not think that it was the duty of the Returning Officer to declare him disqualified, and the other candidate elected, on the statement of Mrs. Currid referred to. Nor was he bound to report the conversation or complaint to the Board, when the votes alluded to could not in any way affect the return. The Local Government Board have informed the defeated candidate that if he has any evidence to support an objection to the right of Mr. Simpson to act as a Guardian by reason of his not having obtained a majority of valid votes, they are willing to inquire into the circumstances; but it is not their practice to institute proceedings under Section 25 of 6 & 7 *Vict.* c. 92. It is open to any person who may feel aggrieved to take proceedings under that section.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—DISTURBANCES AT BALLYMACARRETT.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it true that complaints were made to the Constabulary of Ballymacarrett, Belfast, by the Rev. Patrick Farrelly, that his windows were broken on 26th December last, and again within a week of that date; was the stone-throwing on 17th March an attack on the Catholic Congregation leaving the Church on the National Holiday, and is it a fact that the only individual made amenable was caught, not by the police, but by the Priest, the Rev. Patrick Farrelly himself; is it a fact that the Constabulary suffered the individual to be at liberty though caught in flagrante delicto, and allowed him to be brought before magistrates on summons; did District Inspector Bull, on being personally informed by the Rev. P. Farrelly of the stone-throwing at his Congregation on 17th March last, reply to that gentleman that such a case was trivial; and, did Hon. Captain Forbes, R.M., when adjudicating on the case of stone-throwing on 17th March, express an opinion that it should have been at once brought up in the Custody Court?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that the Rev. Mr. Farrelly complained that one pane of glass was broken in his window on the 26th of December last, and another on the 31st. The stone-throwing on the 17th of March was not an organized attack on the Catholic congregation. The allegation is that the Catholic boys called the others names, and thus provoked the disturbance. It is the fact that the only person made amenable was caught by the Rev. Mr. Farrelly, who witnessed the disturbance. The reason this boy was not arrested when the police came up was that they did not know what he was charged with, and the Rev. Mr. Farrelly asked the policeman to tell him the boy's name, but refused to say why he wanted to know it. Subsequently the police ascertained what the boy was accused of, and had him summoned. It is not the case that Colonel Forbes, when adjudicating, said that the case should have been at once brought up in the Custody Court. Neither did the District Inspector, upon being informed by the Rev. Mr. Farrelly of stone-throwing at his congregation, say that such a case was trivial. What he states he did say was that he advised the rev. gentleman not to make a State case out of the matter, as no one was hurt, and no harm done.

IRELAND — DEFALCATIONS OF MR. ELLIOTT, COLLECTOR OF RATES, BLACKROCK.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (for Mr. SEXTON) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. John D. Elliott, collector of rates to the Town Commissioners of Blackrock, is a defaulter as such collector to the extent of £2,600; whether the Commissioners, being apprised of Mr. Elliott's defalcation, have privately agreed between themselves to retain him in the position of collector, and have accepted from him a mortgage of £900 upon his house and furniture as security for the money of the township appropriated by him to his own use; whether the Commissioners apprised Mr. Elliott's sureties of the course which they had taken in accepting the mortgage from him, and, in case they did not apprise the sureties and obtain their consent, whether the course taken has cancelled the bond of the said sureties, and released them from liability under it; whether the Commissioners had the legal power to compound such a matter; and, what course the Local Government Board will take in regard to the position of Mr. Elliott as Poor Rate collector of Rathmines?

MR. TREVELYAN: I understand from various sources that the position of Mr. Elliott as collector of rates to the Blackrock Town Commissioners has been the subject of inquiry, which is still pending. The matter, therefore, being still *sub judice*, the Local Government Board do not feel that it would be right for them to take any step, or express any opinion, which would prejudge the case. The Local Government Board will make it their duty to see that the proceedings come forward.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882 — COMPENSATION FOR MALICIOUS BURNING OF HAY — CASE OF LAURENCE REILEY.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (for Mr. SEXTON) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has made inquiry as to a case in which £60 was awarded to a man named Reiley at the Spring Assizes at Trim, for burning of hay; whether his original claim for £90 was passed at Presentment Sessions, but, on hearing that the ratepayers were holding a meeting to arrange a traverse of the presentment, he went to the meeting and offered to lower the claims from £90 to £50, if they consented not to oppose it, but the ratepayers declined the offer, and instructed counsel to oppose the claim at the Assizes; whether the hay had been burned at mid-day, in a field beside the town of Navan, where a number of men were at work, and the ratepayers' counsel produced before the Grand Jury evidence that the hay had been accidentally set on fire by children, and that Reiley, when he saw it burning, had said—"To —— with it; I will be well paid for it;" whether the Grand Jury gave no heed to the evidence for the ratepayers, and awarded Reiley £60, being £10 more than he had offered to take; whether the ratepayers then arranged to traverse the presentment, and have the case heard, according to usage, before the Judge of Assize and a Jury;

brought up their witnesses from Navan to Trim, and made all due preparation for the hearing of the case, but the Judge, Chief Justice Morris, returning to the Bench from luncheon with the Grand Jury, asked them if they had heard the case, and, on receiving an affirmative reply, declined to listen to anything on behalf of the ratepayers, and immediately confirmed the award; whether the Judge was authorised by Law to take such a course; and, what means of redress are open to the ratepayers who contested the presentment?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am informed that Laurence Reiley gave notice of his intention to claim compensation, and his application for £90 was passed by the Presentment Sessions without any objection. Subsequently, at a meeting of the ratepayers it was decided to oppose the claim before the Grand Jury, unless it was reduced to £50. Reiley was present at the meeting, and it did not appear that he consented to accept the amount. The hay was burned at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and it was alleged that there was evidence that it had been set fire to by children. The Grand Jury, after hearing the evidence on both sides, reduced the award to £60. It was a fact that the ratepayers decided to traverse the presentment before the Assizes; but the Judge, after hearing all the circumstances, refused to allow the traverse. He was informed that the discretion of withholding or allowing permission to proceed with the traverse lay entirely with the Judge. The matter was now closed, and no further proceedings would be instituted.

ARMY—THE ARMY CLOTHING FACTORY, PIMLICO—COST OF MANUFACTURE.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (for Mr. Dawson) asked the Secretary of State for War, If his attention has been called to the fact that the cost of making clothing at the Government Factory, Pimlico, is from twenty to fifty per cent. in excess of that paid to contractors, and that the Director of Clothing, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, admitted that there was a loss of £8,000 on the work done the previous year at the Government Factory; also, that the sum of £20,000, voted last year for making up clothing by contract, was not so expended, while the amount voted for the "Government Factory" was exceeded; that, in addition to the higher price paid at the Government Factory for making up, a larger quantity of material was used than that issued to contractors?

Mr. BRAND: The cost of making clothing at the Government Factory is not from 20 to 50 per cent in excess of that paid to contractors; indeed, there is every reason to believe that the work is done as cheaply at the Factory as by the trade. The loss of £8,000 mentioned in the evidence of the Director of Clothing had reference to the work in the Factory prior to the re-organization of 1878, and since that period the Factory has been able to compete successfully with the trade. Taking the years 1882-3, 1883-4, the amount voted for making up clothing by contract was largely exceeded, although somewhat less was expended in the single year 1883-4. In one instance a less quantity of material was used by a contractor, owing principally to garments having been made less than the size roll furnished.

IRELAND—INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS ACT —DESTITUTE CHILDREN AT ATHY, CO. KILDARE.

Mr. LYNCH asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the action of the Magistrates at Athy petty sessions, county Kildare, on the 4th ultimo, when the Rev. Mathew Doyle, C.C. applied to have two out of a family of ten orphans sent to an industrial school; whether three of the ten children are already in industrial schools, and of six remaining with the widowed mother, the eldest is a cripple, and the youngest a baby, all depending on her for support; whether all the conditions required by the Act of Parliament had been fulfilled; the Rev. Mr. Doyle having sworn that the children had been found begging, had not sufficient guardianship, the mother having to toil day and night for their support; that they were largely dependent upon charity, and that sufficiently destitute already, they would be helplessly so, if the mother were visited by sickness; whether, upon examination of an information by the Rev. Mr. Doyle, the Law Officers declared the objections to sending the children to an industrial school to be groundless; whether, subsequently, the local magistrates declared the children might be sent to industrial schools, but only on condition that the payment of five shillings per week for the two children should be made by them other who had just sworn she could not afford to pay three pence; her earnings as a washerwoman being from three shillings to five shillings per week, never exceeding the latter sum; and, whether any steps will be taken to have the orphans sent to an industrial school?

MR. TREVELYAN: From the Reports submitted to me, it appears that the magistrates, in the exercise of their discretion, refused to commit the children to an industrial school, because they did not think the circumstances to be such as would bring the case within the terms of the Act. It is true that evidence was given that the children begged from the Rev. Mr. Doyle; but he admitted they only did it once, and the Bench did not consider that they could be properly said to be, within the meaning of the Act, "found begging," or "found wandering," or "found destitute." The Law Officers gave no opinion on the subject —no information by the Rev. Mr. Doyle, or other papers in the case, having been submitted to them. On the occasion of a second application for the committal of the children being made, one of the magistrates asked the mother whether, in the event of an order being made, she would be prepared to contribute 5*s*. a-week for the support of her children; but it does not appear that any such declaration was made by the magistrates as is alleged in the Question. I am not aware that it is intended to take any further steps in the case.

STATE OF IRELAND—MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE AT AUGHRIM.

MR. LYNCH asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, on Sunday the 16th ultimo, Sergeant Blair and Constable Shea, of the Hill Street Sub-District, entered the room in which the members of the Aughrim (county Roscommon) Branch of the Irish National League were engaged in holding a meeting, and, being requested by the president and secretary of the meeting to withdraw, or else to produce their authority for remaining, the sergeant replied that he was acting on his own responsibility, that he would not leave except removed by force, and remained with his attendant constable until the close of the proceedings, despite the protest of the members present; whether the sergeant had instructions from his superiors to insist on remaining at the meeting; whether he had instructions to demand, as he did from the secretary, a list of the members of the Branch; whether it was under instructions from his superiors that he went to the wife of the man from whom the room was rented, and told her she was exposing herself to great danger by giving the use of the room to the members of the Branch; and what notice will be taken of the sergeant's action?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he was informed that the presence of the police at that meeting was not objected to. The sergeant stated—"If I am required to withdraw I will do so;" and after a consultation amongst the members present the secretary stated that he might remain, which he accordingly did. He had no instructions to persist in remaining, and he did not do so. He had no instructions to demand the names of the members; but in meeting the president on the road he asked him, had he many members? He did not make use of any such phrase as was alleged in the Question. The circumstances appear to call for no further notice.

MR. LYNCH (for Mr. SMALL) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Under whose orders does Constable M'Hugh attend the meetings of the Davidstown (county Wexford) branch of the National League; and, is this the same constable who has made charges against men under his orders which were found to be ungrounded?

MR. TREVELYAN: The constable attended the meeting by the desire of his superior officer, and his presence was not objected to. It is not the case that this constable made charges against two of his men which were unfounded. Two years ago he reported two men under his command for an offence for which they were cautioned by the Inspector General.

ALLOTMENTS EXTENSION ACT, 1882—HOLY CROSS, CLENT, CHARITY LANDS.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked the Vice President of the Privy Council, Whether the charity lands of Holy Cross, Clent, come under the provisions of "The Allotments Extension Act, 1882;" whether the trustee has refused the repeated applications of the labourers of the parish to rent these lands; whether the labourers and the Allotments Extension Association have repeatedly applied to the Charity Commissioners for assistance in compelling the trustee to carry out the provisions of the Act; and, whether the Charity Commissioners have received any communications from or on behalf of the trustee, with a view of selling the lands so as to evade the operation of the Act?

Mr. MUNDELLA: The charity lands of Holy Cross, Clent, do, in the opinion of the Charity Commissioners, come under the provisions of the Allotments Extension Act, 1882. The Trustee has not refused the applications of the labourers; but he is old and non-resident, and the Commissioners are taking steps to have new Trustees appointed. In reply to the last Question, the lands being copyhold, it will be necessary that a new tenant should be admitted on the Court rolls. As this will be attended with considerable expense, it has been suggested that a portion of the property should be sold to cover it. There is no desire, I am assured, to evade the operation of the Act. The Commissioners have been in communication with the Trustees of the charity lands in the parish of Adderbury, who are prepared to give effect to the Act in accordance with the decision of the Commissioners. Further information has been asked for as to a portion of the lands which have been leased since the passing of the Act, and this information is awaited. The Inspectors' Reports are of a confidential nature, and cannot be published without detriment to the Public Service.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

Mr. BOURKE: I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs three Questions, of which I have given him private Notice—The first is, Whether *The Times* telegram of this morning, stating that General Gordon had sent a telegram to Sir Samuel Baker, giving an account of his position at Khartoum, is authentic; the second Question is, whether the Government can give the House any information with respect to the condition of affairs at Khartoum, Shendy, and Berber; and the third is, whether there is any truth in the report that a European Conference is to take place with respect to the affairs of Egypt?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I will answer the Questions of the right hon. Gentleman to the following effect:—As regards the first Question, we have no textual Report from Sir Evelyn Baring corresponding with the text given in *The Times* of this morning; but Sir Evelyn Baring has sent us a telegram, which appears to contain a very large part of the substance of, and to be in perfect concurrence with, the text of the telegram referred to. We have no reason to suppose that any part of it is otherwise than correct. With regard to the second Question, the answer I have to give is this—that Shendy is surrounded by hostile tribes. With respect to Berber, we do not know that it is surrounded; but very serious apprehensions prevail there as affecting both that place and the route to Khartoum. With regard to Khartoum itself, the telegram of General Gordon contains important information; and that information is in complete concurrence, so far as the question of Gordon's position is concerned, with what reaches us, and has all along reached us, from Sir Evelyn Baring; the general effect being, according to the expression used, that he is hemmed in—that is to say, that there are bodies of hostile troops in the neighbourhood forming more or less of a chain around it. I draw a distinction between that and the town being surrounded, which would bear technically a very different meaning. The supplies in Khartoum are abundant, and there is no apprehension at all of danger. With regard to the third Question of the right hon. Gentleman, I stated, when I last had the honour of addressing the House on Egypt, that Her Majesty's Government had arrived at an important conclusion for themselves with respect to Egyptian finance, and that the House was very well aware that it was impossible to move a step in that important question without complying with the necessity of communication with other Powers. I have nothing material at present to add to that statement; but as soon as there is any substantive information to be given which would interest the House the Government will take care to give it.

Mr. BOURKE: One point the right hon. Gentleman has omitted—that is with respect to the massacre which we are told has taken place of persons who attempted to escape from Shendy.

Mr. GLADSTONE: It was not in your Notice.

Mr. BOURKE: No; but I asked generally as to the state of affairs at Shendy, thinking, of course, the Government would take advantage of the opportunity of stating whether the news of the massacre was true or not.

Mr. CHAPLIN: I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether the Government are taking any steps whatever to send to General Gordon that help for which, as I understand from the right hon. Gentleman's reply, General Gordon has appealed when he asked whether the millionaires of England and the United States would assist him? Are the Government taking any steps, or making any preparations, to render such assistance?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think, Sir, the hon. Member must understand that the communication from General Gordon to which we have just referred is a communication of which he has the same knowledge as we have. It is not a communication made to or through us, and I understand it in a sense totally different from that of the hon. Gentleman. General Gordon's testimony is expressed as to the present security of Khartoum, and the plan referred to is one of the many General Gordon is making, and has nothing whatever to do with his security in Khartoum. ["Oh!"] Gentlemen who interrupt me in that way, while answering a Question upon a matter of fact, may have opinions of their own, which they can state; but I state with confidence, and with better means of information than they possess, that it has nothing whatever to do with it. I repeat, upon my responsibility, that we believe it to be beyond all doubt that the plan of General Gordon has nothing whatever to do with the question of his security in Khartoum. With regard to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bourke), I limited myself to what he put on the Paper; but my noble Friend will read a telegram which will give whatever information we possess.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In answer to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bourke) in regard to events at or near Shendy, it does appear that a portion of the garrison, with some of the civilian population of Shendy, left that place with the view of escaping, and that they reached a spot, the name of which appears to be Alieh. There the steamer ran aground; and I regret to say, from the latest information received from the Governor of Berber, that it does appear that they were surrounded and massacred there.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister if he still adheres to the statement he made the other day to the effect that General Gordon is under no inability to leave Khartoum?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have had no information since that statement in any manner bearing on it, or tending to shake it. I should, perhaps, add to what I stated, in answer to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, that what we have heard in regard to Berber and Shendy of course indicates an increase in the difficulty of communication along that particular route.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: May I ask, Sir, whether it is true, as stated by the British Consular Agent at Khartoum, who is also Correspondent of *The Times*, that there arrived at Berber, on the 10th of April, from Sir Evelyn Baring, an unciphered telegram stating that no English troops would be sent, clearly showing that General Gordon and others faithful to the Government would be thrown over? May I also ask whether General Gordon has notified to the British Government that henceforward he will act on his own judgment and on his own responsibility? Further, I would ask the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or the Prime Minister, whether the Government will provide arms and transports for a volunteer expedition to relieve General Gordon, if such be sent?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Question which the hon. Member has asked me as to the unciphered telegram is the only one that I can answer. The Foreign Office have no information whatever with regard to the arrival of this unciphered telegram.

Mr. CHAPLIN: I am sorry to trouble the Prime Minister, but I am anxious to know whether the House is to understand that the Government are still of opinion that the position of General Gordon at Khartoum is one of security, and that General Gordon has no need or desire for assistance or help from the English Government?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am not aware that there was any doubt or ambiguity in the words that I used just now, and likewise on a former occasion. The position of General Gordon is, so far as we know, a position of security; and, in point of fact, it was in a recent telegram that he even used the expression of his being as safe in Khartoum for a couple of months as in Cairo. [An hon. Member: That is dated April 1.] No doubt the telegram is dated April 1, and we have some communications from General Gordon since. Here is one of April 8, which you have in the Papers this morning, and which is in complete correspondence with that of April 1. Of course, the question of sending help and assistance to General Gordon will relate to some totally different state of things.

Mr. ONSLOW: May I ask the Prime Minister whether the Conference which Her Majesty's Government proposed to the Great Powers would have before it only the financial aspect of the Egyptian Question, or general questions relating to the administration of the country?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We have not arrived yet at a state of things in which we can say that a Conference will be held. When anything in the nature of such a conclusion is arrived at, we shall lose no time in communicating it to the House.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Does the Government propose to lay any Papers upon the Table with reference to the mission of General Gordon?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes, Sir; Papers will be laid on the Table very shortly.

Mr. RITCHIE: I wish to ask how the Prime Minister can reconcile his statement respecting the security of Khartoum with the passage in the telegram from General Gordon to Sir Samuel Baker—

"If the loyal way in which the troops and townspeople here have held to me under these circumstances of great difficulty were known, and the way in which my lot is involved in theirs, I am sure this appeal would be considered to be fully justified. I should be mean, indeed, if I neglected any step for their safety."

Mr. GLADSTONE: The Question of the hon. Gentleman rather involves matter of argument than of fact; but I again say that I interpret—and I know that I am justified in interpreting—the appeal of General Gordon to have reference to the interest which the loyal population of Khartoum have in the general question of the Soudan; and it is in contemplation of very much more than the mere security, especially the present security, of Khartoum, that General Gordon has sent this message to Sir Samuel Baker. He may be contemplating I know not what in reference to the ultimate safety of Khartoum; but of that I cannot speak. His appeal for assistance has no reference whatever to any danger now over-hanging Khartoum.

Sir JOHN HAY: I wish to ask if it is true that Sir Evelyn Baring is coming home; and, if so, who is going to look after British affairs in Egypt in his absence?

Mr. GLADSTONE: In consequence of the burden of Sir Evelyn Baring's duties, an arrangement was made some time ago to send a competent gentleman—Mr. Egerton—to Egypt to assist him. Sir Evelyn Baring will probably leave for England to-day or to-morrow, and in his absence Mr. Egerton will discharge his duties.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether it is a fact that General Gordon has requested the Consular Agent of the Government to leave Khartoum, and has stated that the only means of doing so would be by Equatorial Africa and the Congo?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Will the hon. Gentleman give Notice of that Question?

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: I will do so.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister for some information with regard to the Order of Public Business, and whether it is proposed to take a Morning Sitting tomorrow?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We propose to have a Morning Sitting to-morrow at 2 o'clock. We will then proceed with the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill. On Thursday my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer will make his Financial Statement.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: The Representation of the People Bill stands for Thursday.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes; but we propose to take it on Monday.

Mr. GORST: May I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman can give us any information with regard to the second reading of the Merchant Shipping Bill?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The Government will make arrangements for the second reading of that Bill as soon as possible.

NOTICE OF QUESTION.

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WESTERN PACIFIC—DEPORTATION OF FRENCH CONVICTS.

Mr. GORST gave Notice that he would on Thursday ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can make any statement to the House as to the present position of the negotiations with the French Government in relation to the deportation of criminals to the Western Pacific; and, whether any communications have passed between Her Majesty's Government and the German Government upon the subject?

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: May I ask whether Her Majesty's Government has received a Note from the French Government on the subject?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No Note has been received.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

SCOTLAND—PROCURATORS FISCAL.

RESOLUTION.

Dr. CAMERON, in rising to call attention to the system of Public Prosecutions in Scotland; and to move—

> "That Procurators Fiscal should be prohibited from acting as factors or agents managing landed estates, and, wherever possible, from engaging in private practice as solicitors within the districts over which their Commissions extend,"

said, two years ago he obtained a Return of those Procurators Fiscal who devoted themselves solely to their official duties, and of those who combined private practice with their public work; and he found that in all Scotland there were only eight who confined themselves solely to their official duties, and as many as 44 who did not do so, and of those 44, 23 acted as agents in the management of landed estates. Those facts, and others which he had learned in connection with them, had convinced him of the urgent necessity of some reform, and he took that opportunity of bringing the matter forward. In England the theory of the law was that it was the duty and the right of the person damnified by crime to prosecute the criminal. The evidence against him was laid publicly before him. The prisoner was committed after public investigation. A Grand Jury had to be convinced of his guilt; and when he was tried before a petty jury there must be unanimity in order to get a conviction. The Scotch theory was perfectly different. According to that theory, it was the duty of the State to prosecute crime and punish criminals, and State officials were the proper persons to judge whether crime should be prosecuted or not. If it was considered desirable the State prosecuted at the public expense. Private prosecutions were discouraged in every possible way, and consequently they were hardly ever heard of. In order to enable the State prosecutors to prosecute in the public interest, they were intrusted with powers which to Englishmen seemed most arbitrary and inquisitorial, and which Lord Moncreiff had admitted would be intolerable to the people of Scotland were it not for the direct responsibility of the Lord Advocate, the head of the Scottish Criminal Department, to Parliament. The party suspected of crime, having been arrested, was brought before the Sheriff for examination. His examination was private; no friend or legal adviser was allowed to communicate with him. He was told that he need not answer the questions which were put to him unless he liked, and he was warned that if he did answer them his answers might be used against him on his trial. But his refusal to answer questions put to him might also be used against him. When he was tried his declaration was not taken down in his own words, but written at the dictation of the Procurator Fiscal or the Sheriff, and he was asked to sign it. He was examined again and again until he was committed, which might not be until eight days after his arrest. During those eight days he might again and again be privately examined. During all that time he was not allowed to communicate with his friends or law advisers. In strict law, he believed, witnesses in criminal cases ought to be examined before the Sheriff; but, as a matter of fact, that was never done. They were examined privately by the Procurator Fiscal, who made abstracts of their evidence in his own way, and those abstracts were called precognitions. Those precognitions were submitted to the Sheriff, and on those precognitions thus taken the prisoner was committed. In the more serious cases the precognitions were forwarded to the Crown Office in Edinburgh, where the cases were considered, and directed how to be disposed of. Now, up to that point, the case against the accused was absolutely secret; and if he were discharged, an absolute secret it remained to the end of the chapter. Before the prisoner was brought to trial he was served with an indictment setting forth the charges against him, and also the articles or productions to be produced. On the other hand, he was allowed no access to the depositions of the witnesses who were to be brought against him; and if he wished to make any special defence he was required to give notice of it to the Crown some time in advance. Finally, he was tried before a jury—a bare majority of that jury sufficed for a conviction. Now, he was not going to find a word of fault with the system. On the contrary, he thought that in theory the Scotch law was infinitely better than the theory on which the English Criminal Law was based. But to many of the details of the system the strongest objection had been taken by high authorities. Lord Young, one of the most eminent of the Scottish Judges, said that it was neither right in itself, nor required in the interests of justice, that any person should be committed to prison on evidence taken behind his back, not even in the presence of a magistrate; and he stigmatized it as a blot on the criminal system of Scotland. With others of his fellow-Commissioners, he declared that it was neither fair, nor in the interests of justice, to deny the prisoner access to friends until he had been examined before a magistrate. He (Dr. Cameron) was not going to find fault even with these details; and he was describing the system simply to show the extraordinary power intrusted to the hands of the Public Prosecutors in Scotland, and the absolute necessity, in order that public confidence might be retained, of intrusting those powers only to men who were absolutely above suspicion, and in whose impartiality the public could have the most perfect confidence. The Procurator Fiscal was the sole substitute they had in Scotland for the Coroner in England. The Public Prosecutor decided whether a prosecution was to be proceeded with or abandoned; whether a minor plea was to be accepted, or the graver one insisted on. He also moved for sentence after the verdict had been given. If a man had been killed, with the Public Prosecutor it lay whether the slaughterer should be allowed to get off scot-free—as in the case of a woman who was shot in a sale-room in Edinburgh, by a man with a loaded revolver, before the eyes of her husband, from whom he had received a letter of bitter complaint—or whether he should be tried for manslaughter. If a ploughman snared a hare, or a schoolboy wrote a threatening letter to a man who might be the Procurator Fiscal's client, with him it rested whether their cases were to be treated in the same manner as that of the slaughtered woman to which he had referred; or whether the whole powers of the country should be brought to bear for the purpose of bringing them to justice. Such being the case, the office should be fenced round with precautions, making it, at least, as much above suspicion as were the Judges and Sheriffs of Scotland. Now, was that the case? Quite the contrary. He ventured to say that no class of officials in Scotland were regarded with as widespread suspicion as were the Procurators Fiscal, and against so many sins of omission and commission none were charged. A couple of years ago a Select Committee of the House was appointed to consider a Bill which he introduced, and which had since become law. Under that Bill it was determined, in certain cases, that prosecutions should take place before the Sheriff; and the question arose, who was to prosecute? Now, under the Scottish law the Procurator Fiscal was evidently the natural person to prosecute; but one witness after another gave evidence that if that duty were to fall on the Procurator Fiscal it would never be performed, and that it would be a dead letter; and accordingly the Committee relegated the duty to private prosecutors. Some years ago a law was passed specifying certain bankruptcy offences in Scotland as crimes, and the duty of prosecuting was naturally cast upon the Procurator Fiscal. Now, he had had scores of complaints regarding crimes under this Act, which had been publicly avowed and proved in the examinations of bankrupts before the Sheriffs; and yet, although they had been reported to the Procurator Fiscal, no proceedings had been taken. He had met with similar complaints in regard to almost every other species of crime, from manslaughter downwards. As he had mentioned manslaughter, he would illustrate that by facts contained in a letter which he received only the other day from a very intelligent medical man in Glasgow; and he produced the case the more readily, because it illustrated what was a notorious cause of inefficiency in the administration of justice in grave cases in Scotland. His correspondent was called suddenly to visit a young woman, from 16 to 17 years of age, who lay at the point of death. She survived his arrival only 20 minutes, and in the interval a medical friend was called in. Both those gentlemen thought the case was one eminently demanding inquiry, and that a *post mortem* was asked for. The girl had been at work only the day before. She had complained of ill-treatment at the hands of the person with whom she lived. She had taken a medicine, for which another medicine might have been substituted either by accident or design. There was no evidence whatever of the real cause of death. They reported the matter to the Procurator Fiscal, and urged the necessity of holding a *post mortem* examination. Some police inquiry was made, but no *post mortem* examination was held, and this woman's death was registered by the authorities in these terms —"Cause of death not ascertained; probably natural causes; no medical attendant;" and the woman was allowed to be buried. Now, why was there no *post mortem* or proper inquiry held in this case? It was a notorious fact that Procurators Fiscal had the very greatest difficulty in recovering expenditure which they might make in connection with *post mortem* examinations. He did not know whether the Treasury was to be blamed for that, or the Crown Office in Edinburgh; but it was notorious that this parsimony offered an obstacle to the proper investigation of serious cases in Scotland, and it had been repeatedly commented on in the public Press of the country. But if one asked why, in ordinary cases, the Procurator Fiscal did not take up cases which he ought to do, one was told that in olden times it was customary to pay Procurators Fiscal by fees on convictions. It was thought that that system caused many of them to prosecute vindictively for fees, and the system was changed, and they were now paid by fixed salary. Since then, it was said, they did not give themselves more trouble than they could avoid. Now, although the suspicion of a desire to avoid trouble might attach to Procurators Fiscal who confined themselves to their official duties, as well as to those who practised privately, there could, in the case of a Procurator Fiscal who devoted himself to his official duties, be no suspicion that he neglected his official duties in order to attend to private business, or that he neglected to prosecute because the prosecution might give offence to some wealthy client; there could be no suspicion that he undertook that prosecution to please a client, or for the purpose of obtaining information to be used in his private practice. Now, it was quite otherwise with Procurators Fiscal who practised as solicitors and acted as land agents. They might be innocent or guilty; but their position caused them to be suspected by outsiders with whose interests they interfered. Especially was this the case with Procurators Fiscal who, besides private practice, also held positions as factors, and confidential agents, and advisers to landlords. They were commonly regarded by the peasantry in the Highlands as objects of dislike and suspicion. Being frequently brought into collision with the tenantry in their capacity as partizans of the landlords, it was but natural that the peasantry should regard with distrust and want of confidence their impartiality in the discharge of their public duties. In fact, they had no belief in the impartiality of Procurators Fiscal who filled such manifold and frequently conflicting functions; and from the present state of popular feeling in the Highlands there was great danger, unless a proper reform was introduced in this matter, of their running the risk of impressing the minds of the population of the Highlands with the same sympathy with lawlessness and law-breakers which afflicted other parts of the Empire. And that this combination of the duties of Procurators Fiscal with the work of private practitioners gave rise to widespread suspicion and dissatisfaction there could be no doubt. In illustration, he would take first the case of the Procurator Fiscal of Aberdeen, and he selected him the more readily as he did not personally know that gentleman in the least, and further because, judging from the fact that he was one of the best paid, he presumed he must be one of the most respectable of his class. That gentleman, in addition to being Procurator Fiscal, was also allowed to carry on private practice. He drew £800 a-year salary from the Imperial Exchequer, and he got besides £200 a-year from local funds, and he was allowed private practice as well. His first complaint regarding that gentleman was in a Memorial which had been sent to the Home Secretary in reference to an alarming outbreak of disease or illness which had occurred in connection with the milk supply distributed from the Old Mill Reformatory dairy farm in Aberdeen; 322 persons supplied with that milk were attacked with illness, and of these three died. The inmates of the reformatory, who were said to have been supplied with the same milk, escaped without illness. An investigation was held into the matter, in the first place, by the Directors, and the Procurator Fiscal of Aberdeen acted as the private professional agent of these Directors. The result of that investigation was not made known. Then another investigation into the subject was made by the Procurator Fiscal himself in the public interest. The result of his investigation was that nothing was done, and that, according to the statement of one of the sufferers, he expressed himself convinced that the occurrence of the outbreak was not connected with the milk at all, but was due to an epidemic from other causes which had broken out amongst the wealthy classes in Aberdeen. Lastly, an investigation into the matter was ordered and held under the Public Health Act, and the same gentleman was again the professional agent for that inquiry. Well, nothing definite transpired from that investigation; but the Memorial to which he (Dr. Cameron) had referred, and which had been signed not only by 220 of the sufferers, but also endorsed by members of the leading Medical Societies in Aberdeen, pointed out that, according to the books of the Institution, the quantity of milk supplied was vastly more than that produced for such supply in the dairy, and that, therefore, adulteration must have taken place. Under these circumstances, it was most important that a prosecution for adulteration should have been instituted; but nothing of the sort had ever taken place. No wonder the Memorialists demanded another and an impartial inquiry, grounding their demand upon the very equivocal position of the Procurator Fiscal in connection with the three investigations which had taken place. The second complaint had come to him in an official letter from the Aberdeen City Parochial Board. It appeared that a convict named Brown had been discharged from Perth Prison on a ticket-of-leave. Some point having been raised regarding the man's sanity, the Inspector of Poor had him examined by five medical men, and not one of them certified the discharged convict as insane. But the Procurator Fiscal got two medical men to certify insanity, and the man was sent to a lunatic asylum. In connection with this the Procurator Fiscal sent in a bill for £40—£12 6*s.* 4*d.* of which went into his own pocket. Now, people argued that if Brown was a dangerous lunatic, he should not have been discharged on ticket-of-leave; and the Parochial Board thought that these investigations would be more satisfactory if the Procurator Fiscal were not allowed to make money in connection with them. And the lunatics themselves did not like the business either. One man who had had the misfortune to suffer from temporary mental derangement, which necessitated his removal for a time to a lunatic asylum, found upon returning home a bill against him by the Procurator Fiscal several times larger than what his treatment and cure in the asylum had cost; and he (Dr. Cameron) had been informed by the Chairman of the Parochial Board that the same Procurator Fiscal had, in connection with similar cases, sent in other bills to the Board amounting to some £97 in the course of less than a year. He thought he had shown that in Aberdeen a large portion of the respectable inhabitants had reasonable cause for suspicion as to the manner in which the Procurator Fiscal administered his functions. The Medical Faculty, the parochial authorities, and the solicitors had reason for dissatisfaction. As to the dissatisfaction of the solicitors, an advocate or solicitor wrote him that on the day previous he had occasion to prepare a petition in connection with a breach of an interim interdict which had been granted against a person, of whom the Procurator Fiscal was the agent. It was necessary that the formal concurrence of the Procurator Fiscal should be appended to the document, and a clerk was sent over to his office for his signature. The clerk noticed that he was detained in getting change when he was paying the small fee. On crossing the street to the Sheriff Clerk's office to present the petition and obtain an extract, he found that he had been forestalled, and that a *caveat* had been lodged against extracting judgment. The gentleman wrote that it appeared one of the Fiscal's partners had utilized his clerk's detention while obtaining change to be beforehand with him at the Sheriff Clerk's, thus lodging the *caveat* and preventing the immediate remedy which his client would have obtained. This appeared to be precisely one of those cases where there was no earthly excuse for a continuance of the present state of matters. In Glasgow, Dundee, Paisley, and other places, the necessity had been recognized of preventing Procurators Fiscal from engaging in other than their official work. In Aberdeen the Procurator Fiscal, as he had already stated, received £1,000, besides being allowed his private practice; and he had shown the results of such combination, so far as the public interest was concerned. But the evil results of such a system were far worse in country districts, for there the lawyers belonged generally to one class of society, and the criminals, whom it was their duty to prosecute, belonged to another. The crimes were mostly class crimes—poaching cases, petty thefts, disturbances arising out of evictions, &c.; and the Procurators Fiscal were the land agents and friends and legal advisers of the landlords. A man had only to be appointed Fiscal to obtain such advantages over his fellow-solicitors as to secure all the outlying business. He did not say that the landed proprietors employed him because they thought it might be useful to have him on their side in case occasion should arise; but they certainly did employ him because he travelled about the country in the course of his official business, and could thus, when in the neighbourhood, attend to their private business while travelling at the public expense. If this were denied, he had received numerous complaints from country solicitors on the point, and one of them sent him a letter in which the reason for appointing the Procurator Fiscal agent to an important Highland estate in preference to his correspondent, who was also a candidate for the post, was distinctly stated to be that his official duties so frequently called him to the district. They monopolized all sorts of business. One correspondent complained that a certain Procurator Fiscal was not only a practising solicitor, member of a firm which managed a large number of estates, but clerk and treasurer to a Road Trust, secretary to a Parochial Board, assistant to an assessor in the valuation of lands, sub-collector of county assessments, and a bank agent. Another correspondent called attention to another gentleman on the list, who was not only Procurator Fiscal, practising solicitor, and land agent, but was, or had been, clerk to four school boards and secretary to a Harbour Commission. No wonder these gentlemen had often no time to attend to their official duties, and that they were often obliged to delegate the investigation of criminal matters to young clerks, and allow accused persons to lie in prison longer than was at all necessary. From a Highland county he had a complaint last year that, a couple of months previously, two cases of infanticide had occurred in the district, in one of which the body of the child had been found in an ashpit; and that another case had been reported in another part of the county. He had put a Question to the Lord Advocate on the subject, which the right hon. and learned Gentleman answered nearly three months after the date of the occurrence; and from that it appeared that precognitions had not been sent in to the Crown Office till after the appearance of the Question on the Paper. The Procurator Fiscal in that case figured in the Return as a practising solicitor and a land agent. A couple of years ago, his hon. Friend the Member for Inverness (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh) called attention to the fact that in the case of the Loch Carron evictions, which resulted in rioting, the eviction proceedings had been carried through by a gentleman who was no other than the Procurator Fiscal, who might be called upon to prosecute the rioters. Only a few months ago, he (Dr. Cameron) had had his attention called to another case, in which 41 eviction summonses had been taken out by a land agent who was also Fiscal in the district. Happily, the evictions were not carried out; and the evils of such a system did not, therefore, receive practical illustration. But the people naturally distrusted the administration of justice under such a system. Anyone who had watched the proceedings of the Royal Commission on the Highlands and Islands must have observed numerous instances of this; and he should be greatly disappointed if a recommendation that Fiscals be not allowed to act as agents for landed proprietors were not embodied among the recommendations of the Commissioners. With one case which had arisen out of the proceedings of the Commission he proposed to conclude his illustrations of the evils of the present system. General Burroughs, proprietor of the Island of Rousay, in the Orkneys, took such umbrage at the evidence given by the delegates from his tenantry before the Commission, that he point-blank refused to give any assurance to the Commissioners that no one of his tenants should be evicted in consequence of the evidence given by them before the Commission. And he was as good as his word, for he afterwards proceeded to evict two of the delegates who had given evidence. ["Oh, oh!"] He (Dr. Cameron) was not going to say anything of General Burroughs, who, no doubt, had acted within his legal rights, and who had, by this mode of proceeding, unintentionally rendered great service to the cause of land reform in Scotland. But his actions were, of course, unpopular; and he received a threatening letter, of which he complained to the Procurator Fiscal, who was also his private agent. That gentleman (the Procurator Fiscal) set out in one of Her Majesty's gunboats with the Sheriff and the chief of police to the Island, and then set about the investigation of the case by examining a boy named Leonard; having before doing so obtained also a warrant for the arrest of a boy named Mainland, son of a tenant. In examining the lad Leonard, a lad of 14 years of age, son of one of the evicted tenants, according to the boy's own account, the Procurator Fiscal asked him to write, to see, he said, if the lad was a good or a bad writer. The lad wrote half-an-hour or so, and filled a page and a-half of large paper. Then the Fiscal said something about his being a good writer; but he had been so frightened that he was glad to get away. The lad said he had been asked to write some bad expressions, which he at first hesitated to do, but was too frightened to refuse. He did not know, he said, why he had been asked to write; but he had heard afterwards that General Burroughs had received a threatening letter, and that they were after him. He (Dr. Cameron) had addressed a Question to the Lord Advocate on this subject; and the explanation given by the Fiscal was that, having been satisfied himself of the lad's innocence of the crime by his precognition, he had asked him to write certain sentences from the threatening letter, in order to confirm his impression of the boy's innocence. Now, it appeared to him (Dr. Cameron) that this official explanation was most suspicious and objectionable. If the boy was suspected of guilt, why was he not examined before the Sheriff? What business was it of the Procurator to extract corroborative proof of the boy's innocence? For whose satisfaction did he do it? Was it for the satisfaction of his client, General Burroughs? Under the circumstances, one could not wonder that the peasantry of Orkney and their sympathizers all through Scotland believed that the Procurator had made a most indefensible attempt to entrap this frightened boy into making a confession of guilt in the interest of his employer, General Burroughs. Now, the other boy (Mainland) was arrested in another Island, and during his passage to Kirkwall, and prior to his examination, had been kept 20 hours without food. He was submitted to an examination of four hours' duration. He was, among other matters, asked about the proceedings that had taken place at a crofters' meeting, and—according to his own statement—what had been said there about the laird, to which he replied that he did not remember. The Fiscal, he said, thereupon got very angry, and spoke in a loud, threatening manner, striking the desk violently with his fist. He put the same question to the boy several times, to which the lad gave the same answer. Now, this was according to the statement of the boy. It might be quite untrue, just as it might be untrue that the Fiscal had urged him to answer certain questions, and said that if he did not it would be the worse for him. But he (Dr. Cameron) did say that the examination, to his mind, would have appeared much more satisfactory if the examination of the boy had been conducted with less secrecy, and by some other person than a Procurator Fiscal, the agent of a proprietor who had displayed so much vindictiveness and irascibility in connection with the case. The Procurator Fiscal of Perth received £950 per annum from the Imperial Exchequer, and £100 locally; the Procurators of Falkirk and Stirling received each £800, in addition to sums from local funds; and of 38 Procurators Fiscal also allowed to carry on practice, whose salaries were given in the Estimates, 16 drew £500 or upwards, and 28 £300 or upwards, the average of the 10 lowest in official salary being £160. £1,400 additional would raise the salary of each of these to £300, and £2,000 to £350 each, and this in addition to their receipts from local funds; and that would be a larger income than the income enjoyed by country clergymen and other professional men in the country districts in Scotland. In fact, to put this matter on a satisfactory footing in Scotland, what was wanted was not expense, but reorganization. Let the Government recast the whole system. Since the establishment of railways and the electric telegraph, it would be a very easy matter to combine several small districts under one man, who might work in conjunction with a Commissioner, to deal with cases of extreme urgency. Cut down extravagant salaries where now paid, and there would be a surplus to deal with. Promote men who were the lowest paid, but who showed an aptitude for the work, to the higher posts, and that would afford a motive for activity and energy, which, unfortunately, did not now exist. Take long service into account as a claim for retiring allowances, as in the case of Judges. There would then be found no difficulty in obtaining a better class of men than were appointed at present. All this might be done, he believed, with very slight additional expense; but even if a little additional expense were required in order to remove from the administration of Criminal Law in Scotland a blemish which interfered with its efficiency, and which alienated public confidence and sympathy, still Scotland was entitled to it. Scotland was more heavily taxed in proportion to its wealth than any other division of the United Kingdom. Scotch administration cost little. There was no hankering, among Scottish Representatives, after useless subsidies. But to whatever money might be necessary to secure the administration of justice freely, impartially, and in a manner that would commend itself to the public confidence, they felt they had a right, which he believed the Central Government would be the very first to admit. He had, however, expressed his conviction that little expenditure would be required if reorganization was properly set about; and, in conclusion, he begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had very great pleasure in seconding the Motion. If he were to criticize the speech of his hon. Friend, he would say that by addressing himself, not to the use, but to the abuse of the Scotch system, he was afraid the hon. Gentleman had given the enemy occasion to blaspheme, as it might be thought that the whole system was bad. He entirely disagreed with that view. He though that the Scotch system was an excellent system; but it was liable to the abuses which had been pointed out. The question was a most important one, both in its relation to the administration of local affairs in Scotland and as regarded jurisdiction affecting a wider area. It seemed to him a very extraordinary thing that, both in the House and outside, those people who ought to know something of the British Empire were extraordinarily ignorant of the Scotch system of Criminal Law. He thought he might claim to have had a very considerable experience of criminal procedure in various parts of the world; and his experience showed that the Scotch criminal system, when not abused, was the very best system with which he was acquainted. His personal acquaintance with the system was a favourable one. In the county of Fife, where they had Procurators Fiscal who were public servants, and not engaged in private practice, the system had worked admirably; but, unfortunately, as his hon. Friend had stated, the machinery for carrying out the Scotch system had not been developed and increased in proportion to the needs of the country, and the consequence was that in some cases there was great deficiency, and in others great abuses had arisen. Under those circumstances, he thought his hon. Friend had made out a case showing there was great reason for want of confidence in many of these functionaries, who were not only public servants, but were engaged at the same time in private practice. A functionary charged with such delicate duties as a Procurator Fiscal had to deal with ought to be removed from any suspicion of partiality, and it was in order to secure this result that his hon. Friend had brought this question forward. He thought his hon. Friend was quite right in saying that it was impossible that they could longer submit to have these delicate public functions exercised by a sort of makeshift, by a functionary who was in the nature of a half-mongrel functionary or half-private practitioner. By a good system of re-organization these evils could be cured without great expense to the public purse. People in Scotland were not desirous to get more from the public purse than was absolutely necessary in the interests of justice and good order. They did not want subsidies for this, that, and the other thing that was unnecessary; but they did think they were entitled to have good justice, and those establishments necessary to secure good justice. While it was necessary for the Treasury to restrain the demands of various Departments of the public administration, they should avoid a cheeseparing policy. They should take a discriminating view of their functions, and, above all, steer clear of being penny-wise and pound-foolish. This country was not so poor and over-taxed that they could not give the small sum necessary to put the administration of justice on a proper footing. Millions of money were spent on military expeditions upon the slightest pretence, to the detriment of all other outlays, however just and reasonable. He agreed with his hon. Friend that it would be possible to have a good official functionary for a district, by which a number of smaller men might be dispensed with; and it might also be possible to unite the office of Procurator Fiscal with other public offices, and thus avoid the necessity for the private practice which, as had been shown, was apt to produce a suspicion of partiality. It was quite true that Scotland was more heavily taxed than any other part of the United Kingdom. It was also true that the Returns did not show this; but the reason was that an enormous amount of taxation was from London, which was just as much the capital of Scotland as of England. England would do well to adopt the Scotch criminal system, instead of maintaining the miserable system of public prosecution supposed to be now established. If this were done Scotland would not grudge her share of the cost. With respect to commercial frauds, he was inclined to think the Scotch system at the present time was not sufficient; but if Procurators Fiscal were put on a better footing than they were, it would be found that their dealings with fraud would be more efficient than they could be now. He looked forward to the time when there would be a general Criminal Code applicable to all parts of the country.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "Procurators Fiscal should be prohibited from acting as factors or agents managing landed estates, and, wherever possible, from engaging in private practice as solicitors within the districts over which their Commissions extend,"—(*Dr. Cameron,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. MACFARLANE said, he was very glad that his hon. Friend had brought this question forward; but he could have wished that before it was discussed the Return promised by the Lord Advocate had been laid on the Table with respect to Sheriffs and Sheriffs' Clerks, his object in moving for that Return being to show that the abuses complained of were not confined to Procurators Fiscal. He did not desire to go into the minute details of his hon. Friend; but he wished to point out to the Government that the system in Scotland of Procurators Fiscal, Sheriffs' Clerks, or other officials acting as landlords' agents was at the root of half the difficulties arising in Scotland. If this system had not existed, he did not believe the atrocious oppression that had been perpetrated in Scotland in the name of the law would have been possible. By this corrupt and rotten system the landlords were able to carry on their oppression in any manner they chose, and it was an absolute barrier to the poor obtaining justice. The poor ignorant people being served with notice of eviction by the Procurator Fiscal, as the agent of the landlord, abstained from appealing to the law for protection, not that the law would have given them much protection even if they had appealed. He could tell the Lord Advocate that there was a spirit rising in Scotland upon this subject that would not be easily quelled, and in the City of Glasgow, a few days ago, he saw a part of that spirit. It was a spirit he did not wish to see raised in Scotland or anywhere else; but if they wanted to put down that spirit, and obtain peace and prevent Communism, they must do justice. It was their injustice that was bringing about that spirit. There was not a more law-abiding people than the people of Scotland; but he believed, if they could get the evidence of the cases of oppression perpetrated by Scotch lairds on their own people, the House would be shocked, and it would exceed in atrocity and enormity almost anything that had been perpetrated in Ireland, which was certainly saying a good deal. But there was no public opinion in Scotland. The people were isolated, and were thus prevented from combining for self-defence, and they had been trampled upon in consequence. He was anxious to hear the defence of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate, and what he was going to propose in a practical shape to put an end to this atrocious system; because, as he had said before, there was a spirit rising in the Island of Skye which it would be hard to suppress without bloodshed, and if there was bloodshed in Scotland the right hon. and learned Gentleman knew the consequences. He hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman would deal with this question in a serious spirit, and do something to check this movement that was rising and increasing every day, and which might soon be a very serious embarrassment to the Government.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he thought the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had done great good in bringing forward this subject. The Lord Advocate would be strengthened very much by this debate in carrying out the reforms which were needed. He would like the right hon. and learned Gentleman to state the facts connected with the Procurator Fiscal of Aberdeen, to whom the hon. Member for Glasgow had referred. He was an official who was highly esteemed, and in whom great confidence had been shown.

MR. DALRYMPLE said, he agreed with the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir George Balfour) that the subject was of great importance; but the Motion did not require the kind of support which it received from the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane), who imported into the discussion a great variety of topics which really had very little to do with the subject. This was not the occasion to inveigh against the Land Laws of Scotland, nor, indeed, to refer to the excitement which prevailed in some parts of the Western Highlands, with which, possibly, the hon. Member might have had something to do. He agreed with the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour) that the hon. Member for Glasgow had done good service in bringing this question forward, and he also agreed very much with what the Motion proposed. He thought, however, that in recent appointments there had been a stipulation that Procurators

Fiscal should not take private practice, and that was a step in the direction of the present Motion. He was afraid that there would be a difficulty in cases where those officials received only small salaries if they were not to be allowed to take private practice. It would also be an evil if a lower class of men were appointed to fill these offices; but even such cases might be met by the suggestion of giving a Procurator Fiscal several districts in common. The fact that the Procurator Fiscal was engaged in private practice and employed as a land agent might render his task a difficult one; but he (Mr. Dalrymple) could not admit that the result was of the kind that had been described. It had been said that a Procurator Fiscal so engaged might be too ready to proceed against persons on account of any offence; but his impression was that the result of such business relations was apt to be that crime was not proceeded against enough, rather than that it was proceeded against with too great celerity. Whatever might be the state of matters in particular districts, he was of opinion that, as far as possible, the Procurators Fiscal should devote themselves to their public duties; and he trusted that that would be the view taken by the Lord Advocate.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH said, he thought the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow deserved credit for bringing forward this Motion. Personally, he had for many years taken a great interest in it; and in 1877, on the Sheriffs' Court Bill, he moved an Amendment in the direction of his hon. Friend's Motion. That Amendment the House divided upon in his absence; but it was, although lost, nevertheless supported by a majority of the Scottish Members. He was quite aware that it was stated on that occasion that there was difficulty in confining a Fiscal to his duties as prosecutor, owing to the expense which would be incurred in the payment of larger salaries. No doubt, some years ago a Royal Commission reported against such a proposal; but a very considerable minority on that Commission were of opinion that that circumstance should not be allowed to stand in the way of the change. As the Report of the Commission on the Highlands and Islands had been laid upon the Table of the House, although it was not yet in the hands of Members, he thought he was entitled to refer to it so far as to say that the Commission which sat last year found it necessary to touch in their Report upon this particular point, and by a very large majority, indeed, they reported that Procurators Fiscal should be strictly confined to their duties. He trusted the Lord Advocate would look at this matter seriously, as the speech of the hon. Member for Buteshire (Mr. Dalrymple) showed that it was not a Party question. The time, he thought, had come when the Government must take up this question by deciding it as a whole. It was not, he thought, necessary to have a Procurator Fiscal in each county. An efficient person might be appointed to a certain district, and deserving men could have their positions improved by transfer from minor to more important districts. He thought they were entitled to call upon the Lord Advocate to give a very explicit answer as to what the Government intended to do. If they did not obtain such an answer, the hon. Member for Glasgow was bound, by a Division, to test the opinion of the Scottish Members.

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, that he did not altogether agree with all that had been said by the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane), and neither could he endorse some of the observations which fell from the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron). A main principle of the Motion of the hon. Member, however, was one which must commend itself to the House. It was most desirable, wherever it was possible, that Procurators should be paid entirely by salaries, and not by private practice. The question was a practical and financial one, as well as one of area; but he had doubts as to whether the proposal in the Motion could be carried out in every case, both on account of the area of the district and the salary to be given. He hoped the Lord Advocate would be able to tell them that the object they had in view, if not entirely, would to a large degree be entertained. With regard to General Burroughs, he thought it was a matter of regret that he had refused to give a promise to the Commission that he would take no steps against any tenants who came forward as witnesses. In one case that had been brought forward against General Burroughs the man was not a tenant at all, but merely the relation of a tenant who had been allowed to remain on.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): There can be no doubt of the importance of the question that has been raised by this Motion; but I scarcely think it will be expected that I should traverse the earlier part of my hon. Friend's address, in which he entered into, or touched upon, some of the more general questions arising as between public and private prosecutions. We know that that is a very vexed question; but, I think, on the whole, we in Scotland prefer our own system. Of course, that system is not perfect; but the statement I have just made will have general assent. I should scarcely have thought it necessary to say this much had it not been for some language which fell from the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) in regard to that system. The system which prevails in Scotland, I believe, not only leads to the detection of crime more effectually than the system which prevails in the South, but it affords very important safeguards to the innocent. We have in Scotland prosecutions conducted by responsible public officials; and inquiries which are carried out, not by any means with the object of obtaining a conviction, right or wrong, but for the purpose of obtaining full information in the first place, and of seeking a conviction only if the responsible authorities are satisfied that the accused are really guilty. Each case is examined in a judicial spirit; and no proceedings are directed to be taken except in cases where it is believed there is guilt, and where there is a reasonable prospect of that guilt being established by evidence. Undoubtedly, a very important protection is thus thrown around persons who may have become the victims of suspicion, or of charges which prove to be unfounded. On that point I think there is great superiority in the Scotch system. I do not go into the matter of declarations, which my hon. Friend touched upon; but that does seem to me to be a very important feature of our system, because it gives an accused person, as soon as he is apprehended and put under charge, an opportunity of saying anything he chooses, but he is not compelled to speak. An opportunity is offered to him to say anything he has to say; and I well know from experience that this not infrequently results in innocent persons, when they tell what is a true story, which is immediately investigated, being set at liberty. No doubt, it does sometimes happen that embarrassing admissions are made by guilty persons, or falsehoods told, which, when they come to be confronted with the evidence given at the trial, aid in their conviction; but I do not suppose anyone will think that is to the public disadvantage. In one criticism of my hon. Friend I very much sympathize—namely, that which he made in regard to prisoners not being allowed access to their solicitors or their friends during a particular stage of the inquiry. On that point I feel the force of what has been said. But, in coming to the main question raised by my hon. Friend, I think it right to say he must be under some misapprehension. Those who are not familiar with our Scotch system would greatly err if they supposed Procurators Fiscal have nearly the amount of power which he—no doubt inadvertently—led the House to suppose. A Procurator Fiscal, in what he does, acts both under the Sheriff of the county, and under the Lord Advocate and his subordinates in the Crown Office. He is amenable to both; and while it is true that some of the more trivial cases are not reported to the Crown Office, all grave cases are reported to that, where they are considered, and further proceedings or further inquiries are directed, or no proceedings ordered, as the Lord Advocate or his deputies think right. It would, therefore, be quite a mistake to imagine that a Procurator Fiscal has anything like large judgment and entire control which might have been supposed from some portions of my hon. Friend's speech. The system is well known to Scotch Members; and I do not think it is necessary to say more on that head. In regard to the more general question of principle which has been raised, I should entirely assent to the view that, wherever you can get competent and efficient men to devote their services exclusively to this or any other public duty, it is desirable that such exclusive services should be obtained; and that, I think, is the main proposition that my hon. Friend desires to have affirmed. But that must always be under conditions; and I think my hon. Friend recognizes this in one part of his Resolution, when he says that "wherever possible" they shall be restrained from engaging in private practice. This I interpret as a recognition of the fact that, without greatly higher salaries, it would be quite impossible to obtain the exclusive services of gentlemen of the class who have hitherto held the office of Procurator Fiscal. It is, however, not merely a question of money, as I shall immediately point out. Something has been said in regard to the union and the consolidation of the areas which are under the charge of different Fiscals; and if this could be accomplished, one very great difficulty would be got over. If it were possible, by placing a larger district under the authority of one man, to amalgamate offices now held separately, this would afford a means of providing an adequate salary for one good official. But anyone who is familiar with Scotland must know that that is very seldom possible. The great difficulty is that you cannot, if our system is to be effectively worked, have Procurators Fiscal located at too great distances from each other. You must have the Procurators Fiscal reasonably accessible to the inhabitants of the particular area, so that the police may report to him, and he may be able to proceed with his investigation as speedily as possible, going personally, in many cases, to the place where the crime has been committed, and also that witnesses may be brought to him for precognition. It will, therefore, be seen that there is a practical limit to the consolidation or union of areas; and it often is necessary, and, I fear, will remain necessary, to have a Procurator Fiscal at places where his official duties do not give him full employment. In many other branches of the Public Service you can work a man to the full by putting more districts under his authority; but, for the reasons I have stated, this frequently could not be done in the case of a Procurator Fiscal. There is nothing more familiar in human experience than this—that if you are to have an efficient man you must have a man in reasonably full employment. You get the best work out of the man who is worked up to nearly or altogether to his full power, and there can be no doubt that if in the area which is under the charge of a man who has not full employment in his official duties, and who is debarred from taking other work, he would degenerate. His energy, his vigilance, his sagacity, his penetration—all those qualities which make a good Fiscal—would seriously suffer. So that, while I acknowledge the general principle contended for by my hon. Friend, I say that the qualification "wherever possible" should be extended to the whole of his Resolution. This matter was very fully considered by the Royal Commission which sat on the Scottish Law Courts from 1868 to 1871; and we who are familiar with it know that it was probably one of the strongest Commissions which has ever inquired into the important range of subjects submitted to it. A great deal of evidence was laid before that Commission, and most of the Members were men who had themselves had great practical experience of its working. It is only right that I should read the few lines in which they dealt with the subject now before the House, for the purpose of showing that it is not quite so easy or so plain a matter as might be thought from the speech of my hon. Friend. These lines read—

> "With reference to the office of Procurator Fiscal, we approve of the mode in which these officials were appointed, and the conditions under which they hold office. The majority do not concur in the suggestion that Procurators Fiscal should be prohibited from private practice, and think the effect of such a prohibition might not infrequently be to prevent the public from obtaining for this important office the services of the most suitable person. The minority, who consider that the ends of justice would be better attained if the Procurators Fiscal were debarred from private professional practice, are at the same time persuaded that this view can only be carried out by enlarging the present rates of salaries allowed to these officials, and giving them a corresponding retiring allowance."

It will be seen that there was a majority of that exceedingly well-informed and influential Commission who did not see their way to laying down any such hard-and-fast rule.

MR. MACFARLANE: Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman read the names?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): The list is a long one. I will give it to the hon. Member; but I may only mention to the House that the Members comprised many of the most eminent lawyers in England and Scotland, and gentlemen representing varied interests. The hon. Member for North

Lanarkshire (Sir Edward Colebrooke), the hon. Member for Dumbarton (Mr. Orr-Ewing), the right hon. Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth), and the present Lord Provost of Edinburgh (Mr. Harrison) were Members of that Commission, which, alike from its constitution and the result of its labours, commanded the greatest respect in Scotland. To the general principle I entirely assent; and the best evidence of this, both with respect to this particular office and another office that has been referred to, is that in nearly every case of the appointment of a Sheriff Clerk with which I have had to do, a clause has been inserted in the Commission restraining the person appointed from engaging in private practice. I may point out that the appointment of Procurators Fiscal does not rest with the Government. Under the Act of 1877, Fiscals are appointed by the Sheriff, and only the approval of the Home Secretary is required. But I may add, with respect to the vacancies that have occurred since I have been in Office, that whenever the Sheriff has spoken to me before making an appointment, I have asked—"Is there such a salary as will induce a good man to accept the office, giving up other work?" In some cases such a man has been found, in others he has not; but I think the House will see that the general principle is recognized by the Government, and that as far as the conditions of the case will permit.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY: What of the case of Aberdeen?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): I cannot speak as to that; the appointment was made before I came into Office. I think it is to be regretted that my hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow should have thought it necessary, in support of the general principle which he advocated, to say some things to which I cannot assent, but from which I must express a very emphatic dissent. He said, among other things, that there was no class regarded with so wide suspicion as the Procurators Fiscal in Scotland. ["Hear, hear!"] I entirely dissent from that statement. I think I have had as good means as most people—and better, perhaps, than my hon. Friend—for many years past of knowing what sort of men Procurators Fiscal are, and also of ascertaining the public estimate of them; and I can say that I do not believe that there exists in Scotland, or in any other country, a body of more honourable, or more zealous public officials, or of public servants who are more efficient in the discharge of their duties. I have not only to judge of their work, but to consider any complaints that may be urged against them, either in respect of omission or of over-zeal; and the result of the inquiries made has been generally, if not almost invariably, to vindicate the Procurators Fiscal. In none of the cases which we have had occasion to investigate have we found the conduct of any one of those gentlemen deserving of censure on the ground of impropriety. There may have been errors of judgment; but I regret that my hon. Friend used the expression to which I have referred, as I am satisfied that it was not in accordance with the fact. He mentioned a number of particular cases in aid of his general argument, and he classed these under various heads. The first I understand to be cases in which he says that proceedings should have been taken and were not taken; and he mentioned a class of offences under an Act of Parliament of which he was the author which dealt with certain classes of bankruptcy frauds. In this connection he stated that there were scores of cases in which no proceedings were taken. I daresay there are scores of cases in which no proceedings are taken, because I have considered many of them myself, and have directed that proceedings should not be taken; but if my hon. Friend means to say that there have been scores of cases under that Statute in which proceedings were not taken when they ought to have been taken, then I must entirely deny the statement. Numbers of cases have been reported and sent up in due course by the Fiscals to the Crown Office and there considered by the Advocates Depute—very often by the Solicitor General and myself—and where we have thought that a case of contravention of the Act was made out, we have always directed proceedings to be taken; but many cases have been reported in which there was really no ground for proceeding under the Statute. This is, perhaps, a class of cases in which people are sometimes disappointed that proceedings are not taken; because creditors are very apt to smart when they do not get their money, and a certain element of intelligible vindictiveness enters into their conduct in pressing such charges. It, therefore, becomes the duty of those who have to examine such cases to apply their judgment and knowledge of the law and of facts; and I think, if my hon. Friend had the details of these cases, he would not be able to show any case in which proceedings should have been taken and were not taken. A number of other matters were entered into by my hon. Friend, in regard to which I do not think it would be right to detain the House. The Old Mill Reformatory case was the subject of a very careful and detailed inquiry by Mr. Rutherfurd, now Sheriff-Substitute in Edinburgh, and Dr. Littlejohn. It was a very mysterious business in the end as well as in the beginning; but it certainly is not the case that the facts were not sifted. The facts were sifted in the fullest possilbe way, not only by local inquiry, but by this Commission sent down from Edinburgh, consisting of gentlemen having no sort of connection with the locality. My hon. Friend referred to another case where he said there should have been a prosecution——

Dr. CAMERON explained that he was referring to the same subject.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): The result of not one, but of several inquiries into this matter, failed to show that there had been any adulteration of the supply of milk. I know there was a statement sent out in a document purporting to show that from the quantity of milk sold compared with the actual yield there must have been water in it. Rival calculations were made; but the judgment of that entirely impartial tribunal was to establish that nothing of the kind had been proved. It was, undoubtedly, a very mysterious disease; and it was supposed that it must have been due to some singular fungus which had got into the water used either in washing out the pails or put into the milk. But there was no evidence which would have warranted a prosecution in any Court. Something has been said in regard to the expense of certain proceedings with reference to lunatics. I have been asked a Question about the same matter before, and it seemed to me then, as it does now, that the expense was very great. Some communications have taken place on that subject, and the matter is being inquired into. There are some other detailed matters that have been mentioned; but I do not think I should detain the House by going into them. While we assent to the general principle—and I think we have shown the sincerity of that assent by carrying out that principle as far as it was in our power—I am afraid that there are difficulties in the way of carrying it fully into effect which my hon. Friend may not have appreciated, but which I think, from what I have said, the House will understand. It is not necessary to occupy the time of the House by going into what was said by my hon. Friend the Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs (Sir George Campbell). He recognized the general excellence of the system, but thought it might be improved; and, of course, all of us would be glad to improve it if we could. I did regret the language employed by the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane), and it did come in very striking, as well as very sudden, contrast to the language of my hon. Friend the Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs; because while my hon. Friend the Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs spoke with approbation of the criminal system of Scotland generally, the hon. Member for Carlow thought fit to characterize it as "corrupt and rotten." I am glad that language was not used by a Scotch Member. I am quite sure it would not be endorsed by any Scotch Member; and I think I may say the same of a good deal of the other language which the hon. Member for Carlow thought fit to employ. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour) put some questions in regard to some particular accounts. I have not all the details of these accounts. The head he referred to contains a great variety of expenses. There are still a few Fiscals who are paid by fees. Most of them are paid by salary, but there are still a few who are paid by fees; and these, with other charges, are entered under the general head to which my hon. and gallant Friend refers. I may point out, before sitting down, that while this matter has been, and will be, kept in view in future appointments, it would, of course, be impossible, without very large compensation, to alter the tenure of those who took office under the system which now prevails. It has been always regarded—and I think rightly regarded—as of paramount importance to get the services of the very best men for this class of work—men who will command—as I believe they do command—the confidence of the country as a whole. Many of them have been engaged in private practice before and since their appointment; and it is quite plain that the tenure of their office could not be altered after they had accepted it without seeing that full justice was done to them. I hope my hon. Friend will be satisfied with what I have said, and will see that the matter has not been overlooked, and will not be overlooked.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE considered the statement of the Lord Advocate entirely unsatisfactory. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had distinctly admitted that it would be desirable, if possible, to have Procurators Fiscal devoting all their time to the duties of the office; but he had gone on to point out various objections, which resolved themselves into this—that it would cost more. He (Mr. Dick-Peddie) thought that in a matter of so great importance to Scotland a few hundred, or even a few thousand pounds should not be allowed to stand in the way of a change which was necessary to secure public confidence in the administration of justice. The Lord Advocate had also contended that it would be necessary, in some parts of the country where the population was scanty, to maintain the present system. But those were the very districts in which it was necessary for the Procurators Fiscal to be free from every kind of entanglement with local interests; for in the large towns, such as Glasgow and Edinburgh, the chances were that the Procurators would not be interested in the cases brought to their notice otherwise than from their official position, whereas in the country districts the probability was that the reverse would be the case. As to the salary to be paid to officials of this class, he thought the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) took too low an estimate of the amount when he spoke of £300 or £350. He thought that men having the necessary qualifications for the post, with regard alike to legal knowledge, high character, and experience of life, would not be properly remunerated at that rate. The question was one which the Treasury must face. It was monstrous that in a country which contributed so much as Scotland did to the Imperial Exchequer a matter of a few thousand pounds should be allowed to stand in the way of a more efficient method of administering justice. He thought that in a discussion of this kind, turning, after all, upon a question of money, they ought to be favoured with the presence of a Representative of the Treasury. He observed the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) looked in a short time ago; but apparently he just came into the House to go out. Certainly he was not here more than five minutes. The Lord Advocate confessed that the difficulty was one of money; and he knew perfectly well that there was a strong feeling in Scotland that until this money difficulty was got over, and Procurators Fiscal were made entirely independent of other influences of every kind, the poorer classes in Scotland would never be sure of receiving justice. Although he was far from joining in saying anything against the Procurators Fiscal generally—for he knew the great majority of them were men who were above suspicion—still, the system exposed them to temptations which ought not to exist. No system ought to be maintained in public life which did so expose them. He did not wish to prolong the discussion; but rose merely to tell the Lord Advocate that he must not suppose that his statement would satisfy the Scotch people, or that the Scotch Members would allow the matter to rest until the Government faced the financial difficulty.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he thought the Scotch Members had great reason to be dissatisfied with the action of the Government in this matter, especially as no Representative of the Treasury had been present. He was much disappointed by the speech of the Lord Advocate, for the right hon. and learned Gentleman defended the system to a large extent. In his opinion, the system of appointing public prosecutors who were also engaged in private business was altogether indefensible. He was not prepared to say that in very many cases serious harm to justice arose; but certainly, where the Procurator Fiscal was engaged in a large private business, he often found himself in a position in which no man should be placed; and though he might not give way to the temptations to which he was exposed, yet he was open—and necessarily open—to suspicion in many cases. He assured the Lord Advocate that there was a very strong feeling of dissatisfaction in Scotland; and he hoped the Scotch Members would take a Division on the subject as a protest against the present system, and against the manner in which Scotland was being treated by the Government and the Treasury officials. The Lord Advocate had admitted that the question was a question of money, and the proper Treasury official ought to have been present to hear the views of the Scotch Members on the subject.

Mr. M'LAGAN said, there could be no doubt that it would be for the advantage of the public that Procurators Fiscal should have no private practice, but that they should be paid sufficient to enable them to perform the public business without any extraneous support. At the same time, he dissented from a great deal that had been said as to the position of the Procurators Fiscal of the country. There was not a more capable body of men, so far as he was acquainted with them. They discharged their duties most impartially, and in their hands the administration of justice was perfectly safe. He could not, however, conceal the fact that their conducting private practice, and having landed proprietors and others as their clients, exposed them to suspicion which they did not deserve. It would, therefore, be for the advantage of the public that they should be paid from public funds, and have no private practice whatever. The speech of the Lord Advocate seemed to him to have been somewhat misrepresented. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that he defended the Motion theoretically; but that, under present circumstances, he did not see his way to yield to the proposals made by the hon. Member for Glasgow. Still, he agreed with those hon. Members who had stated that this question seemed to have been shunted, and not treated as it ought to have been by the Government. Certainly, some Member of the Treasury ought to have been present to give his views on the subject, seeing that this was more a financial question than anything else. If a Division were taken he should support the Motion of the hon. Member for Glasgow, for this reason—that he thought Procurators Fiscal should be paid by salary and have no private practice.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, he hoped that before they went to a Division the House would know clearly what they were to divide upon. There was an apparent contradiction between the Motion of the hon. Member for Glasgow and the speech in which he introduced it. In his Motion he proposed that the change he suggested should be made wherever practicable—in other words, he admitted that there were cases in which it was impossible. The Lord Advocate had, moreover, shown that he was anxious to adopt the principle wherever it was possible. Therefore, on that point, the Government and the hon. Member were agreed. He thought the hon. Member had fixed the salary too low in placing it at £350 a-year. They were now obtaining the services of some men to whom they paid £800 to £1,000 a-year, some of them being the most influential and able men they could obtain; and he thought the scale of remuneration suggested by the hon. Member was much too low. The hon. Member had also said that he did not object to Procurators engaging in private business outside the area in which they were officially employed; but the only private business a man could undertake would necessarily be in that area. He thought that if the House were asked to divide on the Motion as it was worded, it would be placed in a very awkward position.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 52; Noes 35: Majority 17.—(Div. List, No. 63.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," again proposed.

POST OFFICE OFFICIALS—APPOINTMENT OF SOLICITORS TO POSTMASTERSHIPS.—OBSERVATIONS.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL called attention to the impropriety of appointing solicitors in practice to Postmasterships. The hon. Baronet had given Notice of the following Resolution, which, however, by the Forms of the House, he was precluded from moving:—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the responsibility of appointing to Postmasterships, whatever the salary attached to the appointment, should rest solely with the Postal Authorities, and that the present system of making such appointments in certain cases conditional upon a nomination by Members of Parliament, endorsed by the Patronage Secretary to the Treasury, is anomalous, and calculated to interfere with the efficiency of the Postal and Telegraph Service."

He remarked that the Motion was not at all of a personal or local character, and that it was one which had a very wide application. As it originally stood on the Paper, it applied specifically to an individual case in his own country—namely, the appointment of a solicitor to the Postmastership of Keith on the recommendation of a Member of that House. But now he brought the matter forward entirely in the public interest; and hon. Members opposite would be the more inclined to admit this if he reminded them that this Motion was verbatim the same as one which was submitted to the House by the hon. Member for Glasgow in the last Parliament, and supported by a considerable number of the Gentlemen who now sat on the Treasury Bench. The support of the right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite whom he had mentioned divested the Motion of anything like a personal or partizan character. He believed there could be nothing said against Mr. Fraser, who had been appointed Postmaster at Keith, either as regarded his private character or his business qualifications. But it so happened that a very sinister colour was thrown over the transaction by the fact that Mr. Fraser was at the time of his appointment political agent of the hon. Member for Banffshire (Mr. R. W. Duff). That position he had since resigned; but the wider objection still remained. In the two instances in Scotland in which solicitors had been appointed Postmasters, of which Inverness was one, both appointments were made previously to the telegraph being taken over by the Post Office; consequently, the objection which he and most people entertained to solicitors having access to controversial confidential information conveyed in telegrams did not apply in those cases. But the objection did apply now; and therefore he submitted that the appointment of a solicitor, as in this case, to an office which gave him such an insight into the affairs of his neighbours was most undesirable and improper. The terms of the present Motion, as he had said, were identical with one moved in the last Parliament by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron). In that case his hon. Friend the Member for Bucks (Mr. Fremantle) had recommended an individual in his own county for a certain Postmastership. This individual was not a solicitor, so there was no objection to him on that ground; but the hon. Member for Glasgow characterized his appointment on the recommendation of the hon. Member for Bucks as a discreditable piece of jobbery. The hon. Member for Bucks candidly said the reason he nominated him was not only that he was well fitted to discharge the duties, but that he was a good Tory. Perhaps that was the reason which led the hon. Member for Glasgow to characterize the appointment as a piece of jobbery. He, however, did not wish to use any such expressions as to the recommendation of his hon. Friend the Member for Banffshire (Mr. Duff); but if he did he should have a precedent which was endorsed by the support of eight Members of Her Majesty's Government when in Opposition, including the present Postmaster General. It was on no personal or private grounds that he objected to this appointment. He appealed to the Postmaster General whether it would not be in the public interest that appointments such as this should be made by the Department over which he presided, and entirely without any reference either to the Member for the county in which the office was situated, or to the Government candidate at the last Election? It would be in the public interest, and in the interest of Members themselves; because he could imagine few things more irksome or more harassing than to have to decide between the competing claims of half-a-dozen candidates for some twopenny-halfpenny post office in a rural district. He submitted these considerations to the Postmaster General in the hope that the right hon. Gentleman would show himself of the same mind as he was in 1878; and if he was not able to support the Motion by his vote, that he would give some very good ground for departing from the conclusion at which he then arrived.

MR. R. W. DUFF said, he was not prepared to go into the general question which had been raised by his hon. Friend; but in the course of his speech he had alluded to an appointment for which he (Mr. Duff) might say he was responsible. With regard to Mr. Fraser's appointment, at the time the office became vacant he (Mr. Duff) applied to the usual authorities to know if a practising solicitor was capable of holding the appointment, and he ascertained that such an appointment had frequently been made. There was no doubt Mr. Fraser was admitted to be a most competent person for the office. A Memorial had been addressed to the Postmaster General since the appointment had been criticized, to which there were 989 signatories, two-thirds of whom were householders in the district, expressing their confidence in the appointment. On the other hand, a Petition had been got up against Mr. Fraser, signed by eight individuals, two of whom were non-resident, and who happened to be agents of the Conservative Party in the district. His hon. Friend had also alluded to an occasion when a similar subject was brought before the House some years ago. On that occasion he (Mr. Duff) voted in favour of these appointments being given by the Treasury; and he was much obliged to his hon. Friend for recalling the fact, because it was a proof of his (Mr. Duff's) consistency on the present occasion. With regard to the opinions entertained by the Postmaster General, he thought his right hon. Friend would rather like to see the appointments in the hands of the Post Office; but during the time he had been in Office the Treasury had always exercised that patronage, and he did not suppose those who held Office under the Treasury would like to see it given up. And if his hon. Friend would refer to the Division List in 1878, he would find that all his own Friends connected with the Treasury were in favour of these appointments being given to the Treasury. With regard to the fact of a Postmaster being a solicitor, he had no doubt objection might exist on the ground of his having access to telegrams'; but, on the other hand, the Post Office was not prepared to pay people to do the work of the Post Office exclusively. If an appointment of this kind was given to a grocer he would equally know all about everything that was going on among the other grocers, and he did not know that such an appointment would be any improvement upon the present system. He might remind his hon. Friend, in view of his objection to a solicitor having the appointment, that the Inverness Post Office, which was a much more important office than Keith, was given, he believed, by a Conservative Member who was very much respected—Mr. Baillie.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: That was before the telegraphs were taken over by the Post Office.

MR. R. W. DUFF said, that was quite true; but the Conservative Government never cancelled the appointment after that date. He did not think a case had been made out against the appointment in question; and he was quite satisfied it was one which had given great satisfaction to the neighbourhood.

MR. GORST said, he thought that the hon. Member had done good service by calling attention to the matter. This was the only instance of patronage in which a Member of the Party which happened at the time to be in Office was allowed to recommend a person to the Public Service, not for his fitness to discharge the duties of the office, but because he happened to be a political supporter. In that question both Governments were equally to blame; but he was quite sure that the Postmaster General would not say one thing when in Opposition and another when in Office; and he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would support the Motion. He had no desire whatever to throw any blame in this matter upon the present Government, because he was confident that if the Front Opposition Bench were occupied when the Estimates were being discussed, the Members of the late Government would have to confess that they were as much to blame with regard to this subject as their political opponents. The real fault lay with the system under which these appointments were made. He trusted that now that the attention of the Government had been drawn to this subject, that system would be put an end to.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF, with all due respect to the hon. Member for

Banffshire (Mr. R. W. Duff), contended that the recommendation of Mr. Fraser was not a fortunate one, because he was a political agent.

Mr. R. W. DUFF: He had ceased to be a political agent before he got the appointment.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he was, at any rate, a political partizan. Supposing a political agent happened to be a Postmaster, with access to the telegrams, and during an election an important telegram happened to be sent for the opposite Party, it would take some time to reach its destination. And supposing, also, that in the middle of some professional case, conducted by the Postmaster as a solicitor, a telegram came which was of material importance to the opposite side, and referring to some point of law, would he not be open to a temptation which ought not to be thrown in the way of a public official? The Government should look carefully into these matters, which appeared liable to lead to grave abuses.

CHARITY COMMISSIONERS — ALLOTMENTS EXTENSION ACT, 1882.

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS, in rising to call attention to the action of the Charity Commissioners with regard to the Allotments Extension Act, 1882, remarked that this was a subject that affected thousands of the very poorest agricultural labourers in the country; and it was no exaggeration to say that it was one that was a matter of life and death to them, as it made the difference between their being half-starved and having enough to eat. He was sitting down some time ago with a man and his family, who were having dinner on bread and onions; and, but for the allotment, they would have been minus the onions when they sat down to table. He was glad to see the Prime Minister in his place, because he found it necessary to appeal to the Government, instead of to the Charity Commissioners, in order to know from them whether an Act of Parliament passed for the benefit of poor labouring men was to be entirely ignored or rendered a dead letter? It would be in the recollection of the House that in 1882 an Act was passed which provided that the Trustees of all the Charity lands of the country, the proceeds of which were not devoted to educational, ecclesiastical, or apprenticeship purposes, should be compelled to offer these lands to the agricultural labourers and others in the parishes in which they were situated. In the original draft of the Act, the County Court was made the Court of Appeal from the Trustees; but, unfortunately, as the Bill was passing through Parliament, the Charity Commissioners were substituted for the County Court, with the result that the Act had, in many cases, become a dead letter. The object of the Act was to insure the land being offered in plots of not more than one acre to poor labourers at a fair rent — that was, at an agricultural rent. Every hon. Member in that House must be convinced of the immense importance of such plots of land to the agricultural labourer. In many cases the Trustees of the Charity lands had acted in the most liberal and enlightened manner; but in the majority of instances they had either not acted at all, or they had imposed restrictions altogether illegal, as to rent and so forth, which had made it difficult, if not impossible, for these poor men to avail themselves of the Act. In all the cases where the Trustees declined to move it was the duty of the Charity Commissioners to enforce the compulsory clause of the Act. Instead of doing so, they had, in many instances, refrained from acting, and in some cases had aided the Trustees in their efforts to defeat the Act. Such had been the deadlock that a Society—the Allotments Extension Association—had been established to see that an Act of Parliament passed almost unanimously should not be allowed to become useless owing to the disinclination to move on the part of those responsible to carry it out. In these circumstances, he had been forced to call the attention of the House to the subject. He possessed a list of some 70 or 80 cases, with reference to which between 1,000 and 2,000 letters had passed between the Allotments Extension Association, the Charity Commissioners, and the Trustees. In most of these cases, had the Charity Commissioners written a single letter to the Trustees, pointing out the compulsory character of the Act, and requiring them to move the land, would have been in possession of the land by this time. As a matter of fact, there had been constant delays, and, in most cases, the applicants were now no better off than they were 18 months ago, when they began their applications. There were thousands of men who, when the Allotments Extension Act was passed, looked upon it as a little salvation for them, and their disappointment was very great when they found that they had been deprived of the benefit which it conferred upon them. The applications made to the Charity Commissioners during the last 16 months to see that the law should be enforced had proved fruitless. The men had been, in many cases, told that the land was too remote, while, in fact, it was quite near and very suitable. These English agricultural labourers had displayed exemplary patience in the matter. While in Scotland they heard that something like revolution would ensue if justice were not done, the labourers in England were very patient, though they had in one case threatened to cut the church bell ropes. The men felt the grievance all the more acutely, because the provisions of the Act of Parliament were clear and precise. He maintained that the Commissioners had no right to decide, as they had done in some cases, that grass land should not be put into the hands of the men. The Commissioners excused themselves by saying that the income from grass lands would be greater than if these lands were cut up. But what were the facts? Among others, he would mention to the House a case which occurred at Haddenham. There the land was grass land; but the men were refused it. The land was let locally at about £5 for 10 acres, and the men were asked to pay 32*s.* an acre for it. That land was let at the rate of about 10*s.* an acre. Now, where was the advantage to the Charity? Then there was another case which was published in *The Bury and Norwich Post.* The editor of that paper complained very properly of the manner in which the labourers were treated. He said that the land was let in allotments to 16 villagers. That word "villagers" sounded very well; but the worst of it was that the land had previously been let at 40*s.* an acre, while the cottagers were obliged to pay 55*s.* for it. That was illegal, because the Act said that the plots should be let at the same rate as land of the same quality in the parish. The editor went on to say, however, that he did not think the men would gain much by their plots this year, owing to the high rent, though they might, perhaps, do so next year. The men were afraid of the Charity Commissioners, and they mistrusted them. When the Act was before the House of Commons a Petition was sent in its favour from a district with which he was acquainted, and the Petitioners prayed that no power should be placed in the hands of the Charity Commissioners for the purpose of granting allotments; but that the power should be vested in the Vestry, which had hitherto exercised wisely the powers that had been intrusted to it. He hoped that when a Local Authority in counties was created the management of these lands would be one of the duties intrusted to it. He would point out that in many cases the labourers were willing to give a higher rent for the land than the Trustees obtained from others to whom they let it; and that when the Allotments Association wrote to the Charity Commissioners on the subject they declined to discuss it, except with persons interested under the Act. It was not a question now between the labourers and the Charity Commissioners, but between the Charity Commissioners and the Government. He hailed the time when local self-government would be established, which would enable the labourers to protect themselves. People talked about setting class against class; but the action of the Charity Commissioners, especially in the matter of these allotments, had tended more to set class against class than any agitation that he knew of. He had seen it, and could prove it by letters which he had received. Sometimes, also, the Trustees demanded payment of a year's rent in advance. Now, to ask an agricultural labourer to pay down two or three sovereigns in advance, as had been done, was adding insult to injury. Representative rural governments would prevent such injustice as he had described, and would be only second in importance to the Representation of the People Bill. The condition of these men was one that entitled them to fair and generous consideration; and that, he thought, they had not had. He had himself taxed the Chairman of the Charity Commissioners (Sir Seymour Fitzgerald) with unhandsome opposition to the Bill during its passage through

Parliament. The question was, would the Government allow the Charity Commissioners to override an Act of Parliament? He was tired of applying to the Charity Commissioners. He was told that if he went to them he would get what he wanted; but he went to them once, and he would not go again. He did not see why he should ask as a favour that which they were bound to do by Act of Parliament. A case had been brought to his notice in which the Trustees were selling a piece of land; and when the purchasers found that the sale was contrary to Act of Parliament they wished to withdraw; but the Charity Commissioners would not allow them. The sale was completed, and the land lost to the men. There was very little doubt that the Charity Commissioners were at the back of the vendors in this case, and that they had arbitrarily overridden an Act of Parliament, the terms of which were mandatory. If they continued to act as they had hitherto done, it must follow that the Orders of the House of Commons would become subordinate to those of the Commissioners. If necessary, he could give 60 or 70 cases where the Act had been disregarded; and it was rendered absolutely impossible for those for whose benefit it was passed to reap any advantage from it. Men began to despair; and in a letter, which he had unfortunately not brought with him, a labourer in Norfolk said that, before the passing of the Act, he had intended to emigrate, but had decided otherwise when the Act was passed. He had thought he could get along with a bit of land; but now, since he had seen that the Act had not been carried out, he was determined to emigrate, as this country was evidently no place for a poor man. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) believed that that was true to a large extent; and what he contended for was that the Commissioners were not judges of what the Act should be. They were intended to be simply a Court of Appeal to compel unwilling Trustees to carry out the Act. It might be urged, however, that there had been a Select Committee appointed to consider the subject, and why not wait? But it must be borne in mind that a year and a-half had gone already, and comparatively little had been done. The people whose cause he was advocating were not Soudanese or Blacks, or they might get attention, but common English people, who were suffering a great wrong through being deprived of the benefits which that House had intended to confer upon them. He hoped no mere perfunctory answer would be given by the Government to the serious case he had brought before the House.

Mr. MUNDELLA asked what other answer could be possibly made to the elaborate statements which had taken over an hour to lay before the House? There was no man in the House more thoroughly in sympathy with the Allotments Act than himself; and he believed almost any man who had the interests of the peasantry of this country at heart would be anxious to facilitate the Act. The course taken by the hon. Gentleman was inconvenient and somewhat unfair. The charges made by the hon. Gentleman should either have been communicated to him in advance, so that he could have made inquiry, or they should be investigated by the Select Committee which was appointed a short time ago. His right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works was the Chairman of the Committee; and a Member of the Committee was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), than whom no one had done more in obtaining allotments for labourers. He thought the constitution of the Committee was a guarantee that the subject would be thoroughly threshed out. The Commissioners had come before him in cases affecting his own Office, and he had always found them as anxious as he was himself to carry out the Act. [Mr. Jesse Collings: The men have not the land.] As the Act only came into operation last year, they would hardly have the land by this time. Undoubtedly, there were difficulties and obstacles in the way in some cases; but the Commissioners had endeavoured, over and over again, in those cases, to induce the Trustees to facilitate the working of the Act. As to the removal of Trustees, that was no easy matter, and a good deal of legal procedure had to be gone through before that could be done. Then, again, his hon. Friend had said that the answers he had made in a particular case were not candid answers. As far as he was concerned, he repudiated that statement, and declared that the answers he gave were as straightforward and as candid as he could give. The Charity Commissioners had just published their Report showing the working of the Act of the first year, and they stated that there was great difficulty in carrying out the Act. In the first place, it was very badly drawn, and consequently very difficult to construe. The most difficult questions were put to the Commissioners as to how the Act should be worked, and there was constant conflict between the Trustees and the Commissioners. He could only assure his hon. Friend that there had been two new Commissioners appointed this year; and to one of them, Sir F. Stanford, he had spoken very strongly in the interest of the labourer, and that gentleman was as anxious as his hon. Friend that the Act should be properly worked. The Act really needed some amendment before it could be looked upon as a practical Act. He thought that it was hardly fair to the Commissioners that his hon. Friend having, on the 9th of April, referred the whole of this question to a Select Committee, should on the 21st of the same month come down to the House with an elaborate statement which was not to be perfunctorily answered. He hoped his hon. Friend would bring all the cases of hardship he had enumerated before the Select Committee, and that they would have such a Report from the Committee as would show that the contentions of his hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich were in accordance with the facts. More the House would not expect him to say.

MR. ELTON said, that the hon. Member (Mr. Jesse Collings) showed impatience of the actions, not only of the Commissioners, but of the ordinary Law Courts. Speaking as a Trustee of some of the lands over which this Act was supposed to operate, he asserted that it was clumsy and unworkable, and that it cast a grievous burden upon those who undertook the functions of Trustees. He very much doubted, too, whether the demand for allotments had not been greatly exaggerated. He had called the attention of the labourers in a large parish to the benefits of the Act, and they all refused to take advantage of it. They did not want allotments, because experience showed them it was cheaper to buy the onions and turnips than to grow them. Let them take the cost of sowing and carrying the crop, and they would find that a crop of a quarter of an acre of potatoes or onions would cost about £1 more than the same quantity purchased. They on that side of the House were just as anxious to benefit the labourers as the hon. Member for Ipswich; but if the Allotment Act was to be of any service to them, it must undergo very considerable change.

MR. CLARE READ: I happen not to have had the honour of occupying a seat in this House when the Act now under discussion was passed; and, therefore, I am in a better position to offer some criticisms upon it. I may say, however, that I quite endorse what has fallen from the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Elton) who has just sat down, when he stated that this Act has proved a most unworkable one. The speech that has been made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) has, I think, displayed a lamentable want of knowledge as to the practical nature of the cultivation of these allotments, and also of the extreme difficulty under which the Trustees labour in carrying out the Act. I suppose it was the duty of the Trustees, in the first instance, to consider what were the original objects of the Charity, and to see that those objects should not be injured or altogether destroyed by the operation of the Act. When the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich tells us that a certain extra rent is demanded from the agricultural labourer beyond that which is obtained from the farmer, I think he ought also to have stated this fact—that it is invariably the case, whenever we let land to the agricultural labourers in acres, or half acres, or in quarter acres, the rent charged always includes the rates and tithes and the taxes; whereas all those charges, when the land is let to the farmer, are invariably paid by the occupier. This fact, therefore, very naturally makes a considerable difference in the rents. Again, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich thinks that it would be consistent in the case of Trusts, who have under their direction a good field of pasture land, which has, perhaps, been accumulating its fertility for centuries, to break this up all of a sudden into allotments, whereby three or four years of potato cultivation would render the land barren and unfruitful, and certainly not worth half or even a fourth so much rent as it now fetches. Again, with regard to the possibility of carrying out this Act, I am inclined to say that, in the majority of the cases, it is almost impossible to carry out the Act. In the county with which I am most intimately acquainted, many parishes had allotments made when the common was inclosed, for the purpose of cutting fuel. If there be any fuel in the shape of peat to be dug it is dug up, and the land is consequently rendered comparatively valueless; and if the allotment be not suited for the purposes of fuel, it is often situated at the remote end of the common, and at a considerable distance from the houses. I know of several instances in which these allotments run to the extent of from 10 to 20 and even 30 acres; and they are, generally speaking, let to small traders or small farmers in the adjacent village. But if they are to be let as allotments they are, in the first place, often very inconveniently situated. I may also say that I do not think the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich has the slightest knowledge of the difficulty that is experienced in taking two or three acres of these fields for the purposes of allotments. The expense of putting up and maintaining fences, and of providing a road or even a path is considerable; and there is no certainty, as the hon. and learned Gentleman near me (Mr. Elton) has pointed out, that the tenants will continue to hold the land. Also, I am quite sure that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich is not aware that the allotments have gone very much out of favour with agricultural labourers during the last few years. In my own district these allotments are, I am happy to say, very general, and when situated near a village and where they are let in plots not exceeding half an acre or a quarter of an acre—which is usually about all a man can cultivate with a spade—in such cases the allotments are most valuable. But I am sorry to say that I have noticed in that district within the last seven or eight years, and more particularly within the last two or three years, that a number of these allotments have remained unlet, and that the cultivation of others has very seriously deteriorated.

Mr. Clare Read

POST OFFICE OFFICIALS—APPOINTMENT OF SOLICITORS TO POSTMASTERSHIPS.

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he was sorry to draw the attention of the House from this subject back to the remarkable conduct of the Ministers, and especially the Posmaster General, in not making any answer to his hon. Friend the Member for Wigtonshire (Sir Herbert Maxwell). He had risen to speak upon the question when the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) had caught the Speaker's eye. He observed the Secretary to the Treasury in his place; and he hoped that, as the Postmaster General was absent, he would deal with the question which had been raised by the hon. Member for Wigtonshire as to the patronage of the Treasury in the case of the smaller Postmasterships. That patronage was a great misfortune both to the State and to individuals. It was admitted that the hon. Member for Banffshire (Mr. R. W. Duff) had obtained the appointment of Postmaster for his local agent at Keith—a solicitor—and it was obvious that great injustice might be done to other legal practitioners in the town by the circumstance that all telegrams passed through his office. It was an unusual course for a Member of the Government to take to remain silent when a question was raised impugning the manner in which the patronage of his Department had been administered. This silence was the more remarkable that the right hon. Gentleman had, some few years ago, voted in support of a Motion almost identical with that which had been put on the Paper by the hon. Baronet the Member for Wigtonshire but which he was not able to move by reason of the Forms of the House. The Motion to which he referred was also supported on that occasion by the Secretary to the Treasury, the present Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Ashley), the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), and by several other Members of the Government. He hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would assure the House that the Treasury was willing to hand over this patronage to the Post Office.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he thought that his hon. Friend the Member for Eye was quite justified in calling attention to the great want of courtesy on the part of the Government. Surely the question now raised was of sufficient importance to claim some little attention even from Her Majesty's Government. The absence of the Postmaster General at that moment was somewhat significant.

Mr. COURTNEY: He went away because the discussion was over.

Mr. E. STANHOPE: As far as I can judge, the discussion is still going on.

Mr. COURTNEY: There has been a long discussion on another subject.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he was aware that some speeches had been interposed; but he thought the Government should offer some explanation of their silence, and tell the House that they either would or would not look into the matter.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that the discussion had been raised an hour ago in the presence of the Postmaster General. He himself had not been in the House when the discussion began, and the Postmaster General left when the discussion dropped. [“No!”] At all events, the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) got up and raised a discussion on a new subject. The hon. Member for Eye had attacked him (Mr. Courtney); but he knew as little about the matter as the hon. Member for Eye himself, so that his attack was perfectly uncalled for.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK held that it was the duty of the Members of the Government to remain on the Treasury Bench until the House went into Committee of Supply. Not long ago the House had to comment on the absence of Ministers from that Bench, which showed what a great change was coming over the conduct of the Business of the House. Unless hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who received pay for sitting on the Treasury Bench attended to their duties, it was high time the House took the matter into its own hands.

Mr. WARTON said, that the present conduct of the Government was part of a system which began the very first night of the Session by having a Minister present who was not to speak, and by having the Minister absent who was to speak. So, that night, they had a Minister present who said he knew nothing whatever about the subject before the House, and the Minister who knew about it was absent. He thought the House had a right to complain of this.

Major General ALEXANDER declared that the conduct of the Postmaster General in leaving the House without replying to the speech of the hon. Member for Wigtonshire (Sir Herbert Maxwell) was unworthy of a right hon. Gentleman occupying such a position. In his (Major General Alexander's) view, the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) was right in expressing an opinion that the patronage, as far as the appointment of Postmasters was concerned, should not be in the hands of private individuals, but of a public Department.

Mr. BIGGAR observed, that the Members of the present Government were too much in the habit of blowing hot and cold, advocating political purity when they were in Opposition, but pursuing a different course of conduct when they came into power. The case brought before the House was a glaring instance of indirect corruption, and the real reason the Postmaster General did not reply was that he felt the transaction was indefensible. All these appointments should be made by competitive examination. It was most unjust that a political attorney should have the means of knowing what private telegrams to his political and legal rivals were about. In his opinion, judgment ought to go against the Government in this matter by default.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON complained of the contemptuous manner in which a question affecting the interests of the agricultural labourers had been treated by the Government, and expressed his surprise that when a charge of having perpetrated a job had been brought against the Government, the Secretary to the Treasury, who knew nothing about the matter, had been put up to reply.

Main Question, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,” put, and *agreed to*.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Class I.—Public Works and Buildings.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a sum, not exceeding £30,603, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Maintenance and Repair of Royal Palaces."

General Sir **GEORGE BALFOUR** wished to make an appeal to the Secretary to the Treasury in regard to this Vote, which was one that had been subjected to a considerable amount of criticism year after year. What he desired was that the Secretary to the Treasury should give hon. Members a detailed statement with respect to the alterations and repairs which had been effected in some of the Palaces, and for what purposes made, so that they might have a proper idea of what the real state of things was. The last Government had consented to follow the plan as followed on the introduction of the Army and Navy Estimates, and for two Sessions made a statement for the purpose of placing the House in full possession of the facts of the case; and he thought it would only be fair that some explanation should be made in regard to the Civil Service Estimates by the Secretary to the Treasury, similar to those which the Secretary of State for War and the Secretary to the Admiralty now gave. There was also a statement made with regard to India. For years they had obtained from the Secretary of State for India a full and clear explanation of the alterations in the Indian Expenditure; and in regard to the Civil Service Votes, he thought that it was desirable that the Heads of the different Departments should draw up statements which would enable the Secretary to the Treasury to place the Committee in possession of full detailed information as to the various items included in the different Votes. He hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would hereafter attend to that request. What he particularly wanted in regard to this Vote was that some explanation should be given by the Chief Commissioner of Works in regard to the heavy charges which year after year took place in reference to the Royal Palaces. It was well known that some of these Royal Palaces were placed at the disposal of persons who were not Members of the Royal Family; and as they were allowed to occupy the Palaces free of expense, he was certainly of opinion that they ought to do the repairs that were necessary to maintain them in proper order.

Mr. **ARTHUR O'CONNOR** said, he was not quite sure whether he had properly caught the opening observations of the hon. and gallant Gentleman; but if he had gathered their purport rightly, the hon. and gallant Gentleman was of opinion that it was desirable that in introducing the Civil Service Estimates a statement should be made by the Minister in charge of them as to the variation in the different Votes similar to that which was given in regard to the Army and Navy Estimates. Upon that point he cordially agreed with the hon. and gallant Member. He certainly thought that the alterations made in many of the Votes were well worthy of the consideration of the Committee, and that some explanation should be given with regard to them. In the present Votes he found that there was an item of £548 transferred from Vote 3 to Vote 8, and having reference to Longford River, in the neighbourhood of Richmond. Last year, however, the amount of the Vote was only £110; and, therefore, the entry in the present Estimates intimating a simple transfer in the Vote was entirely misleading. Then, again, the third item in the Vote had reference to Hampton Court Palace, which appeared to have cost £12,000 out of a total of £36,000. Last year the amount required was £13,000. He thought it was a matter of interest to ascertain how much Hampton Court Palace had cost the country; and he would ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he was willing to furnish an Estimate of the amount of money spent on Hampton Court Palace during the last five years?

Mr. **LABOUCHERE** congratulated the Government on the fact that they had succeeded in reducing this Vote by the sum of £4,000 from what it was last year. He had no doubt the reduction had been brought about in consequence of the criticisms which were passed upon the Vote last year; and he believed that if the same course were pursued this year there would be a further reduction next. He would, therefore, ask the Committee to agree to a Motion for reducing the Vote by a sum of £2,000. He thought, if that were done, there would be a reduction in the expenditure upon the Royal Palaces during the coming year by Her Majesty's Government, which would amount at least to another £4,000. There were at present in the Vote many items which ought not to figure in it at all; and he wanted to know upon what grounds so many Royal Palaces were maintained? He could well understand that, so long as the country was ruled by a Monarchy, there ought, at least, to be two Royal Palaces; but Her Majesty already possessed one at Windsor, which was one of the finest in the world, and in London there was Buckingham Palace. If hon. Members would look down the list given in the Vote they would see a large number of houses, palaces, cottages, and gardens, and goodness knew what, all of which cost a large sum of money to maintain. He did not know what their object was; and his own opinion was that a good many of them ought to be sold, or let, or pulled down. He saw one item for Frogmore House and Grounds, and another for the White Lodge in Richmond Park. With all due respect to Her Majesty, he wished to know if she ever resided at White Lodge or at Frogmore House, and why those buildings were put down as the Royal residences of Her Majesty? He did not object to St. James's Palace in London, because that was occasionally used for State purposes; but he saw items for Clarence House, and the residence of the Duke of Cambridge, &c. Now, very large sums of money were voted to every Member of the Royal Family; and he did not see that, in addition to those sums, the country should not only be bound to provide, but also to maintain a house for each of them. The expenditure was one which ought to be taken into consideration at the time provision was made for the Royal Family. His hon. Friend the Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) complained of the expenditure incurred in regard to Hampton Court Palace. No doubt, Hampton Court Palace was a kind of poor-house for the aristocracy; but it was also a Palace for the people; and he doubted whether it was desirable to diminish the expenditure incurred in keeping it up.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR remarked, that ample provision was made for it in another Vote.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he had no doubt that was so; and that when the attention of the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, or whoever represented the Government in the matter, was called to it, he would say that he did not know anything about it. He was glad to see that the Government had made some reduction from last year in the item of the Hampton Court Stud House. Instead of £900 being asked for, a sum of £490 only was to be spent this year upon that Stud House. He hoped the Government would be able to inform the Committee what the Stud House was wanted for at all. Then, again, there was an item of £495 for Bushy House, gardens, and stables; upper lodge, and paddocks; the cottage; Hawthorne Lodge; Waylands; and the park, and carpenters' cottages in Bushy Park. They were establishments which, probably, nobody had ever heard of before; and he should like to know what they were. Considering that the Royal Palaces provided for, and actually occupied by, Her Majesty, were liberally maintained by the country, and that the other Members of the Royal Family received large and handsome allowances, he thought the places they selected for their residences ought to be maintained out of their own means. He would, therefore, move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £2,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £28,603, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Maintenance and Repair of Royal Palaces."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he hoped that no reduction would be considered necessary by the Committee, in regard to Hampton Court Palace at least. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had described Hampton Court Palace very incorrectly and unjustly as a retreat for the aristocracy. It was well known that Her Majesty, through the Government, had given up Hampton Court Palace to the relations, and especially to the widows, of distinguished officers who had fallen in the service of the Crown; and certainly the apartments of the Palace could not be devoted to a better use. The hon. Member admitted that it was also a people's Palace—that was to say, that it afforded a great amount of pleasure and recreation to the people of the Metropolis. There was also a valuable and interesting collection of paintings gathered together in Hampton Court Palace. He was bound to say that the criticisms which had been passed upon the Vote assumed, to his mind, a niggardly and pseudo-economical aspect. He did not think that any special reason had been given by the hon. Member for the reduction of the Vote; and until the hon. Member made a more authoritative statement it was desirable that the Committee should pause. He would take, for example, the criticisms which had been passed upon Bushy House and Park, and upon the lodges which were now maintained and kept up. Of course, in the preservation and maintenance of Parks of that kind some expense was necessary from year to year; but it would be found, on reference to the total expenditure, that it had only reached the sum of £394. He had no wish to defend the Vote in general. That was not his business, but must rest with Her Majesty's Government. He had only risen to defend the Vote for Hampton Court Palace; and he was bound to say that no reason had been brought forward by the hon. Member for Northampton for the reduction of the Vote.

Mr. RYLANDS said, the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) seemed to think that the demand made by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) for a more economical expenditure of the money of the country was only a pretence and a sham. Now, he (Mr. Rylands) did not wish to depart one iota from any of the conditions under which the public were charged with the maintenance of the Royal Palaces; but he wished to ask his right hon. Friend the Chief Commissioner of Works to state under what Act these Royal Palaces were in the charge of the country, in order that hon. Members might distinctly understand which of these buildings they were bound under the Statute to maintain, and to what extent they were bound to maintain them? They would then be able to consider whether any of the buildings now brought under the Vote were brought under it without full justification. He should be perfectly ready himself to defer to the Act of Parliament. On a previous occasion his right hon. Friend the Chief Commissioner of Works alluded to the fact that the Statute was passed in 1838, on the accession of Her Majesty to the Throne; and he would be very much obliged to his right hon. Friend if he would lay down distinctly the conditions under which the country was called on to maintain the various Palaces in the occupation of Her Majesty, and those which were not in her occupation. What he maintained was this—that the Government ought to be careful, under the present system of voting grants for repairing and keeping up these buildings, that they did not give to irresponsible people an opportunity of charging much larger sums, under cover of improvements and repairs, than were necessary. That was the point he wished to raise. A very considerable amount of expenditure went on from year to year which never would be incurred at all if the Royal personages who occupied these buildings had to pay for it out of their own pockets. He did not mean to say, under the present arrangement, that they ought to be called upon to bear the expense out of their own pockets; but what he contended was that the system which ought to be adopted should be one which would provide that the public would not be called upon to pay more than the persons who occupied the buildings if they had to pay it out of their own pockets. No doubt, the public had the greatest possible interest in maintaining Hampton Court Palace. It was one of the Establishments which the people of the Metropolis and of the country largely frequented and enjoyed to a very considerable extent. In point of fact, it was a national institution; and it would be most absurd to refuse to maintain it. At the present moment Hampton Court Palace might be said to be divided into two—that was to say, that one part of the institution was made use of for the occupation of persons who had, more or less, a claim upon the Crown for a recognition of their services, while the other part was thrown open for the enjoyment and recreation of the general public. Only a short time ago, in consequence of part of this national property being occupied in this peculiar and very objectionable manner by private persons, it was nearly burnt down, through some carelessness on the part of the servants of one of the persons who happened to be provided with one of the apartments. It was stated in the public Press at that time that it was a most short-sighted policy to have this people's Palace, thus occupied by private individuals, running the risk of having it destroyed in consequence of the carelessness of some housemaid, or of some servant employed in the building. It would be much better if the distinguished persons who were now supplied with apartments, or who had a claim on the Government, should have special grants provided for them, rather than that Hampton Court Palace should be converted into a kind of rabbit warren. Hon. Members must also bear in mind that it did not follow, because it was desirable to keep up Hampton Court Palace, that they should spend upon it the large sums now expended. The question was, were they spending more than was necessary? He suspected that they were spending more than was necessary, and that Hampton Court Palace could be maintained in such a manner as would amply protect the property for three-fourths of the amount now expended. He saw in the Vote another item for the Royal Mews at Pimlico, which had cost no less than £1,257 for ordinary repairs and maintenance. Hon. Members must further consider that this was not an exceptional year, because last year the Royal Mews at Pimlico cost just as much. [An hon. Member: Rather more.] He could not conceive that, in maintaining the Royal Mews at Pimlico in a proper state of repair, it was necessary to expend anything like £1,250 a-year. He did not believe that anything of the kind was really incurred. He was quite satisfied that hon. Members in that House did not pay anything like the same proportion for keeping up their own mews; and that the amount now asked for in the Vote was far in excess of what it ought to be, compared with the amount which noblemen and hon. Members paid. ["No, no!"] He, certainly, had not much experience in the matter; but he had an idea that noble Lords and hon. Members would grumble somewhat strongly if they had to pay £1,250 a-year for the maintenance of their mews. If his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) went to a Division he should certainly vote with him; not from any indisposition to maintain the Royal Palaces, or to depart one iota from any condition in the agreement under which the House had undertaken to maintain all these buildings; but simply on the ground that in the Estimates from year to year there was abundant evidence to prove that that care and economy of administration were not practised which would be exercised if parties who enjoyed the advantage of those improvements and repairs had to pay for them out of their own pockets.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had commenced his remarks by admitting that the Vote showed a reduction of £4,000 as compared with the Vote of last year. He could assure the Committee that he had gone through the various items in the Vote with the greatest care; and, granting the necessity of maintaining and preserving these Royal Palaces, he did not think it was possible to make any further reduction upon them. His hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) asked under what Act of Parliament the duty of maintaining the Royal Palaces was thrown upon the country? His hon. Friend was mistaken in supposing that the duty was imposed by an Act of Parliament. The Royal Palaces were maintained by Votes of Parliament under an agreement with the Crown, which was made at the time when Her Majesty came to the Throne, and which was similar to the agreement entered into with previous Sovereigns. Under that agreement the Government undertook to maintain and keep certain Royal Palaces in repair. If Her Majesty had undertaken to defray those charges herself, as a matter of course the Civil List would have been much greater than it was. As the matter stood, the Government were certainly under an obligation to maintain and repair all the Palaces included in the Vote; and he did not think it was now open to them to decline to repair and maintain any one of them. Those Palaces were divided into two classes—first, those which were in the occupation of Her Majesty; and, secondly, those which were not in Her Majesty's occupation. With regard to those in the occupation of Her Majesty, the obligation of the Government was more full and complete than it was in respect to the second class; because the Government had to undertake the internal as well as the external repairs, but not the internal decorations. In the case of the Palaces not in the occupation of Her Majesty, but occupied by the persons placed there by Her Majesty, the internal repairs and decorations were not paid for out of that Vote; but the persons residing there, as in the instance of Hampton Court, had to do for themselves the internal repairs and decorations. The external repairs and improvements of the fabric came, however, under the present Vote. His hon. Friend the Member for Burnley had called attention to the cost of Hampton Court Palace. No doubt Hampton Court Palace was a very large building. He did not think that hon. Members could have any idea of its extent, or of the consequent obligations of all kinds which it entailed in the shape of repairs. Reference had been made to Longford Canal. That was a small canal, which supplied Hampton Court with water. It was 10 miles long, and it cost £600 a-year to keep it in repair. That was one of the items which required to be paid in connection with the maintenance of a Palace of this kind, which covered more than four acres of land. It was not necessary that he should detain the Committee with further details in reference to Hampton Court. Mention had been made of the Royal Mews at Pimlico, and the same subject gave rise to some discussion last year. He had inquired into the matter during the Recess, and he had come to the conclusion that it was a much larger work than most hon. Members supposed. The establishment covered 3¾ acres of ground, and there were no less than 230 persons permanently living there. He was quite surprised, when he investigated the case, at the extent of the establishment. There were a great number of official residences in the Mews, including those of the Crown Equerries. There was provision for 147 horses, and more than 100 horses were permanently located in the stables there. The permanent establishment consisted of 17 very large coach-houses, containing between 70 and 80 carriages; a riding school, 200 feet long by 50 feet wide; and a large number of rooms and establishments of various kinds. There were official residences for the Crown Equerries, the Master of the Horse, the clerks and superintendents of the Royal Stables, grooms and coachmen; and, as he had just stated, there were no less than 230 persons permanently residing there. Considering the large number of persons accommodated, the sum charged in the Vote was not, he thought, excessive. The hon. and gallant Member behind him (Sir George Balfour) asked what changes had been effected in the Estimates of the present year as compared with those submitted last year. The only change he was aware of was the transfer of Vote 3 to Vote 8. He thought he had now answered all the points which had been raised in the course of the discussion.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the right hon. Gentleman to explain the difference between the sum of £110 last year and the sum of £500 this year for the Longford River Canal?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that, if the hon. Member would refer to the Vote last year, he would find that the charge amounted altogether to £680.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, if he was to understand that 230 great officers of State were placed in the loose boxes and stalls of the Royal Mews at Pimlico, it was a pitiable and lamentable state of things, which fully justified him in moving the reduction of the Vote in regard to the maintenance of those Palaces which were not in the occupation of Her Majesty at the public expense. If these persons were really squatting in the Royal Mews, he had no doubt that, so long as there were any apartments vacant in the Palaces, there would be some persons squatting in them, so as to necessitate a charge for repairs and maintenance. He wished to say one word with regard to Hampton Court Stud House. The country was called upon to pay for the maintenance of the Stud House; but, so far as the foals which were the produce of that Stud House were concerned, the money they brought evidently went to somebody else.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that the Stud House at Hampton Court had long been established for the breeding of horses, and had always been kept up.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked what became of the foals?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was not aware.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, that the Vote, as it appeared in the Estimates, was apparently reduced by the sum of £4,000 from what it was last year. As a matter of fact, however, it really exceeded the Vote of last year by the sum of £600; because the original Vote of last year was for £36,033, whereas the sum now asked for was £36,633. They were told there was a reduction, because last year there was an accidental increase of £4,000, which was included in the Supplementary Estimate. From the manner in which the Vote had been drawn up, it appeared that there had been a reduction of £4,000; whereas the real Vote of last year was £36,033, against an Estimate now prepared this year of £36,633. Therefore, as a matter of fact, instead of there being a reduction this year as compared with last, there was an increase, and the supposed economy did not really exist. The additional expenditure included in the Supplementary Estimates was for works at Hampton Court Palace in consequence of the fire, and it was an expenditure which he hoped they would not expect to have every year. He thought the right way of treating the Estimate would have been to put the original Estimate of last year against the original Estimate of this year, and then add to that £4,000 for accidental expenditure incurred during the year, with the expression of the hope that it would not be repeated. So far, however, from taking credit for economy, it appeared to him that the Government had actually increased the expenditure. He gave his right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works every credit for being actuated by a desire to effect economy; but, nevertheless, the actual expenditure this year upon the Royal Palaces was £600 more than it was last year.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he did not mean to deny that £36,000 was the original Vote asked for last year, and that it was supplemented by a sum of £4,000 on account of the fire at Hampton Court Palace; but against that item he was entitled to put the sum of £3,900 asked for this year in continuation of the provision against fire of Hampton Court. He, therefore, still contended that, compared with the original Estimate of last year, there had been a reduction of more than £3,000, of which sum £2,400 were due to reductions in the cost of maintenance and repairs.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, the First Commissioner had stated that, in the case of Palaces not in the occupation of Her Majesty, provision was made in the Estimate for exterior repairs only. Now, he wished to point out that for Kensington Palace, which was a plain building of no very great extent, there was an estimated expenditure of £1,233. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Commissioner of Works if that was really the average annual expenditure for the maintenance of the exterior of the building? It certainly seemed to him an unreasonable sum for such a plain building as Kensington Palace, which was of very limited dimensions.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT wished to protest against the assumption which ran through the remarks of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) in reference to the observations which he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had made. He had not said one word with regard to extravagance, or against the principle of economy wherever it was practicable. All he had said was that he regarded the manner in which apartments in Hampton Court Palace were employed as a useful means of providing homes for the widows and relations of officers who had rendered distinguished service to the Crown. He protested against the time of the Committee being wasted by pseudo-economists sitting on the other side of the House, who sought to gain a certain amount of notoriety by making serio-comic criticisms upon petty details of expenditure in regard to the Royal Palaces. He confessed that he was unable to find any sufficient reason for the criticisms which had been advanced. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) commenced his observations by commenting upon Bushy Park; but, finding himself unable to make out any case in regard to that item, he quickly passed over it. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), casting his expansive eye down the list of items included in the Vote, was only able to fix upon the Royal Mews at Pimlico; and it appeared that the hon. Member was entirely unaware of the size of those Mews, or of the number of grooms, and even officers of State who were housed there. This was a clear case of wasting the time of the Committee. Before the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) came down to the House for the purpose of attacking this Vote, he ought to have informed himself whether the expenditure was excessive or not, and so also should the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands). Neither hon. Member had done so; but one had selected an item in the Vote containing a number of odd names in it, and the other had chosen the Pimlico Royal Mews. Both of these pseudo-economists had been bowled over in a moment by the Minister in charge of the Estimate. This was an unfortunate position for these economists to place themselves in. Let them, if they could, bring to the notice of the Committee any real case of extravagance; but they should not waste the time of the Committee by criticizing trivial items of expenditure, when they were so ready to go into the Lobby with Her Majesty's Government to vote away millions for some unnecessary war in Egypt. To do that one day, and then to object to an item of £500 for certain Royal residences, and to another item of £1,200 for the Royal Mews, was ridiculous inconsistency. Hon. Members knew very well that the cost of Royalty in this country was very much less than the cost of other forms of government elsewhere, and that it was infinitely less than the cost of the Republic of France, or the Republic of America. He ventured, with great respect, to advise the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) and the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) to study the matter more carefully in future before making these complaints.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that if the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) desired a sufficient reason for voting in favour of the proposed reduction he would be able to find it in the manner in which the charges for Windsor Home Park and Adelaide Lodge, Windsor Royal Kitchen Garden, and Frogmore House and grounds were provided for. These were under the Office of Works, while Windsor Park was under the Commissioners of Woods and Forests; and owing to the divided authority which prevailed a great deal of extravagance took place. Nothing could be more extravagant than the way in which the expenditure was administered under the divided authority of the Chief Commissioner of Works and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. The items in this case amounted to £3,000; and if the hon. Member wished to have a good reason for voting in favour of the reduction proposed by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) he would find it in this part of the Vote. Anyone who had a competent knowledge of expenditure of this kind would be satisfied that if the whole estate were administered by one authority, £2,000 would only be a small part of the cost that would be saved.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 32; Noes 74: Majority 42.—(Div. List, No. 64.)

Original Question again proposed.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR wished to ask a question in reference to the unoccupied Palaces. He wished to know who it was who nominated the persons who occupied the apartments in these buildings? There was no one in that House who would be more delighted than himself to find that deserving officers were able to obtain apartments in the Royal residences; but he was afraid that many of the persons for whom provision was made were not entitled to such costly consideration from the country as this occupation involved. The First Commissioner of Works had been invited to state the nature of the agreement made with Her Majesty on her accession to the Throne; and he thought the Committee ought to know from the right hon. Gentleman what that agreement was. He had no hesitation in saying that if the persons now permitted to occupy apartments in the Royal Palaces were allowed £500 a-year each instead, it would be a more economical arrangement for the country.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the Palaces not in the occupation of Her Majesty were at the disposal of Her Majesty; and it depended entirely upon Her Majesty's favour who were to occupy the apartments.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR asked if he was to understand that all the Palaces unoccupied were at Her Majesty's entire disposal? [Mr. Shaw Lefevre: Yes.] He hoped the Government would consent to lay the agreement with Her Majesty upon the

Table, so that hon. Members might understand what the nature of its provisions was.

Mr. TOMLINSON pointed out that Pembroke Lodge had been occupied by Earl Russell, and another Royal building by Sir Richard Owen.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £1,160, Marlborough House.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he would be glad if his right hon. Friend the Chief Commissioner of Works would lay on the Table of the House the formal agreement under which the Government undertook, as Trustees of the public, to maintain certain Palaces not in the occupation of Her Majesty, because he had reason to believe that Marlborough House was not looked upon as one of those Palaces.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE remarked that Marlborough House came under a separate agreement.

Mr. RYLANDS said, that, under those circumstances, he would ask his right hon. Friend under what arrangement or agreement Marlborough House was chargeable for its repairs upon the public funds? He believed he could say with perfect confidence, acting on what he believed to be sufficient information, that some years ago the Treasury refused to allow the repairs of Marlborough House to be chargeable on the Exchequer. That went on for some time, until the noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox), who was then First Commissioner of Works, acting upon the application of the Prince of Wales, placed this charge for the first time upon the Estimates. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman might not be aware that this was so. If his right hon. Friend did not know it, he (Mr. Rylands) would be glad if he would inquire as to whether he (Mr. Rylands) had been accurately informed of the circumstances under which this charge had come upon the Estimates. Whether he was accurately informed or not, he had received the information from a gentleman who formerly occupied a high position in the Treasury; and, at all events, the Committee had a right to ask upon what authority this charge was placed upon the taxpayers? His right hon. Friend said that it did not come under the agreement with the Crown. [Mr. Shaw Lefevre: No.] He understood his right hon. Friend to say so; and he should be glad if he could have the agreement put upon the Table, as it would show what the character of the agreement with the Crown really was. If this charge for Marlborough House did not come under the agreement with the Crown, then under what arrangement was the charge placed upon the taxpayers? It seemed to him a very important matter that the Committee should get to know that. If it was not right to charge the expense of maintaining and repairing Marlborough House upon the Civil Service Estimates, the whole thing ought to be done away with. If, on the other hand, it was right to place the charge upon the Exchequer, he thought they ought to complain of the excessive amounts which appeared from year to year in these Votes. The right hon. Gentleman would say, no doubt, that the present Vote showed a diminution, and he (Mr. Rylands) was glad to find that there had been a diminution as compared with the amount voted last year; but, still, the sum put down for the repairs and maintenance of Marlborough House was no less than £2,160, a sum which he considered altogether excessive and extravagant. In regard to the amount by which the Vote had been reduced, £400 arose from the fact that the building last year cost £400 for outside painting, which, of course, was not required this year. It did appear to him that £2,160 was a very much larger amount than ought to be charged upon the Exchequer for the maintenance and ordinary repair of a house of this size; and although he was not prepared to move the reduction of the Vote, seeing that the Estimate had already been reduced, and he was in hopes that it would be still further reduced in other years, he trusted that he might receive from his right hon. Friend information—first of all, in justification of this charge being placed upon the Vote at all; and, secondly, a satisfactory intimation as to the prospect of further economy in future in this large expenditure.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that Marlborough House did not come within the category of Royal Palaces, and had never been considered a Royal Palace in the same sense as other Palaces occupied by the Crown, nor was it subject to the agreement made with Her Majesty when she came to the Throne; but by a special Act of Parliament, passed in 1860, Her Majesty was authorized to vest Marlborough House in the Prince of Wales during the joint lives of himself and the Queen. It had accordingly been so vested by Act of Parliament in the Prince of Wales during the life of Her Majesty. For many years the repairs were undertaken by His Royal Highness himself, who spent no less than £50,000 in improving Marlborough House; and in 1878, in consideration of that large expenditure, the late Government undertook to insert an annual sum of £2,000, or thereabouts, in the Estimates for the repair of this dwelling house of His Royal Highness, and since that time an item for the repairs had always been voted every year by Parliament. For some two or three years past the expenditure had been something over £2,000; but he was happy to say that it had now been brought down to about that sum, and he had reason to hope that it might be further reduced in future. The repairs some time ago had been allowed to get into arrear, and it was necessary to expend a larger sum than would be required permanently. These arrears had now been completed, and he entertained hopes that there would be some reduction in the amount of this item in future.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he was not satisfied with the explanation given with regard to this item. He believed that until 1878 the Treasury had declined to accept responsibility for the repairs. In that year, however, under the auspices of right hon. Gentlemen opposite, the noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox), then Chief Commissioner of Works, acting on the application of the Prince of Wales, made the cost of them a charge upon the Public Revenue. For this, in his (Mr. Rylands's) opinion, there was no justification at all; and he begged to give Notice that if the charge appeared on the Estimates of next year he should feel it his duty to move that it be rejected. He thought the Committee were entitled to further information as to the circumstances under which this charge was placed upon the British taxpayer; and although he should not move its rejection on the present occasion, he could assure his right hon. Friend that, in his opinion, the time had come when it should disappear from the Estimates.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he thought the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), carried away by his virtuous indignation, had omitted to notice the explanation of his right hon. Friend. The hon. Member had said that His Royal Highness would not in common prudence have expended this money on buildings that were not his own. Had the hon. Member heard the statement of his right hon. Friend he would not have indulged in some of the observations which had fallen from him.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked why the charge for repairs to Marlborough House were not upon the Estimates before the year 1878?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that Marlborough House had been specially vested in His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. In that respect it differed from Clarence House, which had always been considered one of the Palaces of the Crown.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £91,685, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens."

Mr. RYLANDS said, he had a Motion to make for the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £2,000, for the expenses of removal of the statue of the Duke of Wellington from Hyde Park Corner. He had, however, no wish to shut out the Motion of any hon. Member who might wish to reduce the Vote by a larger sum.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) to the fact that the road through St. James's Park had been shut up for a considerable time. Generally speaking, that was the case more than once during the year. He saw on the Estimate a charge for maintenance of £23,695, which he presumed would include the road between St. James's Palace Gate and Buckingham Palace Gate, through which the traffic ordinarily passed. Now, he believed that the repairs that were necessary could be done in a much shorter time than was usually spent upon them, so as to mitigate, in some degree, the great inconvenience which was occasioned to the inhabitants of London whenever the stoppage of the road in question took place. He would like to know the amount expended upon that road, and whether the work was done by contract? If that were the case, he was bound to say that the contract was every year carried out in a very dilatory manner. He had seen the stones put upon the road, and could assure the Committee that, instead of the work being got through expeditiously, not more than a half-day's work was done on the average. Hon. Members would be aware that in any other capital of Europe arrangements would be made, under similar circumstances, to re-open the thoroughfare immediately by working day and night; but here a lengthened stoppage of traffic was allowed to take place, which, he ventured to say, was very detrimental to business of all kinds. He should be glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman opposite why it was that so long a time was occupied in these repairs; and whether it was not possible to make some better arrangement with regard to them than at present existed? The suggestion that the road should be paved with wood had been met by the objection that this would not be in keeping with the characteristics of the Park, although a side path of asphalte had been laid down. However that might be, he thought it would be preferable to the present state of things. If the work was in the hands of a contractor it was evident to him that he charged more money, and consumed more time, than was necessary for effecting the repairs. For these reasons, he believed that any information which the right hon. Gentleman could give on the subject would be interesting and useful to the inhabitants of London, and to the people of the country generally.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he could not at that moment separate the cost of repairing the road referred to by the hon. and gallant Baronet from the cost of the other repairs stated in the Estimate. An inquiry, however, should be made into the matter, the result of which should be communicated to the hon. and gallant Baronet, and with that assurance he trusted the Vote would be allowed to pass.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he did not think the Committee ought to be satisfied with the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, that he could not separate the item of cost for the repair of the road in question. Was it the case that the cost of the flower-beds in the Park was mixed up with the charge for repairs? He remembered that some years ago a large reduction of the Vote was moved in connection with a charge for tulips, which was, however, withdrawn on its being shown that a considerable advantage resulted from the arrangement; but here was an enormous sum charged for repairs, as to which the Committee could obtain no explanation whatever. They were certainly entitled to this; and, for his own part, he should not be satisfied unless further information were forthcoming.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the repairs were in connection with the road through Hyde Park, St. James's Park, and the Green Park; he could not, therefore, separate from the rest the cost of repairing the portion of the road from St. James's to Birdcage Walk; but, as he had already stated, he would inquire into the matter, and let the hon. and gallant Baronet know the result.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: Is the work done by contract?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: No.

MR. GORST said, with reference to the contribution of £400 per annum from Indian Funds towards the cost of the Kew Establishment, that he should like to know what were the services rendered by that establishment to India which justified the charge; how long it had gone on, and how long it was intended to be continued?

MR. COURTNEY said, the arrangement was one of some standing. The contribution was partly for the purpose of maintaining the Museum, containing specimens illustrative of the produce of their Indian Empire, and partly for the services of the experienced gentleman who had charge of the Collection. He was not cognizant of the particular cases in which services had been rendered to India under this arrangement; but from his own experience at the Colonial Office he was in a position to say that the references made to Kew in respect of the Colonies were very numerous; and he had no doubt that the work done at Kew in relation to the Indian Empire was of considerable value. Take the case of the diseases of trees and plants, for instance. One subject of great importance—the disease in the coffee plant in the Island of Ceylon—had been investigated at Kew, and similar questions had arisen and been investigated there in respect of other Colonies.

Mr. GORST said, he thought this was an instance of the petty injustice committed by Her Majesty's Government upon India. The Secretary to the Treasury said there were services of great value and of similar character rendered to the Colonies. Now, would the hon. Gentleman venture to suggest to the Australian Colonies that they should vote sums of money to be spent at Kew? [Mr. Courtney: Yes.] Had the hon. Gentleman ever done so? The Government had the Revenues of India under their hand; they took this money out of those Revenues; but they dared not take a halfpenny from the Colonies for similar purposes. He said the Committee were entitled to some better explanation than they had received from the Secretary to the Treasury on this subject. If the Government intended to make Kew an Imperial Establishment, contributed to by every Colony whose products and *flora* were represented there, it would be well if they announced that policy at once. It seemed to him extraordinary that they should select the one Dependency of India, and make it contribute to the maintenance of the Establishment.

Mr. COURTNEY said, the question of contribution had reached a practical shape in the case of the Australian Colonies. If the Colonies stood in the same relative position as India, there would, no doubt, be a contribution from them. There was no ground whatever for the statement that the Government made India contribute to the maintenance of the Kew Establishment.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL agreed with the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) that India was always made to contribute in matters of this kind, and not the Colonies. The Botanic Gardens at Calcutta rendered great service to this country and to the Colonies; and he should be glad to know whether any compensation was made for the amount of work done in that respect?

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL observed, that the sum of £100 was voted annually for the payment of experts for naming cryptogams. He wished to know whether this sum was paid for the invention of new names for new cryptogams, or for the correct naming of existing cryptogams? In the former case he thought the work might be done for less; and in the latter case that it might be done by the officials of the Establishment.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he rose to move the omission of the item of £2,000 under Sub-head E, in connection with the alterations made at Hyde Park Corner. In doing so, as he had already said, he did not wish to shut out any hon. Gentleman who might desire to reduce the Vote by a larger sum. Now, his right hon. Friend the Chief Commissioner of Works had given the House last year some information with regard to the statue of the Duke of Wellington. On that occasion he said that a Committee had been appointed, of which he was a Member, and that that Committee had recommended that the statue of the Duke should be broken up; that the metal should be sold; and that the proceeds should be devoted to the cost of a new statue to be erected after competition had taken place; the object being to obtain a new equestrian statue of high character by the hand of a British sculptor. Since that time, however, the whole position had changed. The original Committee had disappeared, and a private Committee—not a body representing the Government—had come into existence. His right hon. Friend, in order, as he supposed, to distinguish it from the Committee appointed last year, had described this as an Executive Committee; and that Committee, of which his right Friend was not a Member, had formed an entirely different plan with regard to the statue. They no longer proposed what was felt by many to be the Vandalism of breaking up this famous statue. He did not know whether this had resulted from the fact that one of the Colonies had offered to pay a larger sum for the statue than would be produced by the sale of the old metal. However that might be, the former arrangement had been given up, and it was proposed that the statue should be removed from Hyde Park Corner and placed at Aldershot. But the great departure from the plan of the former Committee was that there should be no competition, and that the commission should be given to Mr. Boehm. There was the secret of this devolution. The Committee had been established by some means or other; and they gave Mr. Boehm permission to execute the statue, without other artists being allowed to compete. History repeated itself. His right hon. Friend, in an interesting article on the statues and monuments of London, had said, with reference to Bacon's monument of Chatham in Westminster Abbey—

> "The sculptor appears to have outwitted his rivals in obtaining an order for the monument in the Abbey; for while the members of the Royal Academy were considering the terms of a competition, he went direct to the King, who said to him—'Bacon, Bacon, you shall make Chatham's monument, and no one else.'"

It was precisely similar in the present case. While the Executive Committee were considering the terms of the competition, Mr. Boehm had waited on an illustrious personage, who had given him the commission. He (Mr. Rylands) said that the original plan of the Committee, that there should be competition, ought to be adhered to. He knew one sculptor who, in consequence of the statement of his right hon. Friend that there would be competition, had gone to great expense and trouble in preparing models of an equestrian group; and, although he was not aware of the fact, others might have done the same. His right hon. Friend said that artists were disinclined to compete in this case. No doubt they were under certain conditions; but he was sure that if the work were left quite open to competition, a work would be produced worthy of their great sculptors. He had no wish to depreciate Mr. Boehm; but did that gentleman occupy such a position that the work could be placed in his hand with the feeling that the result would necessarily be a success? Hon. Gentlemen would be familiar with the statue of Lord Lawrence, which his right hon. Friend had described as—

> "By no means a satisfactory figure, in an attitude singularly at variance with his dignified and modest demeanour."

That criticism appeared to him most gentle; and, for his own part, he should speak of the statue in a very different way; he would say that the attitude, the clothing, and the protuberance of body, as well as the vulgarity of features, would lead anyone to suppose that it was intended to represent a tapster of a hostelry in times gone by. Again, what did *The St. James's Gazette* say about the statue of Lord Beaconsfield in Westminster Abbey? The opinion expressed was that—

> "It is little more than a caricature; it might, in fact, have been taken from one of the more ill-natured of Mr. Tenniel's cartoons. The look of superficial keenness, which ceased to be the characteristic of Mr. Disraeli's features long before he won the right to wear the Earl's coronet, is the only look Mr. Boehm has caught; the thought and responsibility of the Prime Minister find no expression whatever. The action, too, is not appropriate to the place; while the treatment of the Peer's robe is clumsy and ungraceful."

He was bound to say that this criticism appeared to him justifiable. When he looked upon the statue of Lord Beaconsfield from one point—he would not say from every point—it reminded him of nothing so much as one of "Spy's" cartoons in *Vanity Fair*. It did not strike him as being of the highest order of Art; and while he did not dispute for one moment Mr. Boehm's great ability as a sculptor, he could not but feel that he did not occupy that position amongst the sculptors of the country which would justify his having the commission to the exclusion of every other artist. He regarded this as a serious departure from the intention of the original Committee, and he considered that everyone who took that view should support the Amendment he was about to move. If there was to be a statue without competition, undertaken under the proposed conditions, he would rather see the statue of the Duke of Wellington placed upon a large pedestal in the neighbourhood with which it had always been associated than run the risk of having a similar statue executed under conditions which might render the statue less satisfactory than the existing statue. There were some people who very much disliked the idea of the statue being taken to Aldershot; and he would ask them to join him in this Vote, and in that way to request the Government to reconsider the whole matter and to get rid of this Executive Committee, and come to the House of Commons upon a subsequent occasion with a proposal more likely to meet with the approval of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Item of £2,000, the Contribution of Her Majesty's Government for a New Statue of the Duke of Wellington, be omitted from the proposed Vote."—(*Mr. Rylands.*)

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL wished to make a few remarks in consequence of what had fallen from the hon. Member for Burnley. It seemed to him very much to be regretted that the Government cared so little for the encouragement of British Art that they had allowed a great work of this kind to be given to a gentleman who, however distinguished, was not of British birth; and that they had also thought it within their duty to break faith with the House of Commons, and depart from the pledge which was solemnly given by the First Commissioner of Works last year, on the strength of which he induced the House of Commons to agree to his Vote. He did not at all agree with the hon. Member for Burnley as to the work of Mr. Boehm, because he imagined there were not two opinions amongst English artists that, in regard to English or foreign sculpture, Mr. Boehm had no superior. He believed that opinion would command considerable assent at home and abroad among artists; and, at any rate, if there was to be a new statue, the public would have some security, if it was to be intrusted to Mr. Boehm, that it would be a statue invested with a high degree of artistic merit. But he rose rather to appeal to the Government, and particularly to the Prime Minister—and to what he might say were the well-known Tory instincts of the Prime Minister on matters in which no Party issues were raised—to allow the statue not only to be preserved, but replaced. He was certain that the Prime Minister could do no act which would add more to his well-known popularity with the people of London, and with the English people generally, than by stepping in and diverting from this well-known statue the disgrace and destruction with which it was threatened. It was understood that the statue was to be carted off to Aldershot, and placed in some corner of the Aldershot Camp, where nobody would see it, except the soldiers stationed there. The statue was intimately connected with everybody's earliest ideas of the military history of the Great Duke, and, in fact, of the great exploits of the British Army. He himself never could agree with the criticisms which had been passed upon the statue as to its being inartistic in its position on the top of the Arch. It was a curious fact that in that very spiteful and ill-natured book, written by a very clever Frenchman, entitled *John Bull and his Island*—a book which was widely read, and in which everything in England was held up to very bitter and, in many cases, very true criticism—the writer, while finding fault with almost everything else in this country, expressed approval of this statue. That, he thought, was testimony of a strong order against those who criticized this statue. In fact, all the criticism of the statue had come from æsthetic persons, with whom the statue was something quite "too-too." Artists of the present day were a great deal too much under the domination of that school, which he believed was generally supposed to be represented in that House by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour). That hon. Member would, no doubt, give the Committee the reasons why that particular school of æstheticism should object to the statue; and, for himself, while he would not further take up the time of the Committee, he must express the earnest hope that the Prime Minister would consider this subject worthy of his special attention, not only as Prime Minister, but as one of the greatest authorities on Art in this country, and would see if he could not meet the wishes of an enormous majority of the people by replacing the statue upon the Arch where it formerly stood.

SIR ROBERT PEEL observed, that this question of granting £2,000 would be dealt with, he apprehended, in a Bill which had not yet been read a second time—namely, the Hyde Park Corner Improvement Bill.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that was merely a matter of repairing roads.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, he was sorry that that was the case, and that the Bill did not deal with the question of removing the statue of the Great Duke. He agreed with his noble Friend, and, to a considerable extent, with what had fallen from the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), that it would be far better to replace the statue where it formerly stood. In 1838 Her Majesty gave her direct sanction to the locality selected, and the Committee who had charge of the matter concurred in the advisability of placing the statue there; and he hoped that the Government, having moved the Archway from its old position, would follow the advice of his noble Friend, and replace the statue on the top of the Arch. The expense of carting the statue down to Aldershot would be considerable; and he thought the Government might just as well send it to the Nile, or anywhere else, if it was not to be allowed to remain in London, where everybody would have an opportunity of seeing the features of the Great Duke. If necessary, he would second the proposal to reduce this Vote by £2,000; but he could not quite agree with what had been said about Mr. Boehm. The hon. Member for Burnley had said he knew of one sculptor who he thought would be far preferable to Mr. Boehm.

MR. RYLANDS said, he had not meant that. He had simply alluded to the fact that one sculptor, acting on the statement that there would be a competition, had gone to great expense, with a view to a competition, and that he felt aggrieved at not being allowed to compete.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: Yes; he had gone to great expense with a model for an equestrian statue, and he felt aggrieved at being excluded from the competition. He himself was not concerned with the qualifications of the persons who were to be charged with the new statue; he was entirely against any new statue at all. He maintained that the old statue ought to remain where it was; and he should vote now, and on every other occasion, against the proposal, and try to save the country from the enormous expense which would be entailed by carting away this statue to Aldershot, and the alleged contemplated improvements consequent thereupon. Every statue in London was probably bad, and this was not a question of Art, but of sentiment; but if there was a good statue foreign opinion was, perhaps, more valuable than English opinion on matters of Art; and certainly the foreign writer already referred to had expressed himself strongly in approval of this statue. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give some assurance to the Committee and to London that the statue of the Great Duke would not be ignominiously carted away to Aldershot, or elsewhere; but that it would remain where Her Majesty wished it to be in 1838, and where the country wished it still to remain.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that with regard to the wish of the right hon. Baronet, that the statue should be replaced on the Arch, he must remind the Committee that the original intention of the Government and of himself was to remove the Arch bodily with the statue upon it; for they were well aware that whenever that statue came down it would be extremely difficult to determine where it should be placed, and wished to prevent that difficulty arising. But the members of the Royal Academy unanimously petitioned the Government to take advantage of the opportunity to remove the statue altogether; without a single dissentient, the members of the Royal Academy petitioned the Government to that effect, and stated that, in their opinion, the position of the statue on the Arch was utterly opposed to every canon of taste; that it was a disgrace to Art that the statue should be in that position upon an arch; and that it was totally unsuitable to the Arch. Upon that the Government came to the conclusion that the statue should, at all events, be removed from the Arch; and accordingly the Arch was pulled down, and the statue brought to the ground. He then appointed a Committee to advise the Government as to what should be done in the matter; and he believed the appointment gave general satisfaction, the gentlemen appointed being regarded as representing Art as fully as any gentlemen that could be selected. Upon that Committee were Sir Frederick Leighton, Lord Hardinge, the present Duke of Wellington, and three or four other gentlemen. The Committee at first recommended that the statue should be placed in front of the Horse Guards; and they gave as one reason for that suggestion, and for not keeping it at Hyde Park Corner, that owing to the huge size of the statue, if it was placed on a suitable pedestal it would overpower and crush its surroundings, and so could not be maintained in front of Apsley House. They reluctantly recommended its removal; but believed that in front of the Horse Guards it would be in a less objectionable position, and its defects would be less glaring. That was the first recommendation of this Committee, which, when it was appointed, gave general satisfaction to the House. As the House would recollect, a model of the statue was erected in front of the Horse Guards; but he must admit it gave general dissatisfaction, and he then referred the question again to the Committee; and after further consideration of the matter the Committee came to the conclusion that there was no place in London where they could recommend the statue being placed on account of its very great size and its artistic defects, and they then recommended that it should be re-cast and a new statue should be made and placed at Hyde Park Corner. The Government assented to that proposal, and he informed the House last autumn that they would ask the House to vote £6,000 for a new statue. He also stated that the work would be offered for competition, and that he should invite a limited number of the principal sculptors to compete. But in the course of the Recess it came to his knowledge that the proposal to break up the statue would not give satisfaction to the country and to the Army; and it therefore became impossible to carry out that part of the recommendation of the Committee. At that stage of the matter His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales came forward, and proposed that if the Government would undertake to carry out the proposal to spend the £6,000 on a new statue, he would put himself at the head of a movement to further decorate the new place at Hyde Park Corner; and he suggested that the statue should be moved to Aldershot, where it could be placed in a position in view of the whole Army. That appeared to be a fair compromise for dealing with this extremely difficult subject, and it also offered an opportunity of decorating Hyde Park Corner in a suitable way. The Government acceded to that proposal, and His Royal Highness then appointed an Executive Committee to advise him generally on the whole question as to what should be done in the way of decoration; and that Committee was the one alluded to by the hon. Member for Burnley. It included all the Members whom he had himself appointed, and many other distinguished men; and the Committee could see the Report of that Committee, which had been laid upon the Table. That Committee again went into the question of the disposal of the present statue, and considered all the possible sites where it might be placed in London; and they came to the conclusion that they could not recommend any site in London itself, on the ground mainly of the colossal size of the statue, which would crush all its surroundings; and that if it was placed on a suitable pedestal, it would be out of place in any site which had been suggested in London. They, therefore, concluded that the plan of removing it to Aldershot was, on the whole, the best plan; and accordingly the Government now made that proposal to the Committee, in accordance with the recommendation of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, that the statue should be removed, and a new statue be executed to be placed at Hyde Park Corner. With regard to the question of competition, immediately after he made a statement last autumn that there would be a competition, he received from the present Duke of Wellington a very strong protest against that proposal, in which he said it would be impossible to obtain a good work of Art in that way, and that he objected very strongly to that course. He further said that he would never have given his consent to any dealing with the statue if he had understood that there would be a competition for a new statue. The Government felt that great deference ought to be paid to the present Duke of Wellington in this matter. [An hon. MEMBER: Why?] On the question of sentiment. The Government felt that his views were entitled to very great consideration. Moreover, he made inquiries as to the sculptors who were likely to compete in this limited competition, and three of the most distinguished sculptors who were approached stated that they would not enter into a competition for a work of this kind. Under these circumstances, and looking to the objections raised by the Duke of Wellington, and, above all, finding that the most eminent sculptors would not compete, the Government determined to leave the selection of a sculptor to the Executive Committee appointed by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. That Committee discussed the matter, and they came to the unanimous opinion that Mr. Boehm should be intrusted with the execution of the new statue, and that selection was further ratified by a large meeting of distinguished men —60 or 70 in number—held at Marlborough House, under the Presidency of the Prince of Wales. The hon. Member for Burnley had made some remarks on the artistic work of Mr. Boehm, and had been good enough to quote from an article which he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had written for one of the Reviews on the monuments of London, in which he had made some unfavourable comments on one of Mr. Boehm's works—namely, the statue of Lord Lawrence. The hon. Member might have quoted from the same article that he had praised Mr. Boehm's statue of Mr. Carlyle as one of the best statues in London; and he thought it right to state that Mr. Boehm had himself written to him thanking him for his remarks on the statues of Lord Lawrence and Mr. Carlyle, stating that he entirely agreed with those remarks, and was so dissatisfied himself with the former statue that he was at that very moment occupied upon another statue of Lord Lawrence, which he hoped would replace the existing statue. That, he thought, was a very generous act on the part of Mr. Boehm, and one which entitled him to great consideration by that House. Mr. Boehm had executed many other very important monuments and statues in London, amongst others one of the late Dean Stanley in Westminster Abbey, which would do great credit to any sculptor. He was sorry the hon. Member had alluded to Mr. Boehm as a foreigner, and that the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) had expressed regret that the Government should have intrusted this matter to a foreigner who, he thought, would not have sufficiently studied British Art. He had never thought of the consideration whether Mr. Boehm was an Englishman or not; but Mr. Boehm was a member of the Royal Academy, and therefore he thought Mr. Boehm might, for the purposes of sculpture in this country, be considered an Englishman. In this connection he would remind the noble Lord that when the admirers of his late Leader, Lord Beaconsfield, had to choose a sculptor to execute a statue of Lord Beaconsfield in Parliament Square, they selected a foreigner, Signor Raggi, who had produced a work of high art, such as he was glad to see in this country. Many of the best works, in the way of sculpture, in this country had been executed by gentlemen who, at least, had been naturalized in this country, and had brought great credit to England. He need hardly remind the Committee of the splendid works of Roubilliac, and others who were foreigners by birth, as Mr. Boehm was; and he ventured to hope that no more would be heard of this argument, and that Mr. Boehm might be considered, for this purpose at all events, an English sculptor. He believed that Mr. Boehm was almost the only living sculptor who had produced equestrian statues. He had produced two equestrian statues which had done him great credit. Both of these were he believed, in Calcutta, one of them being a statue of the Prince of Wales, and both had acquired for him great repute in the civilized world. On the whole, therefore, he thought the Committee might be perfectly satisfied with the selection of a sculptor made by the Executive Committee. The only question which remained for the Committee to consider was whether, on the whole, the proposal which had been made by the Prince of Wales, and which was now submitted by the Government, was worthy of their consideration. That proposal certainly offered this advantage—that it would enable the decorations of the new place at Hyde Park Corner to be completed. That place was at present in an unfinished state; it required fountains and other works of Art to complete it; and it was proposed by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, if the Committee consented to this Vote, and that part of the work was carried out, to appeal to the public for funds to complete the scheme. If the Committee did not agree to that Vote the whole arrangement would fail, and it would be difficult to say what could then be done. The right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) had expressed a wish that the statue might be replaced on the Arch, and he had complained of the great cost of removing it to Aldershot; but he did not appear to know what the cost of replacing the statue on the Arch would be. He had had an estimate made when the removal was first contemplated, and the amount estimated for replacing the statue was £3,500. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Who made it?] The same contractor who made the estimate for the original removal.

Colonel NOLAN asked how much it had cost to take the statue down?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the statue was brought down at the cost of removing the Arch—there was no separate item. Hon. Members seemed to think that the cost of removing the statue to Aldershot would be excessive; but that was not the case. He could not say exactly what it would be; but it would not be a very large amount.

Colonel NOLAN: What is the estimate?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the estimate was £3,200. The statue was cast in four pieces, which were soldered together. It could be removed to Aldershot piecemeal.

Colonel NOLAN: What does it weigh?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE replied that its weight was 40 tons. All that the plan now suggested would cost was £6,000; £2,000 this year, and £4,000 in the following two years. No further expense would be incurred. The whole of the cost of the removal to Aldershot, and placing the statue on such pedestal as was necessary, would be undertaken by the Committee appointed under the auspices of the Prince of Wales; so that, on the one hand, the Committee would give £6,000, and, on the other, a considerable sum of money would, it was believed, be raised on the appeal of His Royal Highness, to place the statue on the pedestal, to get a new statue, and ornament Hyde Park Corner. He might mention that the present Duke of Wellington entirely approved of this plan; and, as a matter of sentiment, it could not be denied that this approval must go a long way. His Grace agreed that they were doing all they could to honour the memory of his father; and that the statue which it was proposed to place at Hyde Park Corner would be worthy the fame of the Great Duke.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL desired to make a personal explanation. The right hon. Gentleman had misunderstood his reference to Mr. Boehm. He had not taken any exception to that gentleman as a foreigner; and all he had expressed surprise at was that the Government had departed from the solemn pledge they gave to the House of Commons last Session that the contemplated statue was to be thrown open to competition by British artists. He had said that he had the highest regard for Mr. Boehm as an artist; and, so far from throwing any imputation on him, he believed that, as a sculptor, he was without a superior.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: The noble Lord went farther——

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: He expressed regret that Mr. Boehm was a foreigner.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I expressed no such regret of any sort or kind.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, the Committee never showed to less advantage than when it resolved itself into a Committee of Art critics; and, for his own part, he considered there were many methods in connection with the Estimates by which the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) could better employ himself than in giving an opinion as to the curve of beauty and the proportions of the human form. His noble Friend (Lord Randolph Churchill) had been good enough to point him out as a Representative of "the modern æsthetic school." Well, it was difficult to make out what school his noble Friend belonged to, seeing that the only authority he had quoted was the author of *John Bull and his Island*. He did not think the question of this statue should be decided at all on æsthetic grounds. The right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had told them that the whole body of Royal Academicians had come forward and asked him to take this opportunity of removing the statue. Well, the Royal Academicians might be admirable authorities on matters of Art—although that did not appear in a recent celebrated case to be the opinion of a British jury—but this was not primarily a question of Art. It was rather one of historical association; and it was for that reason that he considered the House of Commons perfectly competent to give an opinion upon it. The right hon. Gentleman had already spoiled the whole architectural merit of Hyde Park Corner by taking down the archway that, after all, however inconvenient to the traffic, was symmetrically arranged with the gate of Hyde Park, and by erecting it half-way down the hill and askew. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman had made the site much more convenient for passenger traffic; but he had entirely spoilt the artistic merit of the place. The question, whether or not the Arch would look better with the Duke of Wellington on the top of it, was not worth discussing. It was because the House reflected the feeling of the English people on a question of historical interest that he considered it competent to give an opinion on this subject. He earnestly hoped the Committee would decline to give the £2,000 to the Government.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that before they went to a Division on the matter, it should be pointed out by some person not a Member of the Government that there appeared to be a partnership arrangement with the Executive Committee to which reference had been made; and that being the case, the Committee should insist that it should only be done for solid and real reasons. He knew of no class of men in the Empire who had shown less appreciation of their public duties than the great landowners of London, who had received millions in increased ground rents whilst they were exempt from local charges; and he did very much hope that if the Committee should consent to this Vote it should be on the understanding that the illustrious and other Members of this Executive Committee had a great claim on these landowners to raise a larger sum than was contributed by Parliament for the improvement of Hyde Park Corner. The landowners of London had been excessively backward in contributing towards the cost of improvements in this great and important Metropolis. He hoped, however, that now they would rise to the occasion, and avail themselves of this opportunity of acknowledging a duty which had been very much neglected in the past. He hoped that a sum which would be adequate for the carrying out of the desired improvement would be forthcoming from those who had been hitherto backward in their duty in this respect.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he had received a Memorandum from the Duke of Rutland of an entry made by his Father, on the 6th of May, 1839, and it was as follows:—

> "The intention is to represent His Grace as he appeared on the evening of the 18th of June, 1815, towards the close of the battle of Waterloo, and His Grace has been so obliging as to sit to the artist in the costume he then wore."

That was a consideration which should have great weight with the Committee. He confessed that, so far as he was concerned, he was not actuated in the view he took in supporting the Motion for the reduction of the Vote by sentimental considerations. If he were, he might point to the circumstances that the old statue had been placed so that it might be supposed that the Duke was pointing with his truncheon to the Horse Guards; and that the new statue, if replaced on the Arch, would be pointing to the Euston Square Railway Station, or to the swamps of Pimlico. Her Majesty's Government were, he considered, in this as in other matters, open to the charge of vacillation and inconsistency. As to the Executive Committee alluded to, it would be difficult to fix responsibility upon them, or to declare who of their Body was responsible. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had said he was responsible; whereas the Representive of the Government in the House of Lords, in his hearing, had thrown the responsibility on the Executive Committee. The Government threw the responsibility on the Executive Committee, and the Executive Committee returned the compliment by throwing it upon the Government. It was rather a curious fact that of the Members of the House who were also Members of the Executive Committee appointed last year, not one was now in his place. The noble Lord the Member for North Liecestershire (Lord John Manners) was not present, neither was the Chairman of the Board of Works (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg). The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassey) was also conspicuous by his absence; so that it did not seem that the Members of the Executive Committee had any very great confidence in their own opinion. Then, as regarded the original plan of competition for the construction of the new statue, it had been entirely thrown overboard. The right hon. Gentleman had declared that if the selection were decided by competition all the best artists would be excluded; but the right hon. Gentleman seemed to forget that, in times gone by, the system of competition had made known the existence of some of the best artists this country had produced. The First Commissioner of Works, in an article lately written by him in *The Nineteenth Century*, had referred to Mr. Stevens' monument of the Duke of Wellington in St. Paul's Cathedral as the greatest work executed in England since the time of Torrigiano, and the right hon. Gentleman might recollect that it was only through public competition that the merits of Mr. Stevens and of his design were realized. Mr. Stevens had had to contend with many difficulties, and he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had taken no small part in supporting Mr. Stevens, when Mr. Ayrton and not a few Members opposite had endeavoured to get rid of the monument altogether. Their efforts, however, failed, and at length the monument had been completed. He entirely concurred in what an hon. Friend of his had said about Mr. Boehm, believing that it would be a misfortune if the work were given to that gentleman instead of to an English artist of equal talent, who would not be difficult to find. He could not agree that Mr. Boehm had made any success with the statues he had erected in London. In addition to the failures already quoted, he would add that of the statue of Lord Russell in the Central Hall of the Parliament Building. The Prime Minister had known the noble Lord very well; and he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) would put it to the right hon. Gentleman whether he had ever seen him in the attitude in which he appeared in the statue? No doubt, great care should be exercised in the selection of artists for these statues. It was said that Mr. Boehm was unrivalled in his execution of horses; but he should like to know where the sculptured horses were in this country from which hon. Members could judge of Mr. Boehm's unrivalled ability? His (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck's) general objection to the new proposal was that, by reason of the removal of the Triumphal Arch to its present position, where it stood sideways, and leading from St. George's Hospital to no where at all, it had become an incongruous absurdity, and no sum of money, however large, could invest the locality with any artistic beauty, unless they began *de novo* and took down the Arch, to erect it elsewhere.

Mr. ALBERT GREY regretted that the statue of the Duke of Wellington had not been removed long ago; and he, therefore, did not think the Committee ought to quarrel with the decision the Government had arrived at with regard to it. With regard to the Memorial of the Royal Academicians, to which his right hon. Friend (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had referred as a justification for the course pursued by the Government, he thought that if the Government considered it their duty to take the advice of that Body in one respect, they should take it in another respect. The members of the Royal Academy last year sent a Memorial to the Prime Minister, asking the Government to appoint a Committee of experts to inquire whether it would not be possible to finish the monument of the Duke of Wellington in St. Paul's Cathedral? That Memorial had been supplemented by a Memorial from artists and literary men, and by a Memorial signed by 100 Members of the House of Commons. He, therefore, hoped that, as the Government had allowed themselves to be guided in their course of action in one respect by the Memorial of the Royal Academicians, they would also allow themselves to be guided by their Memorial and the other Memorials he had mentioned in regard to the completion of what was admitted by everybody to be the finest monument which had been produced in this country for many years. He would willingly have voted against this grant of £2,000, if, by so doing, he could have secured that that sum could have been expended in finishing the unfinished monument in St. Paul's Cathedral; but he was afraid, after the discussion which had taken place, that to vote with the hon. Member for Burnley would mean an expression of opinion that the Hyde Park Statue should remain where it was. He should, therefore, vote against the hon. Member.

Sir EDWARD J. REED should have preferred to see the statue remain in its present vicinity; but because he considered the improvements which had been effected at Hyde Park Corner of such great public benefit, and the First Commissioner of Works so zealously devoted to the public interest, he should certainly give the right hon. Gentleman his support in the Division about to be taken.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 51; Noes 54: Majority 3.—(Div. List, No. 65.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE said, he desired to ask a Question of the First Commissioner of Works with respect to Richmond Park.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that before the hon. Member raised that point he wished to make an appeal to the Prime Minister, and to ask him whether, after the debate which had taken place and the extremely close Division they had had, he would allow the matter to stand over for further consideration, and would not bring it forward at an hour when the House could not have a fair opportunity of discussing it?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he conceived that the vote which had just been taken was a conclusive vote as regarded its immediate effect. ["No!"] As he understood the question of the noble Lord, the Government were asked to give a fair opportunity for the further consideration of the matter when the Vote was reported. He did not deny that that was a fair request.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked if the right hon. Gentleman would undertake that the Vote should be taken at such a time as would afford the House a fair opportunity of giving its attention to it, and not at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that, of course, his answer implied that the Report of this particular Vote would not be taken at a time when it could not be discussed.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF expressed a hope that no steps would be taken in regard to the statue or anything else, until after the Report was disposed of.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE wished to ask a question of the First Commissioner of Works with respect to Richmond Park. For many years there had been a question raised with regard to the opening of Roehampton Gate to the public, and he wished to know if anything recently had occurred in regard to it? Richmond Park was one of the free open spaces in the neighbourhood of the Metropolis, and it was highly desirable that the inhabitants of London should have free access to it, and Roehampton Gate was the nearest approach to it. He believed that the property leading to that Gate was owned by a lady; and although the Park itself was open the approach to it in that direction was not. He believed that some negotiations had been going on with the lady who owned the land, with a view of securing free admission to the Park by way of this Gate. At present the House voted money for keeping up the Roehampton Gate; but it was found that two authorities were jointly interested in opening up the approach, and that neither of them—neither the Ranger nor the lady who owned this property —had any right of entrance or exit from the Park whatever except by permission of the other. The public had no means whatever of proceeding to the Park by Roehampton Gate except through the land belonging to this lady, and the lady herself had no right or control over the Park itself. All that was wanted was an arrangement by which the public could obtain access to the Park by means of Roehampton Gate. He understood that the land belonging to this lady could be bought for a reasonable sum; but it could only be bought by means of an arrangement made through the First Commissioner of Works. He believed if any additional sum were asked for the land beyond the actual value which the Commissioners of Woods and Forests placed upon it the Metropolis would be prepared to pay it; but they were unable to take any steps in the matter except by means of an arrangement with the First Commissioner of Works. As a matter of public convenience, it was highly desirable that this access should be rendered free. At present the public, instead of driving directly into the Park by way of Roehampton Gate, were obliged to go round for a distance of two miles beyond Roehampton Gate. It would really be of great advantage to the Metropolis to have this gate thrown open, so that the inhabitants of London might be able, for purposes of recreation and enjoyment, to make free use of Richmond Park. He believed that cabs were admitted into the Park itself; but that they were unable to obtain admittance to it by means of Roehampton Gate. In the East End of London, Epping Forest had been preserved by the action of the Corporation; and he thought that something should be done in regard to Richmond Park, so as to give the public at the West End of London the freest and easiest access to it. It would, however, be impossible to do this until Roehampton Gate was made available.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is entitled to ask a question upon this point, but he is not entitled to debate it, because it has reference to another part of the Vote already disposed of.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE said, he would confine himself to asking a question of the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works—namely, whether he did not consider that it would be of the greatest advantage to the inhabitants of the Metropolis that Roehampton Gate should be opened to the public, that being the nearest means of access to the Park? If it were opened up it would be of great advantage to large masses of the people who wished to visit the Park. [" Order! "]

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR rose to a point of Order. He wished to know if it was not competent for the hon. Member to move the reduction of the Vote in order to place himself in Order?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member can move the reduction of the entire Vote; but by the Rules of the House he would not be entitled to enter into a debate upon this particular item at this moment.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE asked whether, if he moved the reduction of the Vote, he would not be in Order in discussing this matter?

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE said that, under those circumstances, he would confine himself to the question whether any negotiations had recently taken place with the view of securing the opening of Roehampton Gate to the public; and, if not, whether the right hon. Gentleman would not consider it necessary to make inquiry whether some arrangement might be effected by the payment of a small sum of money for the purchase of the land from the lady who now owned it, such payment to be recouped by an arrangement with the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, the object being to secure for the inhabitants of the Metropolis this easiest way of access to Richmond Park?

MR. LABOUCHERE wished to ask his right hon. Friend the Chief Commissioner of Works, whether it was not possible to put an end to the preservation of game in Richmond Park, so that the public might not be kept out of the enjoyment of one-third of a Park for which they paid largely, in order that a very few individuals might amuse themselves by wandering about and shooting rabbits? [" Oh! "] He was simply asking a question whether this fact was not known to the right hon. Gentleman; and whether, if it was known to him, he would not take some means to see that the public, who paid largely towards the expense of keeping this Park in order, should not be deprived of the enjoyment of a considerable portion of it, in order that two or three individuals might have an opportunity of amusing themselves?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE desired to say, in answer to the first question which had been put to him, that he thought it would be of great advantage to the public if Roehampton Gate were opened. The difficulty was that the approach to that Gate was private property. It belonged to a lady who was willing to sell it under certain conditions; but he could not hold out any hope to the hon. Member for London (Mr. Alderman Lawrence) that the Treasury would advance the sum of money that would be necessary to pay for its purchase. Neither did he see any indication that the Metropolitan Board of Works, or any private persons, were ready to come forward and to advance the money. Whenever they did so he should be glad to enter into negotiations with this lady for the purchase of the property in question. At the same time, he could not hold out any hope that any Vote of money would be submitted to the House for the purpose; and he did not think that it was a matter which ought to fall upon the Public Exchequer. With regard to the question of his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), he could only say that the Park had been vested in the First Commissioner of Works for the purpose of a Park, and for the benefit of the public; but there was a distinct reservation of all the rights of the Crown, and among those rights was the right of sporting, which right Her Majesty had made over to the Duke of Cambridge, and the Government had no power of diminishing that right in any way.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that complaints had been made of the closing of the footway across St. James's Park at an early hour in the evening. He wished to know if any change had been made in that respect?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE believed that the footway across the bridge was to be kept open all night.

Mr. RITCHIE said, the right hon. Gentleman promised to consider the propriety of keeping open the broad path across Kensington Gardens until a later hour than at present. It was now closed at a very early hour, and considerable inconvenience was occasioned in consequence. The right hon. Gentleman had promised to keep it open later, and he (Mr. Ritchie) wished to know if steps had been taken to give effect to that promise?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE replied in the affirmative.

Mr. RAIKES wished to say a word in regard to Roehampton Gate. Did the right hon. Gentleman think it worth while to spend £2,000 a-year for the maintenance of the Park, and refuse to give the small sum that would be necessary in order to render it accessible to the people of London? He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he was not disposed to recommend a Vote, or any outlay of money, for the purpose of securing that access, which would be most convenient.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that no doubt the opening of Roehampton Gate would be convenient for the people of the neighbourhood who lived within easy reach of Richmond Park; but it certainly appeared to him that the expense of obtaining the opening up of this access to the Park ought to fall upon the inhabitants who would be benefited by it, and not upon the public generally.

Mr. TOMLINSON wished to ask a question about the Green Park, which had been raised last year. There had been a Vote for new railings at the Hyde Park Corner of the Green Park. The new railings were much more pretentious than the old ones; and he wished to know whether it was intended to continue the new form of railing, or whether it was intended to leave the railing in its present unsightly condition?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had not included in the Estimates any sum for such a purpose this year; but, of course, it might be a question for consideration in the future.

Mr. MOLLOY asked if the First Commissioner of Works would state now how many acres of the enclosed land had been opened to the public in Regent's Park, and whether the total quantity which it had been decided to give up to the public would, when opened, be free of access to everybody? He believed that three or four weeks ago a portion of the land given to the public had been again enclosed.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he thought the area thrown open to the public in Regent's Park was about 20 acres. The whole of it was opened on the 1st of March of the present year.

Mr. MOLLOY: The whole of it?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Yes; the whole of it.

Mr. LABOUCHERE begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £7,161 in reference to Victoria Park. He would also move the reduction of the Vote by the items asked for in reference to Battersea Park, and Kennington Park.

Mr. RITCHIE asked if the hon. Gentleman was in Order in moving to reduce a Vote which had already been passed, inasmuch as it was antecedent to the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands)?

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR, upon that point of Order, and in reference to a previous ruling of the Chair, wished to point out that the reduction moved by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) was for £2,000 in connection with Hyde Park Corner which appeared in Sub-head E; but later on in the Vote, in Sub-heads G. H. and T., there were the sums mentioned by the hon. Member?

The CHAIRMAN: There is no doubt that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) would be in Order in moving the reduction of the Vote by any sum short of the aggregate amount; but in moving the reduction of the Vote by a specific item which appears in the Vote later than the items included in the Amendment of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) he would not be in Order.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that these points of Order were of great importance. If a ruling of this nature were given somewhat hastily, it might be found that the discussion of the Votes in Committee would be practically futile, The reduction moved by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), in reference to the sum of £2,000 which came under Sub-head E, related to certain works in Hyde Park; but in Sub-head F there was a further sum for the maintenance of that Park, and, in point of fact, the question of maintenance in connection with the different Parks ran all through the Vote; and therefore he thought, with all due respect to the ruling of the Chair, that it was competent for any hon. Member to move any reduction covered by the different sub-heads which came after Sub-head E.

THE CHAIRMAN: As to giving the ruling hasily, it was given in accordance with the ancient Rules of the House. The hon. Member has specified certain items relating to public Parks which are antecedent to the Vote taken upon the reduction moved by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands). It would, therefore, be out of Order to move that reduction.

MR. RITCHIE said, his remarks related to Battersea Park.

THE CHAIRMAN: It would be out of Order to propose a reduction of the Vote upon an item included in it for Battersea Park.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that, under those circumstances, he would move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £7,161 for the expenditure in connection with Victoria Park. This was one of the Parks of London which was kept up at the expense of the whole country. As by the ruling of the Chair the amount voted for other Parks might not be touched, there was a still stronger reason than there had been before why they should not vote the sum now asked for for this Park. He wished to point out that this was a sum of money thrown upon the country for the expense of Parks in London, exclusive of Hyde Park, St. James's Park, and the Green Park, which might be regarded as National Parks. He believed the country had already spent upon Battersea Park, in the formation of the Park and the River Embankment, something like £21,000, and there would also be an item, he imagined, for a new bridge, to give access to the enclosed land recently opened to the public in Regent's Park. Now, the Metropolis was a very wealthy place, and ought to pay for its own Parks. No doubt, he would be told by the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works that these Parks belonged to the country, and ought to be paid for by the country rather than by the Metropolis, because they were in a different position from any of the country Parks. In the country the inhabitants formed their own Parks, and supplied the money necessary to maintain them; and why should not the Londoners, who were better able to afford the outlay, do the same? The constituency he represented (Northampton) had decided upon having a Park; but no proposal was made that the public should pay for it. If such a proposal were made, he was satisfied that not a voice would be raised in that House in favour of it. He ventured to ask, then, why the country should be called upon to pay for the Parks in London?

MR. COURTNEY: They are all in the London Government Bill.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he was not quite certain that that Bill would pass this Session. He thought it was likely to meet with such an amount of obstruction that its passing was very questionable. The present bird in the hand was worth very many London Bills in the bush; and he objected to any proposal for making a present of £7,000 to the City of London, on the chance that they might be able to pass the Municipal Bill this year. It would be far better to approach the consideration of that Bill with a solemn declaration on the part of the House that, whether the Bill passed or not, London should be called upon to pay for its own Parks.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Item of £7,161 for the Victoria Park be omitted from the proposed Vote."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he ventured to hope that the hon. Member would not consider it necessary to divide the Committee upon his Amendment. The question was dealt with in the London Government Bill, and it was proposed to hand over this Park to the New Government of London. It would be practically impossible to give up these Parks on the part of the Government without an Act of Parliament, and even an Act of Parliament would be necessary to enable them to be handed over to the New Government of London. He could hardly suppose that the hon. Member wished to see these Parks thrown into a state of neglect and disorder. All the three Parks which had been mentioned would be provided for in the London Government Bill.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he thought that the Metropolitan Board of Works ought to take over these Parks by Act of Parliament in the same way as Leicester Square.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the London Government Bill would enable them to be handed over to the New Local Government of London. There was already a Bill for that purpose on the Table of the House, and the passing of that Bill in the present year was only a question of time. Under these circumstances, it would simply be a waste of time to discuss the matter.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE said, he was glad that a question had been put by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) which had elicited from the right hon. Gentleman that one of the penalties which London would have to pay for the London Government Bill was £26,000 a-year for the keeping up of these Parks. That, he believed, was not the only penalty which the City of London would have to pay if that Bill passed. He therefore thought they were indebted to the hon. Gentleman for having brought the question forward at this time. Probably he might bring forward further questions which would tend to show the amount of benefit the Metropolis would receive from that Bill, and would show, in point of fact, a debtor as well as a creditor account. He thought the people of London would be surprised to hear that £26,000 a-year would be the first thing they would be called upon to pay, in accordance with the views Her Majesty's Government had just expressed upon the subject. He was quite sure that the inhabitants of London would protest against being burdened with the responsibility of keeping up Parks which were not for the benefit of themselves only, but for the advantage of other persons who frequented them. It was, as he had stated, one of the penalties which London would have to pay, and the neighbourhoods in which the Parks were situated would have no reason to be grateful for the Bill.

Mr. RITCHIE said, he understood that the Parks which were now enjoyed by the poorer classes of the community were to be taken out of the Estimates; while Hyde Park, St. James's Park, and the Green Park, which were enjoyed by the richer part of the community, would be kept in. He could not conceive anything more invidious than a proposal of that kind; and he was satisfied that many people in the East End of London would look with a considerable amount of dissatisfaction on any proposal to take the Parks out of the Imperial taxation for the purpose of throwing them upon the ratepayers of London. Whatever might be proposed by the London Government Bill would be dealt with when that Bill came on properly for discussion. He understood it was proposed that Victoria Park and other Parks were to be kept up by the Metropolis; while Hyde Park, St. James's Park, and the Green Park were to be maintained out of the Imperial Exchequer. [Mr. Courtney: They are Royal Parks.] He did not understand the distinction, and he thought it would be regarded as an invidious one. As far as the East End of London was concerned, the people would look with a considerable amount of dissatisfaction and jealousy on the enormous amounts of money that were expended in the West End of London, in the neighbourhood of Kensington, while the East End found no similar favour. Even when they asked for such a paltry expenditure as was involved in the present Vote, they were told that in future it would have to be borne by the people of London themselves. If this course was to be followed, of throwing upon the ratepayers of London the cost of maintaining the Parks of the poor, while those of the rich were kept up by the Imperial Exchequer, it would be regarded with extreme jealousy and dissatisfaction.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL said, he had put a question to the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works, which had not been answered, in reference to an item of £100 per annum to experts for naming cryptogams.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was sorry he could not give the explanation which the hon. Member asked for.

Original Question put, and *agreed to,*

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought the time had now arrived when Progress ought to be reported. He would, therefore, make a Motion to that effect.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Sir ROBERT PEEL asked when the right hon. Gentleman proposed to take the Report?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: On Thursday.

Sir ROBERT PEEL: Not to-morrow?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: No.

Motion *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND) (No. 2) BILL.

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Trevelyan.*)

[BILL 165.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. COURTNEY expressed a hope that the House would consent to the second reading of the Bill, the object of which was to consolidate and simplify certain Acts of Parliament relating to the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland. The provisions of the Bill contained no novelties, and were not likely to raise any discussion of a controversial character. There was nothing involved in the Bill which ought to give rise to any discussion at all; and he proposed, after the Bill was read a second time, to move that it be referred to a Select Committee, such Committee to be composed in a manner which would be satisfactory to the Irish Members. Of course, due Notice would be given of the appointment of the Committee. He begged to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, the Bill contained very long and multifarious provisions, and it had only been placed in the hands of hon. Members that morning. The House ought, at any rate, to be allowed 24 hours for considering it. He would, therefore, ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, to postpone the Bill until another day.

Mr. MOLLOY would join with the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) in asking the Government to postpone the further consideration of the Bill. The Irish Members knew nothing about it; and although the hon. Gentleman said he proposed to refer it to a Select Committee, to be composed in such a manner as would be satisfactory to the Irish Members, the hon. Member's idea of composing a Committee to the satisfaction of Irish Members was one thing, whereas the actual composition of the Committee might be another. Her Majesty's Government and the Irish Members did not always agree upon that point; and he thought at that hour of the night it would be rather hard to ask the Irish Members to consent to the second reading of a Bill of which they knew absolutely nothing.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he would move the adjournment of the debate, on the ground that the Bill, which contained 67 clauses and 83 pages of print, had been laid upon the Table so recently that hon. Members had had no opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the nature of its provisions. It was perfectly impossible for hon. Members to know anything about it, and especially to know whether it was proposed to make any alteration in the composition of the Board of Works. The Board of Works, as at present constituted, was a most unsatisfactory Body. He thought the best way would be to withdraw the Bill, and introduce one which would afford a guarantee for the substantial amendment of the Board of Works. A measure which simply reaffirmed the constitution of a Board which was at present considered most objectionable would only involve a waste of the public time. It was absurd to introduce a Bill which allowed the existing law to remain practically without amendment. He begged to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Mr. COURTNEY said, it was with great reluctance that he assented to the proposal of the hon. Member. He was very sorry that the second reading of the Bill had not been agreed to. The Bill was a Bill of mere machinery, simply relating to the means by which the Board of Works acted, and had nothing whatever to do with the law under which the Board acted. If it were not read a second time now, it was impossible to say when it could be taken again. At the same time, he felt that he was unable to resist the appeal which had been made.

Colonel NOLAN wished to point out the extraordinary manner in which the Irish Business was managed in that House. The Irish Members were not like Members who represented English constituencies, who got to know something of Bills before they were put down upon the Paper. The Irish Members were not in the confidence of Her Majesty's Government, and they were not afforded an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the provisions of a measure of this kind in advance. The present Bill was only issued that morning; it was a very long Bill; and it had now been proposed that night to read it a second time without any speech in explanation of its provisions. What the House ought to have had was a short speech from the Secretary to the Treasury, explaining the provisions of the Bill. His own impression was that the hon. Gentleman was unable to do that in consequence of not having read the Bill himself. As to the assertion that the Bill was simply one of machinery, he disputed it altogether. The Bill was a very important one, and in its present shape it was likely to create dissatisfaction in Ireland. What the Irish people wanted was a measure to remodel altogether the machinery by which the Board of Works was at present worked. He hoped this slip-shod method of dealing with legislation for Ireland would not be continued in future.

Colonel COLTHURST said, it was only fair to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to say that this Bill was in every word the same as a Bill brought forward on the same subject last year. He was able to make that statement, as he had been personally concerned in the matter. About three weeks ago he had had a Motion on the subject asking that the whole matter should be referred to a Select Committee, and he still believed that that would be the best plan of dealing with it. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury asked him to forego that Motion, and promised that a Bill should be introduced at once and referred to a Select Committee. As the hon. Gentleman had stated, the Bill did not contain any controversial matter. The next Bill on the Paper, which related to land improvement and arterial drainage in Ireland, was a much more important measure. With regard to the present Bill, nothing satisfactory could be arrived at simply by a discussion in that House. It must go through the ordeal of a Select Committee; and there was an understanding that when a Select Committee was appointed there should be power to call witnesses, and the hon. Members for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), for Galway (Colonel Nolan), for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman), or for King's County (Mr. Molloy) would be able to bring forward any evidence they thought fit. To adjourn the debate now would only be to prejudice the chance of another investigation taking place in the course of the present Session. His hon. Friend must know that at this moment the subject of arterial drainage was absolutely at a standstill in Ireland; and it would be at a standstill until something was done in regard to these Bills. He hoped the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) would allow the Bill to be read a second time.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, that if his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for the County of Cork (Colonel Colthurst) had been able to read the Bill and make himself master of its provisions, he had been much quicker than he (Colonel King-Harman) had been. He presumed that the hon. and gallant Gentleman received the Bill only that morning, at the same time as he (Colonel King-Harman) and other hon. Members; but it would seem from the knowledge the hon. and gallant Member possessed of its provisions that he must have had the Bill placed in his hands some days before Parliament adjourned for the holidays. As other hon. Members had not enjoyed a similar privilege, they were anxious that the debate should be adjourned.

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

INTESTATES ESTATES BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Courtney.*)

[BILL 168.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. COURTNEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the measure was one of great simplicity. Its primary object was to amend the law respecting the administration of the personal estate, and the escheat of the real estate, of deceased persons. It was considered desirable to afford to the Crown some protection against claims made against it with regard to the property of persons who died intestate. The Bill provided that where the administration of the personal estate of a deceased person was granted by a nominee of Her Majesty, any action or other proceedings against such nominee for the recovery of the personal estate should be of the same character and subjected to the same rules of law and equity, including the Statute of Limitations, in all respects as if the administration had been granted to the nominee as one of the next of kin. By this provision the Statute of Limitations would be held to apply in favour of the Crown Solicitor where the Crown Solicitor wished the administration of the estate by reason of the intestacy of a deceased person. It further provided that where a person died without an heir and intestate in respect of real estate, the Law of Escheat should apply in the same manner as if the estate were a legal estate in land held directly from Her Majesty. The object was to prevent claims being raised up that were of a fictitious character, or attempts to recover from the Crown, notwithstanding the Statute of Limitations. If any objection was likely to be raised against the Bill it would be an objection of detail rather than anything else, and would be best considered in Committee. Power would be given to the Court to sell the interest of the Crown in any real estate, and there would also be power to waive the right of the Crown in certain cases. He did not think any difference of opinion as to the principle of the Bill existed, and any Amendments which hon. Members placed upon the Paper would be fully considered in Committee. Under the circumstances, he trusted the House would allow the second reading to be taken.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

MR. SALT said, he had no wish to interfere with the progress of the Bill. He had, however, a strong objection to the second reading of the Bill on that occasion, inasmuch as it contained much technicality of detail, and had, moreover, only been delivered that morning. It had become too much the practice to slip Bills of this character through the House at a late hour, when it was absolutely impossible for them to receive that full consideration which their importance demanded. It might be said that the Bill had the advantage of coming from "another place;" but even with that undoubted advantage he did not think it a convenient course that it should be put into the hands of hon. Members in the morning, and be taken for second reading on the evening of the same day.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER said, he had expected the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) would move the adjournment of the debate; but as he had not done so, he rose for the purpose of moving the adjournment, on the ground that the Bill had only been delivered that morning, and that it was impossible to discuss it properly at that hour (1.15). The Bill contained clauses of a technical character, which hon. Members had not had time to consider. He thought it should be established as a principle in that House that no Bill delivered in the morning should be proposed for second reading on the same day.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Major General Alexander.*)

COLONEL NOLAN said, he should certainly like further time for considering the Bill. There was a case in his own county (Galway) involving the sum of £150,000, the claimants of which would be debarred by the Bill, if it became law, from establishing their claim. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury was probably acquainted with the case to which he referred. Although, of course, it seemed very absurd that all the members of the family in question should think they would get the money, there was no doubt in his mind that one of them was entitled to it. The Bill would clearly place them in a bad position; and he, for one, felt it his duty to vote for the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member for Ayrshire (Major General Alexander).

Mr. HORACE DAVEY said, the Bill, no doubt, at first sight appeared of some technicality; but further examination would, he thought, show that, although of considerable importance, the clauses were not so technical as they appeared. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury had pointed out the substance of the Bill, which might be described under three heads.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would point out that the hon. and learned Member should confine himself strictly to reasons against the adjournment, or otherwise, of the debate.

Mr. HORACE DAVEY said, his reason against the adjournment of the debate was that the principle of the Bill was a matter of great difficulty; and that, although a measure of importance, it would receive in Committee the large amount of attention which it demanded. He thought the House might very well agree to the Motion for the second reading; and he ventured to suggest to his hon. Friend in charge of the Bill, that he should agree not to put it down for the Committee stage until a week had elapsed, in order that if any hon. Member, on looking further into it, should think it required further discussion, such discussion might be taken on the Motion for going into Committee.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE said, he hoped there would be no attempt to force the Bill through the House at that Sitting. There were upon the Paper 35 Orders of the Day, and it was simply impossible that hon. Members could have read the Bill in the short time during which it had been in their hands. He, for one, although of course it was the duty of Members to do so, had not had an opportunity of reading it. He protested against the unbusiness-like way suggested of reading the Bill a second time, and leaving its principle open for discussion on the Motion for going into Committee; and he trusted the House would agree to the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, if this were a Bill merely dealing with a few technicalities, which could be discussed in Committee, he should be disposed to vote against the Motion for the adjournment of the debate. But it was a Bill which extended the principle of the Law of Escheat, and that, too, in a very unfair way. The Secretary to the Treasury said that where a Trustee found himself discharged from his trust the Crown had no claim on the property; but he would point out that by this Bill the Crown would acquire an entirely new right. That certainly was an important question of principle, on which the sense of the House ought to be taken at a time whem full consideration could be given to the question.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL said, he understood that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury proposed to make certain alterations in the Bill when in Committee which would meet the objections which were felt with regard to it on that side of the House. The principal objection felt in the House and throughout the country with reference to the proceedings of the Government in the matter of intestate estates was the want of publicity, the result of which would be that large sums of money—the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) had instanced a case in which £150,000 were involved—would be dealt with in almost absolute secresy. It must, he thought, be in the mind of everyone that it was desirable that the utmost amount of publicity should be given in matters of this sort. If the hon. Gentleman were prepared to give the House an assurance that he would in Committee insert a clause directing that details should be given with complete fullness and clearness in the annual account published, he thought the chief objection of hon. Members would be met, and that they would be inclined to defer discussion until the Committee stage of the Bill. ["No, no!"]

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he hoped the House would agree to the Motion of his hon. and gallant Friend, because he liked to stick to the Rules of the House; and he thought that as the Bill had not yet been seen by anyone the House ought to have an opportunity of considering its provisions before it was proceeded with. The Bill had only been delivered that morning, and there had been no opportunity of considering the principles upon which it was based, and which were principles which the Secretary to the Treasury had admitted might involve serious consequences to individuals. He, therefore, sincerely hoped the consideration of the Bill would be postponed; otherwise its second reading must be prevented.

Mr. WARTON mentioned that the Secretary to the Treasury had said he would not take the Bill if there was serious opposition to it.

Mr. ELTON said, it was obvious that this was not a little measure. It introduced a new principle with regard to equitable escheat, and interfered with the rights of private lords, and he must support the Motion for Adjournment.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he was, of course, not going to resist this proposal; but he thought the only serious argument against going on with the Bill was that of the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Bartelott). On that ground he would assent to the adjournment; but he hoped advantage would not be taken of the adjournment to block the Bill, and prevent its being fairly discussed on the next occasion when it came on.

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

PUBLIC HEALTH (CONFIRMATION OF BYE-LAWS) BILL.—[Bill 173.]

(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Hibbert.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he thought the House would be more considerate with respect to this Bill than with regard to the last, because when he introduced it he explained its object.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. George Russell.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday.*

MATRIMONIAL CAUSES BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

[Bill 175.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. George Russell.*)

Sir Walter B. Barttelot

Mr. WARTON rose to a point of Order. The Motion before the House was that the Bill be now read a second time; but he had given Notice that on that Motion he should move that the Bill be adjourned till to-morrow. It was a question arising from peculiar circumstances.

Mr. SPEAKER: That will not be in Order. There is no Question before the House.

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he had moved the second reading.

Mr. WARTON said, his point of Order was this. At the moment before the adjournment of the House was moved, on the last Sitting before the Vacation, it was understood that the second reading of this Bill would be taken to-day. That was of some importance in regard to what took place last year. Without any such arrangement last year the Bill was put down for the first day after the Easter Vacation; and his point was that there had not been a single day on which Amendments could be put down in opposition to this Bill. By the courtesy of the House a Bill was always read a first time; but if such a Bill was put down for second reading on the first day after a Recess, there was no time for putting down Amendments. When he had a Motion on this subject on the 1st of April last, and the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) wanted to have a debate on the Reform Bill, he only asked that one day should be given upon which Amendments in opposition might be put down; and as, if this plan was not adopted, any Bill might be forced through a second reading, he should now move that the second reading be adjourned till to-morrow.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is only competent to the hon. and learned Member to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Warton.*)

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, this Bill was first brought before the House of Lords; but if there was any feeling that further opportunity for considering it should be given, he would not raise any objection to that; but he would appeal to the hon. and learned Member for Bridport to consider its provisions, and not block it simply because it was a Bill on the Paper.

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

REAL ASSETS ADMINISTRATION BILL.

(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Warton.*)

[BILL 98.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR, in moving that the Bill be now read a third time, said, he wished to state, in reference to the opposition of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson), that in deference to that hon. Member, and to the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley), he had postponed the third reading from the last Sitting of the House before the Recess until to-day, because they objected to taking the third reading without the Bill having been reprinted. He was anxious to meet their wishes in that respect, and also to consult the authorities of the House, from whom he learnt that it was unusual to have a small Bill like this reprinted after Amendments in Committee, and that it would be altogether unprecedented for him to move to have it reprinted. The Bill itself was a very small measure, and the alterations in it were quite consequential. There was nothing debateable in any of the new clauses; and he thought they generally met the opinions of the most authoritative Members on the subject. He believed they had the approval of the Solicitor General and other learned Members who were interested in the matter; and, under those circumstances, he appealed to the hon. Member for Preston not to oppose the third reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

Mr. TOMLINSON said, of course it was competent to the hon. Member to press the third reading upon him, and he was not so familiar with the practice of the House as to say whether or not it was absolutely a matter of right to have the Bill read a third time; but when the hon. Member spoke of the unusual course of having the Bill reprinted, he must say it was unusual for such a Bill to appear for the third reading with Amendments three or four times as long as it was on the second reading. But, under all the circumstances, he should not press the matter any further.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

FISHERIES (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 27.]

(*Mr. Kenny, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Barry, Mr. Corbet.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Colonel NOLAN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, explained that it was only a short Bill, and simply enabled Trustees to transfer Coast Fisheries to the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he had hoped that the Chief Secretary would have expressed some opinion upon this Bill. He wished it had been as fair and as good a Bill as was brought in last year, which, however, had not got to a second reading. That Bill, in doing away with the present officers, who administered these Trusts, provided in some undefined way that they should receive some compensation for the abolition of their office; but this Bill provided no such compensation whatever. They would, therefore, be thrown out of employment without any compensation; and he should, therefore, move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Colonel King-Harman.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he hoped the hon. and gallant Gentleman would withdraw his Amendment after he had stated the view of the Government. The Bill was similar in its essential lines to the Bill which he had himself introduced last year; it was a Bill in which he took considerable interest, and he was satisfied that the right course had been taken. The Bill of last year fell through owing to the Government and the several Trustees being unable to come to an understanding, and he then stated that, so far as that Bill was concerned, it was impossible for him to proceed last Session; but he limited that declaration distinctly to last year, and this Bill was one which he should heartily support in principle. He could not, however, agree to the second reading on the part of the Government, unless the hon Member, who was standing godfather to the Bill, and who he hoped had the authority of the Gentlemen whose names appeared on the Bill, and was quite sure that he understood their feelings, would agree to put off any further stage of the Bill for a week, within which time he should be prepared to name the conditions of compensation upon which the Government would only consent to support the Bill. He could assure the hon. Member that those conditions would be such as would meet with his acceptance.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, on those condition he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

IRISH LAND COURT OFFICERS (EXCLUSION FROM PARLIAMENT) BILL.

(*Mr. Brodrick, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Macartney.*)

[BILL 89.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Colonel King-Harman.*)

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he was afraid he could not consent to the Motion at that time of night; and from what he knew of the Bill, if it was in the same shape as when originally introduced he could not assent to it at any time. He had the strongest objection to the Bill in the form in which he first saw it, because it inflicted retrospective penalties on gentlemen who accepted their positions at a time when this burdensome condition was not made; and on that ground he objected to the Bill on principle. If the hon. and gallant Member pressed the Bill he should be prepared to give it a decided negative; but at present he should content himself with moving the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

MOTION.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

Resolution reported on Wednesday the 2nd of April from the Committee on Royal Irish Constabulary (Additional Officers, Salaries, &c.) read.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that in accordance with the announcement he made before the holidays, he now proposed to ask leave to bring in this Bill. Hon. Members who had watched the proceedings of the House might be surprised at the Government taking a step backwards in regard to this Bill; because, as a matter of fact, they had been already ordered by the House to produce the Bill. But that step had been taken under a misconception. He felt bound, in accordance with the promise he had made to hon. Members opposite, to move the Bill at a time when he could make a short statement with regard to it; and he had accordingly obtained an Order that the previous Order of the House should be cancelled, in order that he might have an opportunity of introducing the Bill as it now arose. The Bill was very short and very simple. It was very much shorter and simpler than the Bill of last year, which was now in the hands of Members. The history of the Bill was shortly this. The Irish Police Force, which now numbered some 12,000 men, had reached something like 14,000 men two years ago; and it was discovered that that Force could not be properly managed from centralized head-quarters. For this and other reasons, in the year 1882 the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), who was then Chief Secretary, appointed six gentlemen, to whom he gave the name of Special Resident Magistrates. Those officials had districts assigned to them within which they had very great but somewhat undefined power over the police. The measure was in some respects—in many respects—in accordance with right principles of administration; but there were some great defects in the system. Those defects were inherent in the necessities of the moment, because the time was exceptional. A measure of great adminstrative importance had to be taken, and Parliament, in fact, had no leisure for the consideration of the details of this Bill. The principle was a right one; but there were some defects. In the first place there was some confusion between the several functions of the several magistrates. Some of them exercised judicial and administrative functions, and the administrative functions were of a nature which he thought ought to be specially divorced from the judicial functions, because they related to the detection of crime. Another defect was this—as a temporary measure it was all very well to allow gentleman in the position of Resident Magistrates to have control over the police; but, in the long run, it was an inconvenient plan, and somewhat perilous to a great Police Force, which had a regular hierarchy of officials, to place it under the command of gentlemen who did not belong to it, and who never had belonged to the Force. Another defect in the scheme, as a permament scheme, was that those officials were too numerous. There were six of them at a time when six were required; but six were too many in ordinary times for centralizing and carrying on the police in Ireland; and that was one of the principal matters which the Government now wished to effect. And the final objection to the scheme was that it was too expensive. Temporary expenses were always excessive; but these were specially so. The Resident Magistrates received in pay and in allowances something like £1,500 a-year each. The Government wished to take what was good and what they thought might be permanant in this system, and leave out what was temporary and likely, in the long run, to be inexpedient; and, consequently, they proposed to ask the House to allow the Lord Lieutenant to name five persons to be Divisional Commissioners of the Royal Irish Constabulary. These five officials would exercise a decentralized power, and would have control of the police for the purposes of discipline and the detection of crime, and, in fact, for every purpose, just in the same way as a County Inspector had on a small scale, and as the Inspector General had for all purposes. These gentlemen would be police officers to all intents and purposes; and the Government, after considerable hesitation, had arrived at the conclusion to ask the House to insert a clause in the Bill stating that the persons appointed, from time to time, to fill vacancies should henceforth be taken from the officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The measure was one which would promote economy; for whereas each of the present Magistrates received £1,500 a-year, the new officials would receive £1,000 and their absolute travelling expenses, which would be the same as those of other officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The new officials would not have the private secretaries and clerks which were now attached to the Special Resident Magistrates. He thought it would not be too much to say that the system of Special Resident Magistrates, as compared with the system the Government proposed, was, at the very least, twice as expensive. Of course, there were gentlemen who would object to the system of decentralization in the police for the purposes of detection of crime; and to those gentlemen he would only say that the Government considered this quite a vital point, and that they had shown how vital they considered it by setting up the system of Special Resident Magistrates, which had opened up their action to great criticism. They had now greatly improved the system, administratively and economically; and in bringing forward this Bill they endorsed very strongly the doctrine that judicial functions in Ireland, as elsewhere, should be absolutely and entirely separated from administrative and police functions. The Special Resident Magistrates would be Justices of the Peace, not for the purpose of setting in Court, but simply for the purpose of dealing with riots, just as, he believed, the Inspector General and superior officers of police now were. One other provision was inserted in the Bill, and it was the only one on which he need say a single word. One of the Assistant Inspectors General, of whom there were three, was at this moment the Divisional Magistrate, Mr. Reve; and if the Bill passed he would be continued as Divisional Commissioner, and his place as Assistant Inspector General would not be filled up; and if any Assistant Inspector General in the future was appointed an Assistant Divisional Commissioner, the Lord Lieutenant would have it in his power not to fill the post vacated. As a matter of fact, he had no doubt the Lord Lieutenant would endeavour not to fill up such vacancy. The Bill was so economical, as compared with the previous method of carrying out the principle, that the Government earnestly trusted the House would eventually adopt it. His only duty now was to ask hon. Gentlemen to allow the measure to be placed in their hands.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to improve the administration of the Royal Irish Constabulary in certain particulars."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that, at that hour of the night (2.5 a.m.), and at that stage of the Bill, he did not intend to offer any prolonged opposition to the measure. Of course, he only spoke for himself; but, having made that observation, he thought he was entitled to remark that the right hon. Gentleman had hardly acted fairly towards the Irish Members. This was the day for slipping Business through the House, as the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for County Galway (Colonel Nolan) had said earlier on, because large numbers of Members, naturally enough, prolonged their vacation, and did not appear in their places on the first day after the holidays. He was sure Irish Members would have been in their places in much larger numbers if they had been aware that the right hon. Gentleman intended to put this Bill down for its first stage that night. The right hon. Gentleman must know that the measure was not one on which Irish Members could look with any favour. If there were one class of Government officials who, during the past three or four years in Ireland, had left more odious recollections behind them than another, it was the class of individuals who were to be made permanent by this Bill. There was not a place in Ireland where these Special Resident Magistrates had been appointed where the people did not remember them with the strongest feelings of animosity. He had been glad to hear some admissions the right hon. Gentleman had made in the course of his speech. In the first place, the right hon. Gentleman was convinced that the system of Special Resident Magistrates was one of the most expensive luxuries the Government permitted themselves to indulge in, even in Ireland; and, in the next place, it was laid down as a principle that the Government were anxious to separate judicial from administrative and police functions. That was a most excellent principle; and he would invite the right hon. Gentleman to consider the desirability of extending the system still higher, and requiring the Irish Judges to abandon the career and position of active and pugnacious politicians, which, in other countries, they were supposed to have left behind when they stepped from the Bar to the Bench. In a previous Session the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues had laid great stress on the fact that judicial and police functions were to be separated; and that, in future, cases would be tried, not by magistrates who were concerned in bringing charges against prisoners, but by magistrates who had nothing to do with the previous stages of cases. Some had thought that what the right hon. Gentleman promised was to be a reality, and not a sham. The right hon. Gentleman had set up a number of Stipendiary Magistrates, who were the tools or instruments of the Government, employed mainly for the purpose of convicting prisoners, whether or not there were a fair case against them. He hoped the promise of the right hon. Gentleman had given on the present occasion would not be of the same character. At that period of the night he did not intend to offer any further observations. At a later stage of the Bill he would take the opportunity, with some of his hon. Friends, of offering other and stronger objection to it.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland. [Bill 176.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 22nd April, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Real Assets Administration* (62).
Second Reading — Committee negatived—Army (Annual) (59).

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.—(No. 59.)
(*The Earl of Morley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Earl of MORLEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he regretted that it had come up so late. Amendments had been made in Clauses 4 and 7 relating to imprisonment, fraudulent enlistment, and desertion; but they were neither numerous nor of great importance.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Morley.*)

The Earl of LONGFORD wished to call attention to a matter upon which he had more than once spoken ineffectually—namely, the necessity for improved arrangements for the distribution of Army booty on the system in force for Navy Prize. In the Navy there were many prizes and few disputes. In the Army there were few prizes and many disputes; the Admiralty Court having imperative jurisdiction in one case, but only permissive jurisdiction in the other. The notorious Banda and Kirwee case might have been disposed of by one decision in one Court 15 years ago; whereas it had been the subject of frequent mention in Parliament, several suits in different Courts, including a Petition of Right heard in the House of Lords, and the claimants were not now satisfied that the decision against them had been on merit. A slight alteration of the Act to give the Admiralty Court the same jurisdiction in both cases appeared to be the remedy.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, the noble Earl appeared to be misinformed upon this subject. With respect to Maritime Prize, it had been the practice for the Crown, at the commencement of any war, to make a general grant of all prizes which might be captured at sea during that war to the captors, and to establish Special Prize Courts, having a jurisdiction distinct from the general jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty, for the determination of all questions arising out of any such captures; and Acts of Parliament had been passed to regulate the jurisdiction and the proceedings of those Prize Courts. Those Courts decided, not only questions as to the rights of participation in prize, but also questions as to the validity of the title acquired by capture, as against the former owners of the ships or cargoes taken. The Court of Admiralty, as such, had no jurisdiction in those cases; though Admiralty Judges had usually been made Judges in the Prize Courts. The case was altogether different as to booty of war resulting from military operations by land. The nature of such booty was different from that of Naval Prize. It vested in the Crown, without condemnation or sentence of any Court. It had never been the practice to make any general prospective grants of booty to the Army Forces which might be employed in the course of a war. Every case was dealt with as it arose, after booty had been actually taken, according to the sole discretion of the Crown; the troops had no right to anything more than the Crown, in each particular case, might please to grant to them; and no Courts were established with any jurisdiction as to such booty, though the Crown might, if it thought fit, refer questions relating to it to the Court of Admiralty.

The Earl of MORLEY said, the Government, after full consideration, did not think any advantage would be gained by making imperative the option given to the Admiralty Court to deal with such cases. This question, however, had nothing whatever to do with the Bill before the House.

Viscount BURY said, it was, in his view, inconvenient that a Bill of this importance should be introduced at so short a notice. It only left the House of Commons yesterday, and appeared on the Paper in their Lordships' House as the first Order of the Day to-day.

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2ª accordingly; Committee *negatived*; and Bill to be read 3ª on *Thursday* next.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION (IRELAND).

POSTPONEMENT OF MOTION.

LORD WAVENEY, who had given Notice of his intention to move a Resolution to the effect that all boroughs of not more than 1,000 registered voters at the time of passing any Bill for redistribution of seats in Parliament in Ireland shall be incorporated into the representation of the counties wherein they are situate by the addition of so many Members to the county representation as these boroughs shall have aforetime returned to Parliament, to be elected then and thenceforward on the county franchise, said, that in the absence of the Lord President of the Council he should postpone his Motion until the 6th of May.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he must object to the Motion of the noble Lord being proposed in any way, in that it was entirely uncalled for. There was, at the present moment, before the House of Commons a Bill dealing with the question of the franchise; and as it would be wholly irregular to move such a Resolution as the noble Lord had placed on the Paper, he hoped he would not, in the circumstances, attempt to proceed with it.

LORD WAVENEY said, he would remind the noble Earl that a Resolution on a similar subject had been moved by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Limerick). He (Lord Waveney) did not admit that the present Resolution was either irregular or unconstitutional. He should certainly persevere with it, if only as a protest against the supineness attributed to their Lordships' House in originating important matters of legislation.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that whatever irregularity there was in the course which the noble Lord proposed to take seemed to consist in this—that it looked like an effort to anticipate the decision which their Lordships would have come to in regard to a Bill at present before the other House. Did the noble Lord consider how far that course would be a convenient one? To his mind it did not seem very convenient for this House to proceed by way of Resolution, when the more obvious and convenient course was to wait until the Bill came before them. His object in rising, however, was for the purpose of protesting against the too great breadth of the demurrer which had been raised by the noble Earl at the Table (the Earl of Redesdale). He doubted whether the position the noble Earl had taken could be supported by precedents. Their Lordships knew that it was quite competent for a Bill to be introduced in the House of Lords dealing with a matter which was also the subject of a Bill in the other House; and he never knew that there was anything to prevent their passing a Resolution in regard to a matter which was the subject of a Bill elsewhere. In fact, he remembered an occasion, and the noble Earl (Earl Granville) would probably be able to corroborate him, on which Lord Grey moved a Resolution for the appointment of a Committee on the subject of Reform at the very time that the Reform Bill was under the consideration of the other House. It would also be in the recollection of their Lordships that quite recently in the other House of Parliament a Motion was brought forward which, if carried, would have had the effect of removing a very valuable portion of their Lordships' House, and would therefore have materially interfered with its constitution.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he was of opinion that anything which affected the constitution of the other House of Parliament ought not in their Lordships' House to be dealt with by means of Resolution, but should form matter of a Bill. As to the action of the other House, to which the noble Marquess had referred, he believed that nothing could have been more disorderly or contrary to Order than the Resolution recently moved; and he hoped their Lordships would not follow the precedent set by the other House.

EARL GRANVILLE said, it appeared to him that this was nothing more than a mere technical irregularity, even if that; for he was not aware there was any Redistribution Bill before the other House.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Yes; there is Sir John Hay's.

EARL GRANVILLE said, however that might be, the course proposed to be adopted by the noble Lord (Lord Waveney) would certainly not be convenient. It would be perfectly impossible for Members of the Government to discuss the provisions of a Bill which was not before them, although they were pledged to discuss it on a future day.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of CARNARVON, in rising to inquire, Whether the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will give this House information as to the present critical position of General Gordon; and whether Her Majesty's Government are prepared to take any steps for his relief? said: My Lords, before the commencement of the Easter holidays, when Parliament was separating, Questions were asked in this House as to whether Her Majesty's Government were prepared to give any information with regard to the position of General Gordon in the Soudan, and the measures which they proposed to take with regard to it. To those Questions no very direct or explicit answers were given; but we were assured by the noble Earl opposite, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, if I gathered correctly the general purport of his remarks, that Her Majesty's Government were fully alive to their responsibilities, and that they entertained no fears at that time as to the safety of General Gordon. I am not about to quote any speech made in "another place;" but, at the same time, I shall not be exceeding the precedents allowed in this House if I say that we gathered, from sources of information which we know to be perfectly correct, that the Prime Minister, speaking in the same tone, went somewhat beyond the remarks of the noble Earl, and stated that General Gordon was perfectly able to withdraw from Khartoum if he thought fit, that he was at perfect liberty to withdraw, and that there was no more fear for his safety there than if he were in Cairo. Now, three weeks have passed since those two statements were made, and if the prospect was dark then, it has darkened very much since that time. It was but yesterday that we saw an announcement in the Press of a fresh massacre—300 fugitives were butchered to a man. We are told that Shendy is surrounded, we further learn that Berber is in much the same condition, and in another quarter it is stated that Kassala is also environed by rebels. In the same sources of information to which I have referred, I see some remarkable and very subtle distinctions set up between "surrounding" a place and "hemming" it in. I cannot myself follow those dialectical subtleties with sufficient skill to do justice to them. I am not prepared to say that General Gordon, at this very moment that I am speaking, is in imminent danger of death; that, of course, is all a question of time; but I may say, so far as information which is publicly open to us goes, there is every reason to believe that, given a certain time, General Gordon's life is not worth very much. And more than that, matters have changed for the worse in this respect—that General Gordon's mission is now pretty nearly an admitted failure. I doubt if anybody will stand up and say that he is either carrying out, or likely to carry out, the objects of his mission. General Gordon must himself see that whether "hemmed" in or "surrounded" he is practically a prisoner in Khartoum; and such seems to be the disturbance of feeling in all that country that, as we read in to-day's paper, Cairo has been practically placed in a state of siege. Now, what is, so far as we know, General Gordon's position? He is certainly beleaguered. He may have provisions enough for the present. But there is nothing certain as to whether his ammunition is running low. He praises the loyalty of the people; but we know that he has also been exposed to the treachery of officers, and he has but two Englishmen with him. I can perceive nothing more serious than that telegram from General Gordon to Sir Samuel Baker, which appeared in yesterday's papers, and which I understand the Government admit to be, if not textually, at all events substantially accurate. What, I say, is his position? I would not like to use the word—I do not like to give it that name—which is applied to it by many persons; and yet I hardly know what other term to use except that to which I refer—I mean "desertion." Her Majesty's Government, so far as I understand what they have said, deny that they are abandoning General Gordon. In the last despatch that has been published on this subject, and in the very last paragraph of it, I read these words of Sir Evelyn Baring to General Gordon. After recapitulating the instructions he says—

> "In undertaking the difficult task which now lies before you, you may feel assured that no effort will be wanting on the part of the Cairo authorities, whether English or Egyptian, to afford you all the co-operation and support in their power."—[Egypt, No. 6 (1884), p. 3.]

If that is not to be construed into a pledge of help, I am totally at a loss to understand what is the meaning of the English language. No help has been given, and from the very meagre explanations which have been vouchsafed, no relief is at present intended. General Gordon even applied for the assistance of a certain Turkish Pasha, Zebehr. Her Majesty's Government refused that application, and I am not prepared to say that they were wrong there. But they have not granted the application; and if the story be true of the unciphered open telegram from Sir Evelyn Baring at Cairo to General Gordon at Khartoum, I am at a loss to understand how any Government can persuade itself that it was giving support to a man in Gordon's position. But, again, Her Majesty's Government seem to say, if I rightly understand what is reported in "another place," that General Gordon needs no help; that he is practically safe. I think the expression is "that he is as safe in Khartoum as he would be in Cairo." Well, that is an official statement on one side. I have to set against that, on the other, telegram after telegram which have appeared in the public prints, some of them purporting to have come from the only, or almost the only, other Englishman in Khartoum with General Gordon, and others from General Gordon himself, and your Lordships know very well that these two statements are absolutely irreconcilable. There is a telegram quoted in one of this morning's papers, which is so remarkable that I am loth almost to give credence to it; but, still, it is so remarkable that I think I may venture to read it to your Lordships. This telegram is as remarkable for its explicitness as its strength of language—

> "General Gordon has telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Baring expressing the utmost indignation at the manner in which he has been abandoned by the English Government, and has stated his resolution henceforth to cut himself entirely adrift from those who have deserted him, on whom will rest the blood-guiltiness for all lives hereafter lost in the Soudan."

I do not affirm that to be accurate. I should like to hear from Her Majesty's Government their version of the matter; but, at the same time, in substance, perhaps, it is correct. Well, then, I can only say, from all those private sources of information open to any one of your Lordships, and of which many of you have taken advantage, there is but one opinion among English communities, and that is that General Gordon is a doomed man. But then the Government have urged the great difficulty of relief or facilities of relief. Had relief, my Lords, been attempted earlier, the difficulty would have been proportionately less. We know very well what English troops have done before on those burning sands even later in the year than at present. We know what they have done recently. If there is to be no relieving force sent, it was the duty of Her Majesty's Government to have thought of this some time ago. General Gordon was invited—he was urged—to undertake this perilous duty; and with a chivalry and unselfishness which does not find a corresponding echo in Downing Street, with a chivalry and unselfishness beyond all praise, he accepted the duty; and, more than that, he accepted it at a time when Her Majesty's Government needed his assistance sorely for their own political position here in England. They owe him a very great debt of political gratitude. For a time his ascendancy of character, and the influence he seems to exercise upon these tribes, prevailed; but it is perfectly clear that that influence is now waning, and there is very great reason to believe that a catastrophe at any moment of the gravest nature may fall upon him, or the people of Khartoum as well, because he declares practically in one of his telegrams that nothing will induce him to leave them to their fate. I ask if Her Majesty's Government have in contemplation any measures on this subject? [*Cries of* "None!"] My noble Friends behind me say "None!" but I do not quite believe it. I think Her Majesty's Government all through these memorable transactions in Egypt have had some measures in view, the misfortune has been that they have adopted them too late; and it is for that reason that I press now so urgently to know whether there are any measures in contemplation. Before the House separated we had frequent complaints "elsewhere" of the discussions that had taken place on this subject. No doubt it is very inconvenient for Her Majesty's Government to be interrogated on it; but let me point out that the remedy is in their own hands—if they will only declare openly and unreservedly what their intention is they will cease. At all events, we have time enough in this House to discuss these matters, and to press for information; and I hope no considerations will induce us to forget that which it is alike our right and our duty to repeat—namely, that for the information of the country it is expedient that we should know what is the position of General Gordon, and what steps the Government were prepared to take for his relief.

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, it was with great surprise that I read this morning that a few moments after I left the House last night, when there was absolutely nothing left on the Paper, and I was anxious to return to my Office, that the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) passed a very severe censure on me, and expressed his surprise, as he chose to call it, that I did not condescend to make a statement on the Egyptian policy of the Government in this House. I can quite understand the noble Earl's anxiety to make a statement of his own, and to add to some of the able and eloquent speeches which have been made during the Recess on this subject, which he has a perfect right to do, and which I do not in the slightest degree complain of. But I am perfectly unaware of the reasons why he expected one from me, or made a severe complaint against me for not having made a statement on this particular occasion. We all know that the noble Earl is a severe critic of foreign policy; we know how he criticized the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield; but it is quite new to me that one of the grounds of objection to Lord Beaconsfield's policy was that he did not weekly, or fortnightly, or monthly, volunteer a detailed statement of his foreign policy. The noble Earl has put a Question to me; he has also criticized somewhat severely a verbal distinction drawn in "another place." He says there is no difference between being surrounded and being hemmed in. But if a town is hemmed in it would not be possible for provisions largely to be brought into the town from outside. He went on to complain of what we had done; and he stated that General Gordon had been urged—he apparently insinuated it was somewhat against his will—to undertake this mission. What happened was this—we had for some time in view the possibility of making use of General Gordon's great reputation and experience as regards affairs in Egypt, and at last General Gordon was consulted as to whether he had any advice to give us on this subject; and the advice given us in that perfectly simple-minded, chivalrous, energetic character to which the noble Earl has paid a just tribute was this—

> "I advise you to send myself out, and I am confident that I shall be able, entirely concurring in your policy, both of evacuation and of not employing military force, to achieve great results in that manner."

The noble Earl says that, in not sending out a military expedition to his succour, we are acting contrary to the last phrase of the despatch he wrote. It is quite true he was promised co-operation; but we had not the slightest hint—we had not the slightest idea—that he required it, and it would be entirely contrary to the spirit of his mission that he should be backed up by a military expedition from this country. The noble Earl says we must admit General Gordon's mission has been an entire failure. I do not admit it. I think General Gordon, whether he succeeds or not, has done well. I quite agree with the noble Earl inasmuch as I am not sanguine as to the success of General Gordon in being able to withdraw all the garrisons from the different parts of the Soudan; but I say that he has done immense good by his arrival in putting an entire stop to the onward movement of the Mahdi's troops towards Egypt, so confidently predicted by noble Lords opposite. The noble Earl says General Gordon is in a critical position. I do not pretend that his position has not been one of danger. Ever since he left Cairo on his way to Khartoum dangers of all sorts have assailed him. The days on which he was in the greatest danger were during that almost romantic ride he undertook across the desert in order to reach Berber. But at this moment I repeat what has been stated "elsewhere," that I have no fear as to the personal safety of General Gordon in

Khartoum now. There are provisions there for five months, and he himself said he was as safe as if he was in Cairo. It is well known that the Arabs shrink from any attempts at attacking a fortified town. I do not, therefore, admit that General Gordon—however much his chance of effecting his grand object may be affected—is in danger at this moment, or that Khartoum is in danger, or will be for some time to come. As to the telegram in this morning's papers, I should say it was sent, not to the Government, but to Sir Samuel Baker. And I am sorry for the feeling which, on the impulse of the moment, General Gordon showed. But I think it is most naturally explained. Unfortunately, of all telegrams and instructions sent to General Gordon only one short one has reached him, in consequence of the difficulty of communication; and, under the circumstances, I certainly am not surprised that General Gordon should have thought himself entirely abandoned by Her Majesty's Government. In answer to the noble Earl's Question, I say I do not consider that General Gordon's position at this time is critical; and I repeat what has already been stated twice in the other House, that Her Majesty's Government feel themselves under obligations with regard to the personal safety of General Gordon, but that they utterly decline to say more than that at this time. The noble Earl complains that an unciphered despatch had been sent to Berber. I have not the slightest idea whether it was sent unciphered. But, supposing it was, it was certainly a mistake, and it is exactly the mistake the Government have been exposed to, and liable to commit, by the constant pressure on the part of this House, and still more of the other House, calling upon us to say what we will do, and what we will not do. It is exactly the same kind of mischief. I have no more to add at this moment.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: My Lords, the noble Earl complained with some severity of the censure of my noble Friend, because last night the noble Earl did not volunteer information on the subject of General Gordon. He does not appear to realize the deep anxiety felt out-of-doors by the whole of this country as to the fate of this gallant man. He appears to think it quite enough that we should wait quietly and see him beleaguered by men seeking his death, trusting to his five months' provisions, and the possibility of an expedition in the autumn. I do not think such stoicism will be shared by the people of this country. I think they will insist on some more active demonstration of sympathy on the part of Her Majesty's Government. I confess that I do not understand the nature of the defence urged by the noble Earl. It appears to be maintained that General Gordon's perilous mission was undertaken upon a sort of limited liability. Her Majesty's Government were willing to send General Gordon into danger, but on the distinct understanding that he was not to expect any help from them if that danger became serious. If that was the understanding it is a very remarkable one, and I do not suppose any Government has ever sent out a Representative of the Queen under such circumstances before—it is an absolutely new precedent in the history of English government. If that was the understanding with General Gordon, at least we must suppose that it was recorded in some definite form, and that he was aware of the strange and desperate character of the task with which he was intrusted by the Government. But what do we see in the telegram of which the Government themselves admit the substantial correctness? General Gordon expresses the utmost indignation at the manner in which he has been abandoned by Her Majesty's Government. That cannot be explained by saying that General Gordon had received no telegrams since he started. That is not the question. The question is, What was the understanding under which he went out? That is not affected by what has passed. It is clear from his statement that he, at least, did not suppose that he was to be exposed to certain death at the hands of the Arabs round Khartoum, and that the Government was to be free from any obligation to make the slightest attempt to relieve him. My Lords, I know that your feeling and the feeling of the country is one of deep personal sympathy with General Gordon; but there is more than deep personal sympathy to be considered—there is the honour of the British nation. No deeper, no more vital disgrace could befall this country than that General Gordon should be allowed to perish in his undertaking without assistance from the English Government. Already there is sufficient of Egyptian blood to be laid at the door of Her Majesty's Government; already we have made sacrifices enough of those whose Kingdom we have taken over, whose responsibility we have undertaken, and to whose safety we are practically and substantially pledged. We have had now five massacres of Egyptian troops, massacres caused by the neglect of Her Majesty's Government—Hicks, Baker, Sinkat, Moncrieff, and Shendy. I do not suppose so bloody an account—an account in which blood so mingled with disgrace was ever brought home to an English Government before. If they are resolved to make no effort to save this gallant man they will not only be covering the English name with dishonour, but they will be destroying that belief in English prowess which is the only hope they have of being able successfully to discharge their responsibilities in Egypt. They cannot scuttle out of the country, having destroyed every form of government, and leave things just as they are. The responsibility, let the Government shrink from it and shirk it as they will, must rest with them; and it is on the reputation of England that they must depend for their power to carry it out. By their neglect, and by the disgrace which, time after time, they pile upon the name of England, they are paralyzing the power of this country. I hope they may even yet be induced to make some announcement that will alter the state of things in Egypt. But we at least cannot undertake the complicity of silence; we believe that the silence observed by Her Majesty's Government is perilous to General Gordon, is ruinous to the hope of England's supremacy in Egypt. We believe that if even now the announcement of some effective steps were made, whatever the physical difficulties in the way, it would act with magical effect on the banks of the Nile; but if this ruinous silence is persisted in a catastrophe will come which will cover England with disgrace, and the responsibility of which we will not share.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, that the noble Marquess, profiting by the Recess, had taken the advice of a young and active Leader in his Party not to shrink from responsibility. He had recommended an immediate military expedition to Khartoum, and that this country should assume the responsibility of the government of the Soudan.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I said nothing about assuming responsibility for the government of the Soudan; but that, whether you were right or wrong in being there, the government of Egypt must be with you, and that responsibility you cannot shirk.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: Do I understand that the noble Marquess does not recommend that the government of the Soudan should be assumed?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: That is quite another matter.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, he had certainly understood the noble Marquess to have made that recommendation a few minutes ago. If he had no such intention he would, of course, accept the disclaimer; but he regarded it as an instance of the ambiguity and vagueness of the language used by the noble Marquess, for he certainly had understood him in that sense. The noble Marquess, however, had recommended an immediate military expedition to Khartoum. Had he considered the season of the year—the difficulties of the operation—the loss of life to the English troops by approaching the Equator in the middle of an African summer? While recommending this expedition, the noble Marquess, almost in the same breath, had accused the Government of blood-guiltiness. That was the characteristic consistency of the noble Marquess, who further had entirely misrepresented what fell from his noble Colleague (Earl Granville). The noble Earl explained, what everybody must have known thoroughly well—namely, that when General Gordon accepted his mission to Khartoum it was on the distinct understanding that it was to be a pacific mission, and not to be supported by any military expedition. Because the noble Earl had repeated, with perfect accuracy, a circumstance notorious to all, the noble Marquess immediately endeavoured to fix on him the responsibility of saying that under all circumstances General Gordon would be abandoned by the Government. Nothing of the kind had ever been said. On the contrary, the Government had always admitted their responsibility for the safety of General Gordon. But the House must be aware that in matters of this kind it was impossible for the Government to give explanations as to what course they might think it their duty to take; and in answer to these desultory Questions no other reply could properly be given by those responsible for the management of these most difficult affairs than the reply which had been made by his noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

VISCOUNT BURY said, that the noble Earl had entirely misrepresented what had been said by his noble Friend. Whenever that question had been raised in that House those on that side of the House, at least, had been careful not to say what the Government ought to do, but to leave the responsibility with them, and with them the responsibility must remain. What the noble Marquess had said was what he believed was felt by every man on that side of the House, that no sign of activity was being shown by Her Majesty's Government, and that the practical outcome of the policy that they had chosen to adopt was that "too late" must be written on every one of their operations; that nothing they could now do would serve to free General Gordon from the despair in which he found himself. Some astonishment had been expressed that General Gordon had been drawn into using some expressions which he was construed to have used in haste. But for months General Gordon had remained in Khartoum looking over the desert for the help that should have come to him. They knew that not only did the people of England regard the position of that gallant man with the deepest sympathy, but that they would hold those responsible who should leave him to a bloody fate. They had had five massacres, as the noble Marquess had said, every one of which might have been prevented by some timely steps on the part of Her Majesty's Government; another massacre would too surely follow. What they on that side of the House wished to say was that they would have no share in the responsibility of that massacre by not warning the Government of the consequences of the policy that they were now pursuing. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had alluded with some contempt to the fact that prophecies had been made that that insurrection of the Mahdi was likely to spread from the Soudan into Egypt. But, as a matter of fact, the telegrams showed even now that it was spreading; and recent information had reached them that the tribes were gradually rising between Khartoum and Assouan and to the Second Cataract, from which the insurrection was sure to extend into Egypt Proper. What preparations had the Government now made to stop that advance of the rebels which would surely take place, and which would involve the whole of Egypt? If the insurrection extended beyond the limits of Egypt, did noble Lords opposite not believe that it would extend to the whole of the Mahomedan populations which were subject to the sway of Her Majesty? Was there no danger for India in the policy of *laissez aller* now being allowed to continue? The noble Earl who spoke last said Her Majesty's Government was under a pledge only to give moral support to General Gordon. But if this was so, that unciphered telegram about which they had heard, and which the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs passed by so lightly, was a most important example of want of moral support to General Gordon. Even although the Government might refuse to send him material support, which they on the Opposition Benches thought he had a right to demand, still the sending of an open, unsealed letter was a failure of moral support. The noble Earl said the sending of this unciphered telegram was a mere mistake. But was it really so? Within half-an-hour of the despatch of that telegram the whole of those concerned knew perfectly well that General Gordon had nothing further to hope for from this country in the way of material support. From that moment General Gordon, as they knew by his own despatches and telegrams, gave the matter up for lost. He said that he would not take any further orders from Her Majesty's Government, but that he would pursue his own course, and what that course was they all knew. He had written to his friend, Sir Samuel Baker, asking whether, among the capitalists of this country and of America, £200,000 could not be raised to send him that military aid which certainly ought to have been sent to him by this country. Would it not be a disgrace if they should go cap in hand from one capitalist to another to ask them to subscribe a fund for the purpose of rescuing an eminent General from death? In some quarters the raising of such a fund had been contemplated upon the receipt of the telegram. But it would be impossible to carry out such an object without the consent of Her Majesty's Government. He asked, therefore, whether they would not sanction the raising of that fund to despatch such an expedition as could be organized by Sir Samuel Baker with the £200,000? Without the assent of the Government it would be useless, impracticable, and almost impossible to raise such a fund. But when they looked around and saw that General Gordon was to be abandoned, at any rate until the autumn, then they had to see whether in any quarter aid could be given. The Government, at least, ought to tell their Lordships whether they would sanction such an expedition, or whether they would themselves send forth any expedition, organized in their own way, to the relief of General Gordon. If they would not themselves send out an expedition, would they sanction the stepping of other persons into the breach, and the taking upon themselves the duty which the Government shrunk from undertaking? The outlook before that gallant man at Khartoum was certainly a dismal one. They had seen it stated in some of the speeches that were delivered during the Recess that at the time General Gordon was sent out the Conservative Party were a consenting party to his despatch, because they did not object. It was true that the Conservative Party did not object. It would have been impossible at any time for the Conservative Party to object with effect to any mode which the Government chose to adopt, and upon their own responsibility to declare advisable, for a change of the position of affairs in the Soudan. But having once sent General Gordon out, and his self-devotion having placed him in a position of danger, it was manifest that all England would demand that he should be there supported, and the half-hearted denials of responsibility by Her Majesty's Government would not be echoed throughout the country. Some means must be found by which General Gordon should be rescued from the position in which he was placed, or great would be the responsibility of the Government in the matter.

LORD WAVENEY said, he believed these means to be now at hand. It was impossible to believe that the nation would rest content with seeing General Gordon sacrificed to his spirit of devotion. They had heard a great deal respecting the duty of maintaining General Gordon at Khartoum, and about guiding him safely through that policy which he had inaugurated so well. Their Lordships would recollect the Abyssinian Expedition conducted by the noble and gallant Lord (Lord Napier), whom he did not see present. He had taken pains to verify the districts which interposed between the last scene of his great triumph — Magdala — and Khartoum, upon which the eyes of the world were at present fixed. After enumerating the various places on the route between those two cities, he pointed out that an Abyssinian Army had been, on a former occasion, stationed within six marches of Galahat, the most advanced Egyptian camp, and that a force of 25,000 men, which was at present available, should be utilized to march across the Frontier to the relief of Khartoum. This force would be strong enough to cope with all the difficulties, and if made in May or June it would be perfectly capable of opening the gates of that beleaguered city, and of relieving a district which was at present threatened with anarchy.

THE EARL OF MALMESBURY said, they had heard two things that night. The first was that Her Majesty's Government did not intend to assist General Gordon at this time, and the second was that it was impossible to do so. But if it was impossible, that should be shown and clearly proved. If it were impossible, he did not think they should have had Lord Napier of Magdala a short time ago entering into details showing how an expedition could be undertaken and General Gordon relieved. If there was a possibility of doing so it ought to be tried, and any doubt there might be it should be in favour of General Gordon. He saw a letter a day or two ago in *The Times* from a distinguished officer, stating that if we had sent Indian troops a month ago to Suakin, those troops would have had a good chance of marching to Khartoum.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Lord Napier suggested that Indian troops should not be employed, but English troops.

The Earl of MALMESBURY said, the Government did not seem to be aware of the tremendous feeling with which General Gordon was regarded in the country; but they could not now plead ignorance; and they might rest assured that if anything fatal happened to General Gordon, they would not long after remain in Office. In the whole course of his life—a great part of which had been a political one—he had never known the feeling of the country to be so strongly and so universally displayed as it had been upon the question of the position of General Gordon.

The Earl of GALLOWAY observed, that the noble and gallant Lord on the Cross Benches (Lord Napier of Magdala) told them a few days ago that there would be no difficulty in sending troops across the desert to relieve Khartoum. His object in rising was to ask a Question with reference to one point in the speech of the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville). The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had declined to give any information as regards what was to be done in the future; but he prefaced his observations by stating that Her Majesty's Government had still a thorough belief that General Gordon was perfectly safe, and that he was still in a position to carry out what the noble Earl had described as the grand object for which he went to Khartoum.

Earl GRANVILLE: I said nothing of the kind.

The Earl of GALLOWAY: Does the noble Earl tell me that he has not said in this House that, in the belief of Her Majesty's Government, General Gordon was able to carry out the grand object for which he went to Khartoum?

Earl GRANVILLE: No.

The Earl of GALLOWAY said, in that case, he must confess that his whole question was at an end. He understood from the noble Earl that the Government still believed that General Gordon could carry out his grand object. He was surprised at such a statement, and he rose simply to ask the noble Earl what the "grand object" of General Gordon was? He had never had a distinct statement from the Government as to the exact mission General Gordon was sent to accomplish. He heard, incidentally as it were, that he was to relieve the Egyptian garrisons in the Soudan. It was too late now to say a word on that subject; but he hoped the noble Earl would excuse him if he ventured to ask what the grand object was for which General Gordon was sent out to Khartoum?

Earl GRANVILLE: I am sorry the noble Earl misunderstood what I said. There is no doubt whatever as to the object of General Gordon's mission. It was twofold. Primarily, it was to assist the garrisons in coming away from the Soudan; and, secondarily, to arrange, if possible, some settled Government for the Soudan. I did not state that I was confident of the success of these objects which General Gordon has undertaken. On the contrary, I admitted that his chances of success were very greatly diminished. I said that I considered that he had served a most useful purpose by arriving at Khartoum and stopping the onward movement of the Mahdi, on which so much stress was laid by the Opposition.

House adjourned at Six o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 22nd April, 1884.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee*—*Resolutions* [April 21] *reported.*

Public Bills — *Second Reading*—Gas Provisional Orders * [162]; Water Provisional Orders * [163].

Committee — Contagious Diseases (Animals) [120]—r.p.; Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) [124], *debate adjourned.*

Committee — *Report* — Marriages Legalisation (Wood Green Congregational Church) * [174].

QUESTIONS.

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EGYPT—CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN POWERS.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS gave Notice that he would ask, Whether the Government, having proposed to the Powers a Conference on the affairs of Egypt generally, the German Government had declined that proposal; and, whether, in consequence of that refusal, the Government had decided that the proposed Conference should be confined to the financial affairs of Egypt?

MR. GLADSTONE: It may be irregular in me, but I may save the hon. Gentleman trouble by saying that there is no truth whatever in the statements referred to in his Notice.

HARBOURS (IRELAND)—KINGSTOWN HARBOUR.

MR. ION HAMILTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether favourable consideration will be given to the Memorial of the Township Commissioners of Kingstown, praying that a portion of the Harbour, now but little used, should be converted into a graving dock, to meet the growing requirements of the port of Dublin?

MR. COURTNEY: The Memorial of the Kingstown Commissioners has been duly considered, and will be answered immediately. There appears to be nothing in the circumstances of the case to justify the suggested expenditure of public money on what would be a commercial speculation.

FOREIGN LAND LAWS—SWISS FEDERAL CODE OF OBLIGATIONS.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will call upon Mr. Carew, Her Majesty's Consul at Berne, to report upon the working of the 25 Articles of the Swiss Federal Code of Obligations which relate to the leases of farms, and which came into operation on the 1st of January 1883; and, if he will lay such Report upon the Table of the House?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Berne has already been called upon to furnish the Report which the hon. and gallant Member requires for presentation to Parliament.

IRELAND—CITY OF DUBLIN—SANITARY INQUIRIES.

MR. MELDON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that three inquiries connected with sanitary matters were held at the City Hall, Dublin, on the 20th March, at none of which the executive sanitary officer of the city was present, but engaged in other professional work elsewhere; and, whether the Local Government Board will arrange that a corporate officer should give his whole time to the duties of his office?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that two inquiries were held in Dublin on the day named by the Engineer and an Inspector of the Local Government Board; and that Dr. Cameron was not present at either of them—the question at issue not being such as required his attendance or evidence. There is no rule of the Local Government Board requiring an executive sanitary officer to give the whole of his time to the duties of his office; and the Board consider that the question whether he should do so is one for the sanitary authority.

POST OFFICE—THE TELEGRAPH SERVICE.

DR. CAMERON asked the Postmaster General, When the account for the last financial year of the receipts and expenditure of the Post Office Telegraph Service, prepared on commercial principles, will be published; whether, in the meantime, he could give the House any estimate of the amount which it will probably show under the head of "Balance of Profit;" and, whether he can state the increase in the number of messages sent last year as compared with the year previous?

MR. FAWCETT: The question of introducing some modifications into the form in which the telegraph account, made up on commercial principles, has hitherto been presented to Parliament, is now being considered by the Treasury; and this may cause some delay in the presentation of the account. By the end of next month it will be possible to give an estimate of the balance of profit for the past financial year. In reply to the latter part of my hon. Friend's Question, I may state that the number of messages sent last year was 32,732,000, being an increase of 640,000 over the previous year. The increase in that year over the preceding year was 746,000.

DR. CAMERON asked the Postmaster General, How much of the money voted by Parliament for expenditure during last financial year on postal telegraph works, necessitated by the contemplated introduction of sixpenny telegrams, was actually expended; how many "learners" were added to the telegraph staff in anticipation of the increased work; and, whether they have been retained on the staff, or dismissed?

Mr. FAWCETT: About £180,000 was expended in the last financial year on works necessitated by the contemplated introduction of a reduced rate for telegrams, and the works will be available when the new tariff is brought into operation. The staff was not increased anywhere in anticipation of the reduced tariff; but a few learners were taken on in various offices to be trained, and there is no intention of dismissing them.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATHS IN WATERFORD GAOL—CASE OF JAMES COMMINS.

Mr. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Who are the Visiting Justices of Waterford Gaol; how often did they visit the late James Commins while he was under restraint; were they present at the sworn inquiry by the Local Government Board into the circumstances of his death, or did they receive notice of same; were any of the relatives of the deceased informed of it, or allowed to be present at it; were all the doctors who had been examined at the coroner's inquest also examined at the inquiry; will the report of the inquiry be laid upon the Table; and, whether, within the last few years, a death occurred in Waterford Gaol under circumstances similar to those attending the death of Commins?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Visiting Justices for the Waterford Gaol are the Hon. D. F. Fortescue and Messrs. R. T. Carew, Armstrong, A. Congreve, Congreve Rogers, F. G. Bloomfield, David Kent, Henry Galway, and Lawrence A. Ryan. Two of these gentlemen saw James Commins on the 21st of March, while he was under restraint. He was not visited by them on any other occasion. They were not present at the sworn inquiry held by the Inspector of the Prisons Board; and I am informed that as such a course is not usual they did not receive notice of it. None of the relatives of the deceased were present at the inquiry, nor did they receive notice of it. The death was notified to them as required by statute. The medical officer of the prison was the only medical man examined at the inquiry, inasmuch as the inquiry was for the purpose of ascertaining whether any neglect could be attributed to the officers of the prison, and not into matters which it was the duty of the Coroner to inquire into. Reports of this character are confidential, and for the information of the Government, and it is not usual to lay them on the Table of the House. I am informed that no previous death occurred in Waterford Prison under precisely similar circumstances; but the hon. Member probably refers to the case of a man who, about four years ago, was put under restraint, in consequence of his having made preparations to commit suicide, and was afterwards found dead in his cell.

Mr. LEAMY: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that it is not a fact that within the last four years two men, who had been strapped down in their beds, were not found dead; whether, this having occurred now a second time, no proper inquiry has been made into it? Does the right hon. Gentleman think it a fair and proper thing that the only doctor who was examined at the inquiry was the one who saw this man kept under this restraint? The man was killed; and it is a mean thing and a burning shame not to give us an inquiry into it. [" Oh! " *and* " Order! "]

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that the Government were not to blame, as any witnesses might have been called upon that had material evidence to give.

Mr. HEALY: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman if the doctor of the prison is not the gentleman whose conduct is impugned in this Question; if he is not indirectly charged with causing the death of this man by ordering him to be strapped down; and, also, if the person thus incriminated was the only one who gave evidence at the Government inquiry?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The only medical man—not the only person.

Mr. HEALY: Yes; was the only medical man; then, why not summon another one as a witness?

[No reply.]

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—APPEAL FROM DECISION OF SUB-COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that, in a case of George M'Cord, tenant, Sir Richard Wallace, landlord, brought into the court of the Antrim Sub-Commission by an originating notice served by the tenant to have a fair rent fixed, the Sub-Commission confirmed the old rent, and, on appeal by the tenant to the Chief Commission, that tribunal confirmed the decision of the inferior Court, thus leaving the old rent unaltered; whether the evidence for the tenant before both Courts founded his claim to a reduction of rent upon improvements in the holding made in recent years, and purchased by him about five years ago; whether, in the interval between the decision of the Sub-Commission and Court of Appeal, the tenant was served by the Irish Land Commission with a printed document called the Official Valuer's Report, setting forth that the official valuer had valued his holding at £23, and that this valuation, "made for the purpose of the re-hearing," was "exclusive of buildings," and "making no allowance for alleged tenant's improvements;" whether it was proved at the hearing by competent witnesses, and admitted by the landlord, that the improvements had been made by the tenant; and, whether, nevertheless, the rent, as fixed by the Sub-Commission, and confirmed by the Commission, is £23 14*s*., being 14*s*. a-year over the official valuation, which included all the improvements except the buildings?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I brought this Question under the notice of the Land Commissioners, and have received from them the following observations with regard to it:—

> "It is true that in the case referred to the Sub-Commission left the former rent unaltered, and that the Commissioners on re-hearing affirmed the decision of the Sub-Commission. It is also true that the valuer for the Commissioners valued the holding at 14*s*. a-year below the judicial rent. The Commissioners, having decided the case before them, according to what they deemed just, declined to enter into the evidence or discuss the merits."

I must say for myself that I have received a statement from another quarter to the effect that the hon. Member who put this Question on the Paper was misinformed on some particulars. His statement of the case is one-sided and incorrect, and there is a presumption that such is the case, considering that the Commissioners had all the facts before them when they decided; and there is a certain inconvenience, not to say an unfairness possibly, in stating a legal case in a Question on the Paper in a way giving an impression it did not give before the Court.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Is not the other impression of the case that from the landlord's point of view?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I said there was another impression of the case which commended itself to the Court.

Mr. HARRINGTON: The right hon. Gentleman says he received information from another quarter. Was that from the landlord?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I do not think it right to say.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—ELECTORAL DIVISION OF TAUGHBOY, ATHLONE UNION.

Mr. HARRINGTON (for Mr. Sexton) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, with reference to the recent election of a Poor Law Guardian for the Electoral Division of Taughboy, in the Union of Athlone, the attention of the Irish Local Government Board has been drawn to the fact that Article 9 of the Board's Election Order, requiring that the returning officer should issue a "Notice of Election," in the prescribed form, and have copies of the same posted on or near all places of worship, courthouses, and police stations, not later than the 25th of February in each year, had not been observed in the case of this election, inasmuch as the "Notice of Election" prescribed by Article 9 was not posted anywhere in the Taughboy Division until the 10th of March, being six days later than the date fixed by law for the nomination of persons to be guardians; whether, before the first session of the new board, a qualified ratepayer of the division in question warned the returning officer of the invalidity of the election; whether, in consequence of the omission before stated, the whole proceedings relating to the election for the division were not, in fact, invalid; and, whether a new election has been ordered?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am informed that it is the case that the usual notice was not posted in proper time in the Electoral Division mentioned, and also that a ratepayer named Matthew Naughton intimated to the Returning Officer that on that ground he should not return any person as elected. It appears, however, that, notwithstanding the late posting of the notice, the time for making nominations was well known. Nominations were made in time, and the election was contested. The ratepayer mentioned as objecting to a return himself took an active part in the proceedings, and did not raise his objection until the result of the election was known. Under these circumstances, the Local Government Board are advised that the accidental delay in posting the notices did not invalidate the election.

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT—OUTPORT OFFICERS.

Mr. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Is it true there are six acting examining officers at the outports of Her Majesty's Customs who have been doing the duties of examining officers efficiently for a period ranging from ten to fourteen years, and whose characters are unimpeachable; how is it that the assurances given by him, as appeared in *The Freeman's Journal* of 28th February, viz. that the case of these officers would be considered when the first vacancies arose, and would he explain the reason why those men have not yet been promoted to the rank of examining officer; if the aforesaid officers are not competent, on what grounds are they continued in the performance of those duties for so lengthened a period; has it not been a recognized rule of the Board that one-half of these promotions is filled by competition, the other half by selection; and, if such be the case, would not the grievances of these officers have been removed long since?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, there are six officers in the position described. No promise has been given to promote them to the first vacancies open for selection; but their cases have been and will, as I said before, be considered as vacancies arise. Since February 28 there have been four promotions, and the explanation of the fact that no one of the six has been selected is that while they are competent for their duties, there were better men in the Service.

EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.)

Mr. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have yet submitted any, and, if so, what proposals to the other Powers for the settlement of the financial difficulties of Egypt?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I must refer the hon. Member to the statement on this subject made yesterday by the Prime Minister, to which I have nothing to add.

Mr. M'COAN: That statement of the Prime Minister did not give any information whatever.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have no other information to give.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—TRANSIT OF INFECTED CATTLE.

Mr. HICKS asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether he has received information that 101 bullocks were sent on Monday, 14th April, from Liverpool to North Road Station, on London and North Western Railway, in the county of Cambridge, and then driven along the public roads to Wimpole; that fifty of these bullocks were then sent on by road to Cambridge, and that thirteen of the remaining fifty-one were on Friday 18th reported as having the foot and mouth disease, and, when inspected the same day, were found to be suffering from that disease in an advanced stage; and, whether it is a fact, as reported, that the above bullocks were part of a cargo recently arrived from Canada?

Mr. DODSON: The only information which we have on the subject referred to in this Question is obtained from the Inspector of the Local Authority. It is to the effect that 15 head of cattle out of 51 were found, after their arrival at Wimpole, to be affected with foot-and-mouth disease. The Inspector remarks that these animals came by train from Liverpool on Tuesday morning on the London and North Western line, and that they came from America. They could not have come from the United States, because all animals arriving from there are slaughtered at the port of landing. The last cargo of animals which arrived at Liverpool from Canada were landed on April 12th, and were found quite sound on landing.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Is the right hon. Gentleman in a position to say where the diseased cattle did come from?

Mr. DODSON: I have given the House all the information I have.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: But will the right hon. Gentleman make inquiries as to where the cattle did come from?

Mr. DODSON: The cattle, we are told, came from Liverpool, and the Inspector said they came from America. I have shown that that could not be so, and I have given the date of the arrival of the last cargo from Canada. If I receive any further information, I shall be very glad to give it to the House.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: What I asked was, whether the Government would undertake to make inquiries—not take hearsay evidence?

Mr. HENEAGE: It is very easy to find out where they came from.

Mr. HICKS: At any rate, will the right hon. Gentleman make inquiries as to what became of the rest of this cargo of 101 bullocks?

Mr. DODSON: I will put the House in possession of all the information I can obtain.

Mr. CHAPLIN: I beg to ask whether we are to understand that the Government have not already begun to make inquiries; and whether the right hon. Gentleman is not in a position to give information as to prevalence of the foot-and-mouth disease in the United States and in Canada?

Mr. DODSON: As far as our information goes, there is no foot-and-mouth disease whatever in Canada. I believe it is not known in Canada, which has been a free country for years. As regards the United States, we have no information that there is at present any foot-and-mouth disease.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD: Will the Government make a thorough investigation into the subject, and inform the House of the result on Thursday next?

Mr. DODSON: I have already stated that I will procure all the information I can.

Mr. STORER: A great outbreak of the disease has also taken place in the Midland Counties, in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, owing, in a great measure, to animals coming from Ireland. Cannot some inquiry be made about that?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Is it not a fact that there is no disease in Ireland at all?

Mr. DODSON: The last Report we had from the Irish Government, a week or 10 days ago, was that Ireland was entirely free; but I am sorry to say there have been reports within the last two or three days of animals having come to Bristol from Ireland which were found some days afterwards infected with disease. The Inspector of Bristol has been asked to report on the subject.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT: Then the question arises, have these ships been properly cleaned? I would like to ask whether any real precautions have been taken in this matter?

Mr. DODSON: The Privy Council require that ships as well as trucks should be thoroughly disinfected every time they are used. Not long since the Irish Government, after communication with the Privy Council, issued instructions for an extraordinary process of disinfection in the case of ships employed between Great Britain and Ireland; and, according to the information received on the subject, shipowners have willingly complied with those recommendations.

NAVY—ROYAL MARINE ARTILLERY.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF (for Lord Henry Lennox) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether there would be any objection to lay upon the Table of the House the Report of the Greenwich Hospital Committee, composed of Admiral Luard, Sir Francis Festing, R.M.A. and Colonel Needham, R.M.A. appointed to inquire into the best method of filling the then existing vacancies in the Royal Marine Artillery?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It would be unusual to publish the whole Report of the Committee referred to, as the subject has not yet been finally dealt with by the Department; but as that objection does not attach to the first part of the Report, which relates merely to the mode of filling existing vacancies in the Royal Marine Artillery, and as this is, I imagine, the point in which the noble Lord the Member for Chichester is interested, I shall be glad to lay this portion of the Papers on the Table.

WESTERN PACIFIC—DEPORTATION OF FRENCH CONVICTS.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, Whether the French Government have informed Her Majesty's Ministers, with regard to the transportation of French convicts to the Pacific, that the transport of criminals to New Caledonia, or any other French Colony, is a matter of internal policy with which no Foreign Power has any concern, and to which International Law cannot apply in any way; and, what steps Her Majesty's Ministers propose to take to carry out the wishes of the Australian Colonies with regard to New Guinea?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: As I informed the hon. Member yesterday, no such communication has been received from the French Government. With regard to his second Question, I must refer him to my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES (IRELAND)—CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMISSION.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is intended to place any member of the Catholic hierarchy or any Irish Member of Parliament on the Commission to inquire into the Queen's Colleges; and, can he give the names of the proposed Commissioners, and the date they are likely to begin to sit?

Mr. TREVELYAN: There has been delay in the appointment of the Commission to inquire into the circumstances connected with the Queen's Colleges, in consequence of the absence of a gentleman who it was hoped would serve. As soon as the Commission is appointed the names of the Members will be communicated to the House. We are taking pains to secure a Commission which can work strenuously and promptly. Our desire is likewise to secure a Commission which will reasonably command confidence on all sides. With that double view we have considered the Question of the hon. Member.

Mr. HEALY: Would the right hon. Gentleman now state the terms of the Reference under which the Commission will be appointed?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am sorry I have not the terms here. I did bring them down last evening, as I expected the question would be raised. I would not like to state them from memory; but they were four principal points. I may say they include every point which has been raised in the House of Commons with respect to the Queen's Colleges, including especially the important point raised by the hon. Member.

Mr. HEALY: Another point on which I would like to put a Question, and one with regard to which it would give considerable satisfaction if it were now answered—it is with regard to the visitation to the Cork Queen's College. Would the right hon. Gentleman state when the visitation to Cork Queen's College will take place, and also the names of the Visitors who will attend?

Mr. TREVELYAN: With regard to those Visitors who will actually go down I cannot now answer; but I have satisfied myself about the date of the visitation, and it will be a very reasonable date. It will be a week or 10 days hence.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the statements of a Catholic Missionary, who has just reached Cairo from the Upper Nile, that it is—

> "Impossible for General Gordon to maintain himself with the present garrison. For defending the Canal alone he requires 6,000 men. Both Niles are now beginning to sink, and with blocks of wood the Arabs will cross from bank to bank. . . . An attempt to escape by way of Berber would be absolutely vain,"

and to statements made by the Correspondents of *The Daily News* and other papers that the Mahdi's propaganda is exciting the Arab tribes from Berber to Assouan, and that Egypt is in "a state of chaos;" and, whether the Government will lay upon the Table the Despatch from General Gordon on which the First Lord of the Treasury grounded his statement that "the position of General Gordon is a position of security?"

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes, Sir. Her Majesty's Government have seen the statements to which the hon. Member refers. I stated yesterday that further Papers were about to be laid on the Table; but I cannot undertake to state from day to day what particular Papers will be included. I wish, in connection with this subject, to make a slight correction in a statement I made yesterday. I said, in regard to the garrison of Shendy, that from the accounts received from the Governor of Berber, "it appeared that the garrison were surrounded and had been massacred." Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed on the 20th instant, that the Governor of Berber said that they were surrounded; and Sir Evelyn Baring, telegraphing on the same day, said that M. Cuzzi, General Gordon's agent at Berber, telegraphed that "they were believed to have been massacred."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked when the Papers might be expected to be laid on the Table?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, they would be laid very soon, but he could not tell the date.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: The noble Lord has not answered the last part of my Question. Did the House correctly understand him and the Prime Minister to say yesterday that Berber was in a state of imminent danger, Khartoum the centre of the great rebel camp, and that retreat was practically cut off?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I did not.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I ask the noble Lord whether the statements given yesterday by himself and the Prime Minister were accurate? I would also ask whether the special despatch to which the Prime Minister referred as indicating that the position of General Gordon was one of security cannot be immediately laid on the Table?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I said it was impossible for the Government to state in answer to Questions from day to day what Papers would be laid. I must abide by that statement.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Do I understand it is impossible to produce this one particular despatch of General Gordon?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I did not say it would be laid or it would not be laid on the Table; all I did say was I could not give it now.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I would ask whether it would not be in accordance with the usual practice of the House that, the Prime Minister having quoted verbally from a despatch, that document should be laid on the Table?

Mr. GLADSTONE: There is no objection to lay this document upon the Table. What my noble Friend says is, that he is preparing Papers with all possible expedition so as to present them together; but he declines to separate this from the other Papers. In point of fact, the judgment upon General Gordon's position does not rest upon a single despatch, but it rests upon a series of despatches. [*A laugh.*] I do not know why the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) should laugh, and I do not see that he does justice to us or justice to himself by receiving this with ridicule. I repeat, that it is upon a series of despatches that the judgment of the House must rest with regard to General Gordon; and the House will best form that judgment when it sees those despatches.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I wish to ask whether the quotation made from the despatch yesterday was not of such a nature as to bring it within the Rule of the House that that particular despatch must be produced?

Mr. GLADSTONE: It will be.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Am I to understand that the whole series of despatches to which the right hon. Gentleman refers will be included in the Papers to be laid on the Table?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I did not say so. It is not my duty to prepare those Papers for the House of Commons. We shall produce to the House what we think will give them full and candid information, and undoubtedly the telegram from General Gordon will be included. When the right hon. Gentleman sees what are produced, if he deems them to be inadequate, which I do not think he will, he will be entitled to complain and to challenge the conduct of the Government in this respect.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: The right hon. Gentleman said it was not from a single despatch that a proper judgment could be formed, but that we must judge from the whole series. I want to ask him whether it was the intention of the Government to place the House in that position to form the judgment which the right hon. Gentleman referred to by presenting the whole series of despatches?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Certainly.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I wish to explain that I did not laugh just now at the gravity of General Gordon's position, of which I am deeply sensible; but an involuntary laugh was forced from me by the extraordinary discrepancy between the Prime Minister's statements as to General Gordon's security and the well known facts of the case.

Mr. RYLANDS (for Mr. Gourley) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If, in abandoning Khartoum, Dongola, and the districts between Abou Hamad and Berber, and between Berber and Suakin, he will be good enough to inform the House whether it is intended that Wady Halfa or Korosko shall be the new line of frontier in Upper Egypt; and, further, how it is intended to protect the Nile and neighbouring districts north of Wady Halfa against future contingencies?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The Question of the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) refers entirely to military matters. I am bound to say that, in these circumstances, I am absolutely precluded from entering into details. I can only say the Government will not fail to take all these matter into consideration.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, on April 8th, General Gordon sent a telegram to Sir Evelyn Baring, in which he says—

> "I have received a meagre telegram from Sir Evelyn Baring stating that the British Government do not intend to send British troops to open the road to Berber, but that negotiations are proceeding with the Arabs for opening the road. You will be able to judge of the value of these negotiations, and also of the time such arrangements will last after the withdrawal of the British troops at Suakin. . . . Do you think if an appeal were made to the millionaires of England and the United States £200,000 would be available. Herewith you might obtain permission of the Sultan of Turkey to lend us 2,000 or 3,000 Nizams, and send them to Berber;"

whether it is a fact, as stated by the British Consular Agent at Khartoum, that "retreat on Berber is impossible;" and, whether Her Majesty's Government will furnish arms and transport to a Volunteer Expedition for the relief of Khartoum? If the Prime Minister would allow him, he would further ask whether it was true, as stated that day, that General Gordon had sent a despatch to Sir Evelyn Baring bitterly complaining of his abandonment by the British Government, and stating that he intended for the future to act on his own responsibility?

Mr. GLADSTONE: With regard to the first part of the Question, I am not in a position to say whether General Gordon has sent to Sir Evelyn Baring a telegram of which the hon. Member quotes a part; but I should rather gather from Sir Evelyn Baring's words that he had not—that he had obtained his intelligence at Cairo. With regard to the next part of the Question, I must observe that the hon. Member rather unintentionally lends to a misapprehension when he speaks of a statement made by a British Consular Agent as if he were in any sense an official personage with regard to these matters. He is nothing of the kind. A Consular Agent is a person who undertakes, on the part of the Foreign Office, the discharge of certain specific services, and, as I understand, he is no more an agent of the British Government in other matters, and he has nothing whatever to do with these subjects any more than an hon. Gentleman sitting on the other side of the House, who might be requested by the Attorney General to act as counsel in a particular case, would thereby become the agent of the Crown for any other purpose whatever. With respect to the opinion that "retreat on Berber is impossible," he is entitled to form that opinion, and we shall lay before the House all the information in our power to enable them to form a judgment on that point. With regard to a volunteer expedition for the relief of Khartoum, we have heard of no such thing, and we shall certainly take no part in any such expedition. It is evident that if we were to take part in a volunteer expedition to Khartoum it would be under circumstances which would make it our duty to send an expedition ourselves. As I have stated, the telegrams I have have referred to are in preparation to be presented as early as possible, and then the hon. Gentleman will form his own judgment upon them.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I will ask the right hon. Gentleman one more Question, and it is, Whether, after the statements which have been made as to the imminent peril of General Gordon at Khartoum, the House is to understand that Her Majesty's Government are taking no steps whatever for the relief of Gordon?

Mr. GLADSTONE: With all respect to the hon. Member, I must say he puts a Question in the preamble of which he asserts and implies that which I have repeatedly and positively denied—namely, that we know that General Gordon is in imminent peril. It may be the opinion of the hon. Gentleman and of other hon. Gentlemen opposite that General Gordon is in imminent danger. In our view that is an entirely erroneous opinion, and it is entirely and absolutely contradicted by the language of General Gordon himself. Upon that subject the hon. Member will have the means of judging when the Papers are laid upon the Table.

Mr. BOURKE: I am very unwilling to delay the Business of the House; but I wish to make a suggestion to Her Majesty's Government—and I put it in the form of a Question that I may be in Order—namely, Whether in view of the fact that the inhabitants of Berber and Khartoum, under the impression that no relief was to be sent to them, may, in despair, submit themselves to the Mahdi, it is not advisable to announce that a relief expedition will be sent as soon as the military authorities think it feasible?

Mr. GLADSTONE: It is a Question of which Notice had better be given.

Mr. BOURKE: If the right hon. Gentleman does not wish to answer that Question now, I will put it down for Thursday.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: In connection with the answer of the right hon. Gentleman as to the position of the Consul General at Khartoum, I wish to ask whether it is not the fact that General Gordon in one despatch referred the Government to a letter in *The Times* by the British Consular Agent as affording more detailed information than he had himself time to communicate?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir; I believe there was a reference of that kind, but I have not the means of judging how far it was intended to go, and whether it was intended to refer to some particular letter or to embrace all that might be written.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I would ask whether it would not be convenient for the Government to let the House know the exact position of the Consular Agent who is acting in Khartoum, by laying on the Table the despatch containing the instructions given him at the time of his appointment?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: If I am not mistaken, I think the hon. Member will find what he asks for—two telegrams or despatches—already presented; but if the hon. Gentleman will put a Question on the Paper I will inquire into the matter.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: The right hon. Gentleman stated more than once that the Government had no reason to believe that General Gordon had ever made a demand for British troops to be sent to his assistance. Am I to understand that the Prime Minister means that he has positive knowledge that General Gordon has never made such a request?

Mr. GLADSTONE: What I have stated is, and not as a matter of impression or surmise, but as a matter of fact, that no request of General Gordon for the sending of British troops to Khartoum has ever been made, or, if made, has ever reached Her Majesty's Government. I limit myself to Khartoum, because that is the vital question, and undoubtedly it was a suggestion of General Gordon that a small force of British Cavalry should be sent to Berber. If I remember right it was 200; but I will ask the right hon. Gentleman not to take that number as a precise and positive statement. Particulars will be given in the Papers.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT: I would ask whether it is true that there are no more than three Englishmen in Khartoum; whether it is not probable that they would be in communication with each other; and whether the Consular Agent, being in communication with General Gordon, would not be a most unlikely person to send any message without the knowledge and approval of General Gordon?

Mr. HENEAGE: I would ask whether it is not in the knowledge of the Government that on the very day that the Consular Agent sent the letter of the 11th of March to *The Times*, there were letters sent by General Gordon stating exactly the contrary in every particular?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I believe — I cannot state myself with absolute knowledge, but my full belief is—that the telegraphic communications of Mr. Power to the journal with which he is connected in this country, or by anyone else, are under no restraint or control whatever from General Gordon.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Will the promised Papers include the Proclamation by General Gordon in the course of which he said—"I have sent for British troops, which are now on the way?"

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: It is important that these Papers should be presented as soon as possible, and I should like to ask when they are likely to be laid upon the Table?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot fix any exact date.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Then I appeal to the Prime Minister. [*Cheers.*] Time is of so much importance in this matter that there ought to be no delay.

MR GLADSTONE: I meant to answer that appeal by cheering. I entirely agree that no time should be lost in this matter; but, of course, we are anxious to bring down the Papers to as late a date as possible.

PARLIAMENT—POOLE ELECTION.

Notice being taken by Mr. William James Harris, returned as Member for Poole, in the room of Mr. Charles Schreiber, deceased, that he was, by a clerical error, described in the Return as Walter James Harris instead of William James Harris:—

Ordered, That the Deputy Clerk of the Crown do attend this House forthwith, with the last Return for Poole, and amend the same by erasing the name "Walter" and inserting the name "William,"—(*Mr. Bourke,*)—instead thereof:—

And the Deputy Clerk of the Crown attended, and amended the Return accordingly.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 120.]

(*Mr. Dodson.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [25th March], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (for Committee on the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill [*Lords*].

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. BIGGAR, said, he would like to make a few remarks on that Bill before going into Committee. There were two or three points to which he would wish to call attention. One very important matter, and the cause of great complaint to Irish cattle dealers and owners, was the contradictory arrangements for the restriction of the disease made by the local authorities in England, Ireland, and Scotland. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster on the 7th of April had stated that no restriction would be placed on the exportation of cattle from Ireland; but he found that up to the 12th of April such restrictions still continued in Gloucestershire. Restrictions might be placed on certain districts, but that, for the reason that disease existed in some remote place, the whole country should be placed under a ban was preposterous. A Scotch gentleman, representing the Scotch local authorities, went over to Belfast, and he appeared to have power to manage the exportation of Irish cattle in any way he liked, and not certainly for the benefit of the Irish cattle trade. Now, he thought there should be one general law administered by the Privy Council dealing with the three countries, and that they should not be in the hands of local authorities, who made contradictory arrangements. He contended that if the Lords' Amendment were not allowed to continue in the Bill the whole thing might as well be thrown up altogether, and he hoped that the Bill would not be passed in such a form as would render it so much waste paper, but would be made a useful and thorough measure.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Privy Council to prohibit landing of foreign animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease).

MR. JAMES HOWARD moved to leave out from page 1, line 10, the word "may," in order to insert the word "shall." He said this was one of several Amendments which he had placed upon the Paper, all of which were intended to effect one object. The object of the first Amendment of which he had given Notice would not in itself be very obvious to the Committee; but if the Committee would favour him with its attention for a few minutes he would endeavour to show that that Amendment, taken in connection with those which followed, would have the effect of greatly simplifying the Bill. The first part of the clause as it stood in the Bill was, he maintained, mere surplusage; it was, in fact, simply a repetition of Clause 35 in the Act of 1878. If hon. Members would refer to the Act of 1878, and compare Clause 35 with the phraseology of the greater portion of Clause 1 in the present Bill, they would perceive that the two were almost identical. For his part he failed to see the use of re-enacting the permissive power of the Act to which he had referred. If he were framing a code of rules for the management of a manufactory he should consider it injudicious to introduce rules of a merely permissive character. But it might be argued that this portion of the Act of 1878 was necessary to enable the Privy Council to prevent the introduction of this particular malady, foot-and-mouth disease. That this was not so was shown by the fact that the Privy Council had exercised that power under the provisions of the Act of 1878. If his Amendments were adopted by the Committee, as he hoped they would be, the clause would then read as follows:—

> "1. For the purpose of preventing the introduction into the United Kingdom of the infection of foot-and-mouth disease, the Privy Council shall from time to time by general or special order prohibit the landing of animals from any foreign country or countries, or any specified part thereof, and they shall prohibit such landing whenever they are not satisfied with respect to any foreign country that the laws thereof relating to the importation and exportation of animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease."

These Amendments did not affect the question whether the negative "not" should stand where it did as the Bill had come down from the House of Lords, or be transposed to the end of the clause where it had stood in the Bill as originally sent up to that House. For his own part he was of opinion that, whatever lawyers might say upon this question of the transposition of the negative, it would in reality make very little difference in the minds of practical men. At all events, he hoped Her Majesty's Government would either accept his Amendment, or explain to the satisfaction of the Committee the necessity of re-enacting the merely permissive power of the Act of 1878. Without further taking up the time of the Committee, he now begged to move the first Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 10, leave out "may," and insert "shall."—(*Mr. J. Howard.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. DODSON said, he quite agreed with his hon. Friend who had moved the Amendment, that it and the other Amendments of which he had given Notice necessarily hung together, and that they had no bearing upon the question as to the transposition of the word "not." But his hon. Friend was not quite accurate in asserting that the first part of Clause 1 in this Bill was a mere repetition of Clause 35 of the Act of 1878. The clause in the Bill provided that—

> "The Privy Council may from time to time, by general or special order, prohibit, whenever they deem it expedient so to do, the landing of animals from any foreign country or countries, or any specified part thereof."

The effect of the Act was that they could not make an Order prohibiting the importation of animals from abroad without naming the country or the countries from which the importation was prohibited. This clause, as it now stood in the Bill, would give the Privy Council a general power of prohibition; and he thought it would be a matter of convenience that they should have such power, more especially if prohibition were to be more widely exercised. Under these circumstances, he hoped the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard) would not press his Amendment to a Division.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) had assumed a position which Her Majesty's Government and the Liberal Party generally had assumed throughout when dealing with this question—namely, that they were the Representatives of the foreign producers of meat, and against the home producers. This, he asserted, was the general position assumed by the Liberal Party; they appeared as the Representatives of the interests of foreign agriculturists, as distinguished from the interests of agriculturists at home. The Liberal Party had now occupied that position for some years, and this rendered it incumbent on those who were not ashamed of English agriculture or of English stock, and who believed that, with regard to our meat supply, the quantity produced at home was very nearly adequate to the demand, to controvert the view of these advocates of foreign agriculture. What, he asked, was really the question at issue in regard to this matter? It was the question of the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government to Parliament. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire had proposed an Amendment the object of which was to provide that, when Her Majesty's Government prohibited the importation of live animals, they should designate the country from which those animals were to be prohibited, otherwise the Government could not be effectively held responsible for the introduction of disease into this country. He (Mr. Newdegate) was a very old-fashioned Member of that House, and did not admire the system of free imports; but he was prepared to say that the people of this country were entitled to the benefit of securing their supply of meat from all countries in which no disease prevailed, so long as the course of legislation which had been adhered to for many years was preserved. He did not know whether hon. Members on the other side of the House were prepared to divide upon this question; but, for the sake of rendering Her Majesty's Government responsible for the exercise of the discretion intrusted to them as to the exclusion of animals from infected countries, he was prepared to vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire, if the hon. Gentleman should determine on pressing that Amendment to a Division.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the hon. Member for Bedfordshire had given no reason for the Amendment he had proposed, except that he thought it desirable to introduce variety into the wording of this proposal. He had, however, said that the provision, as it stood in the Bill, was already the law; but this had always been the contention of hon. Members who thought with him (Mr. Arthur Arnold), and who held that there was no real reason for further legislation on this subject. However, the only ground on which the hon. Member for Bedfordshire had proposed his Amendment was that he thought it undesirable that the same words should stand in this Bill as were enacted in another measure. He (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had only that very day presented a Petition, signed by 1,200 of the hon. Gentleman's (Mr. J. Howard's) constituency in Bedfordshire, praying that House not to enact any further restrictions on the importation of foreign cattle. Now, what was the real object of the hon. Member's Amendment? The hon. Gentleman proposed to convert the word "may" into "shall." He (Mr. Arthur Arnold) could not agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) in thinking that the Amendment was unimportant; while, on the other hand, he thought it certainly would, to some extent, restrict the powers of the Privy Council by diminishing the discretion they now exercised, and which he thought it highly desirable to preserve. He therefore hoped that, if the hon. Member for Bedfordshire pressed his Amendment to a Division, it would be rejected by the Committee.

Mr. KENNY said, he hoped that the Committee would adopt the Amendment. He thought the Amendment in reality a very important one. As the 1st clause of the Bill at present stood, there was not the slightest difference between it and the Act of 1878; and he thought the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) was wrong in saying that the Bill would make no difference in the law as it now existed. In the Act of 1878 it was set forth in the 5th Schedule that—

> "In relation to foreign animals other than those brought from the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, if and so long as from time to time the Privy Council are satisfied with respect to any foreign country that the laws thereof relating to the importation and exportation of animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of diseased animals; then, from time to time, the Privy Council, by general or special order, shall allow animals or any specified kind of animals brought from that country to be landed, without being subject under the provisions of this schedule to slaughter or to quarantine, and may for that purpose alter or add to those provisions as the case may require."

This power, as given to the Privy Council by this Sub-section of the Act of 1878, it was proposed to reconfer; but the Privy Council having such discretionary power, the contention of those who supported the Amendment was that they ought to be compelled to exercise that power. It was urged against the action of the Privy Council that they had not used the power the Act of 1878 had conferred upon them, and what was now wanted was simply that they should be forced to exercise it. All that was required was, that when it was found that the Privy Council was indifferent to the interests of the United Kingdom, they should be compelled to act in accordance with what the people of the United Kingdom deemed to be their interests. He thought the hon. Member for Bedfordshire had done a public service in endeavouring so to amend the Bill as to make it a reality, and he trusted the Committee would adopt the Amendment.

MR. DODSON said, he felt it necessary to trouble the Committee with a few further observations after what had just been stated. He was afraid he had not made himself understood by the Committee in the point he had urged against the Amendment of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire. The clause they were now discussing was divided into two parts. The first portion of it gave the Privy Council a power—a discretionary power—to prohibit, either by a General or a Special Order applicable only to a specified country, the importation of cattle in such cases as they might deem expedient for the purpose of preventing the introduction foot-and-mouth disease. The question of the obligation on the Privy Council to prohibit importation in certain cases arose on the second part of the clause, to which the attention of the Committee would be directed hereafter. The effect of the Amendments of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire — for there were three Amendments, which practically formed one, and could not be separated—was strictly this. They would add nothing to the obligations imposed by the Bill upon the Privy Council, and take nothing from its discretion to prohibit, but they would prevent the Privy Council from having the choice of using a general or a special form of prohibition. Such would really be the effect of the several Amendments if they should be adopted by the Committee. He hoped the Committee would allow this portion of the clause to remain as it was. It did not affect in any way the question of the obligation under which the Privy Council was to be placed; that arose entirely on the second part of the clause.

MR. PUGH said, the simple effect of the first part of the clause was to give the Privy Council a discretionary power to prohibit the landing of animals from any foreign country, and the other part of the clause made it compulsory upon them so to do under certain circumstances. He looked upon the clause as having been drawn with the intention of re-stating the powers of the Privy Council as they now stood, and then of making it imperative on them to give effect to those powers in the cases pointed to by the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). He trusted that, under the circumstances, the hon. Member for Bedfordshire would not press his Amendment to a Division.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he merely wished to state that the reason why he supported the proposal of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire's proposal to amend the clause was that it would render it incumbent on the Privy Council to exercise all possible assiduity in ascertaining where foot-and-mouth disease might exist abroad, as it was only where the disease was discovered that they would be able to use their power of prohibition, by ordering the exclusion of cattle from the infected country. He did not wish to give the Government or the Privy Council a general discretionary power of exclusion, because general discretionary powers might be exercised in a very latitudinarian sense, and such discretion he had no desire to see intrusted to any Government.

MR. DODSON said, in answer to what had just been stated, he must repeat that upon the first part of the clause they were discussing the question of the obligation of the Privy Council did not arise. That portion of the clause added nothing to the obligation and nothing to the discretion of the Privy Council. All it did was to give the Privy Council power to prohibit, by a General Order, the importation of animals from any foreign country or countries; whereas under the existing law they could only prohibit importation from specified countries. It was only a question of the form to be adopted, and as far as the clause did anything, it gave greater facilities to the Privy Council, MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he hoped the hon. Member for Bedfordshire would not press his Amendment, the effect of which would really be to convert a double clause into a single one. He was of opinion that his hon. Friend (Mr. J. Howard) did not realize the true effect of his proposal, which certainly would not attain the object at which he was aiming. If carried, it would convert the double power proposed to be given to the Privy Council into a single one.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, his object was precisely what had just been stated by his hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay)—namely, to convert the clause from a double into a single one—to render it a clause of one paragraph instead of two. He had made this proposal on the ground that the powers sought for in the first portion of the clause were already conferred by the Act of 1878, and had been acted upon. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had given one reason only for his opposition to the Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman had maintained that if the first part of the clause were allowed to stand it would enable the Privy Council to prohibit importation from the whole of the Continent; but there was nothing in his (Mr. J. Howard's) reading of the clause which warranted that assumption. What it stated was that the Privy Council might prohibit "the landing of animals from any foreign country or countries, or any specified part thereof."

MR. DODSON: It says they may prohibit the landing of animals from any foreign country "by general or special order."

MR. JAMES HOWARD: In the 35th clause of the Act of 1878 are the words "foreign animals," which will extend to animals from all countries.

MR. DODSON: "Specified" countries.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, he saw no reason for re-enacting powers which the Privy Council already possessed; otherwise the Committee would seem to be asked to give the Privy Council a double permission to neglect their duty. His object was to make the power obligatory on the Privy Council from beginning to end. He hoped the Committee would accept his Amendment.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, the only ground for the argument of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire appeared to be that he believed the power asked for was already provided in a former Act—namely, the Act of 1878. The Committee had formerly heard from Her Majesty's Government that the Lord Chancellor took a different view of that; but in order to make the matter clear the Government had brought in the present Bill. Surely there could not be any real objection to the proposal the Government had made. He hoped that in the interests of the farmers whom the hon. Member for Bedfordshire professed to represent he would consent to withdraw his Amendment.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he would call the attention of the Committee to the fact that the 35th clause of the Act of 1878 appeared in exactly the same words in the Act of 1868, and, this being so, it would appear to afford evidence that the Tory Government of 1878 conceived that they had not the power they were now alleged to have possessed.

LORD JOHN MANNERS said, as he understood the question, the words proposed in the Bill that had been sent to that House from the House of Lords were merely intended to extend the area of prohibition; but the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Bedfordshire would seem to be intended to narrow it. As he was anxious to keep the area of prohibition as wide as it could be made, and as he wished to send the Bill back to the House of Lords as nearly as possible in the same shape as that in which it had come down from that Assembly, he was unable to give his support to the Amendment; and if it were pressed to a Division he should vote against it.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, he would not, under the circumstances, press his Amendment further. With the permission of the Committee he would, therefore, withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. JAMES HOWARD: As the other Amendments I have placed on the Paper form part of the one now withdrawn, I will ask permission to withdraw them also.

Amendments, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. DODSON said, he had now to move, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 13, the omission of the word "not," with a view of reinserting that word in line 17. He desired, in the first place, to state that this was an Amendment to which Her Majesty's Government attached the very greatest importance. He was perfectly well aware that many hon. Gentlemen considered the difference between the expression in the Bill as it was introduced by the Government and the Bill in the shape in which it had came down from the House of Lords to be one of no material consequence. In fact, one hon. Gentleman had stated to him that the difference raised upon this question was merely the difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. He knew that this opinion was held by many hon. Gentlemen of great experience in agricultural matters, and he believed, moreover, that the same view was entertained by some hon. Members who were learned in the law. He respected the opinion of those hon. Gentlemen, but at the same time it was not one in which Her Majesty's Government could concur. Her Majesty's Government, on the contrary, considered that the alteration made in the Bill during its progress through the House of Lords was, in reality, a very material one, and, as he had just stated, they attached the greatest importance to the Amendment he had now the honour of submitting to the Committee. They thought that the change made by the House of Lords went far beyond the necessities of the case, and that, under the circumstances, it was not justifiable. The view entertained by Her Majesty's Government was that for a very slight—if, indeed, for any—perceptible addition to the security of the home producer it would render the restrictions on the importation of cattle so stringent as seriously to hamper trade, and in all probability appreciably to affect the price of meat to the consumer. [Mr. Chaplin: Why?] By diminishing the supply. The restrictions, in fact, were so great that they would risk defeating the very object which those who supported the Amendment of the Lords aimed at, because, in the view of the Government, it would impose upon the Privy Council so stringent an obligation to prohibit, even under circumstances which scarcely, if at all, warranted prohibition, that there would be a constant temptation upon them to strain the interpretation of the 4th part of the 5th Schedule of the Act of 1878, and lean to the side of free admission. The Lords' Amendments went so far beyond the necessity of the case, as it appeared to the Government, that they laid those who supported them open to the suspicion and the charge that they were intended not merely for defence against disease, but for protection against competition. The former was a most legitimate object for agriculturists to keep in view. Defence they had a perfect right to demand that the Government should give them to a reasonable extent; but the changes that had been made in the Bill went so far that they amounted, whether so intended or not, to protection against competition. The clause, as amended by the House of Lords, appeared to the Government to require them to prohibit, not only when they were affirmatively satisfied that certain securities against the introduction of disease were wanting, but also to prohibit whenever they were unable to ascertain or were in doubt whether they existed or not—perhaps without trying to ascertain or to remove the doubt. This would be the case, if they conceived the case which some hon. Members had suggested as possible—of an ignorant or negligent Agricultural Department. ["Hear, hear!"] The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire cheered that. The hon. Member, apparently, was prepared to approve of the action of an indolent or negligent Agricultural Department who would not take the trouble to ascertain whether security existed in the case of any foreign country, but would, without putting itself to any trouble, at once prohibit. [Mr. Chaplin: No, no!] Now, the Government were to prohibit under the clause as it stood, not because certain safeguards were found to be wanting, but because they did not know whether they were wanting or not, and possibly, as he had put it, without having taken the trouble to inquire. If they reversed the clause in the manner in which the Government proposed the Privy Council could not proceed in such a negligent manner as that suggested. They might be in ignorance of securities because they were too indolent to take the trouble to inquire whether they existed; but they could not be cognizant of the existence of securities without having taken the trouble to inquire and having ascertained that they did exist. The effect of the clause, as the Government proposed to amend it, would be this. It would put the Privy Council under the statutory obligation of prohibiting in all cases in which they were satisfied, with respect to any foreign country, that having regard to the sanitary condition of animals therein or imported therefrom, to the laws made by such country for the regulation of the importation and exportation of animals, and for the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and to the administration of such laws, the circumstances were such as not to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease. That appeared to the Government to be a reasonable form in which to require the prohibition to be made. It required the Privy Council —it made it the duty of the Privy Council—to ascertain whether or not securities existed, and if they were satisfied that there were not as comprehensive securities against the importation of disease as were required, then that they must prohibit. He would just like to take this opportunity, while moving this Amendment, of saying one word as to the charge brought against the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council, of too freely permitting the landing of animals from diseased countries. He would like to remind the Committee that the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council began its action early in May last, and that since the 9th of May, 1883, with the exception of the solitary case of the *Ontario* — which was quite a recent and a very peculiar case — there had not been landed upon the shores of this country for slaughter one single head of cattle affected with foot-and-mouth disease. [Mr. DUCKHAM: Nor sheep, nor pigs?] He should come to that later on. He had mentioned the special case of the *Ontario*, and as to sheep and swine he would ask the attention of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire to this, that since the 1st June, 1883, there had been landed for slaughter upon our shores only 12 sheep and 21 swine affected with foot-and-mouth disease. He thought that under the circumstances it was hardly open to hon. Members to accuse the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council of having seriously neglected their duty, and allowed at random the landing of diseased animals on our shores. [Mr. CHAPLIN: Since May?] That was what he was claiming. He was speaking now of the Agricultural Department, and was stating what had happened since that Body had come into operation. With regard to Ireland, what he had stated the other day, and what he would now repeat, was this. Every local authority in Great Britain had power to prohibit the introduction of animals, other than animals in transit, into its district from the district of any other local authority in the United Kingdom. It might prohibit from a great number of districts—it might prohibit from one district, or it might prohibit from all the rest of the United Kingdom; but no exceptional powers were given against Irish cattle. He should like to say one word further in regard to this matter, and it was this—the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council had actually at the present moment under consideration the issue of an Order which would limit the powers of local authorities to prohibiting the introduction of animals from those parts of the United Kingdom which were actually ascertained to be free from foot-and-mouth disease; this he hoped and trusted was the case with Ireland amongst other parts of the United Kingdom. He was sorry to say, as he had stated in answer to a Question to-day, that there had been an alarm about the introduction of foot-and-mouth diseased animals from Ireland into Bristol. That subject they were now engaged in investigating; and, at all events, until the result of their inquiries were known, it would be premature for the Department to take any action in the matter. He was sorry to have been obliged to have detained the Committee so long upon this question; but he would now move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 13, leave out "not."—(*Mr. Dodson.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'not' stand part of the Clause."

MR. HENEAGE said, he had listened attentively to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and he was sure with every wish possible to see him justify the Amendment which he had brought before them. He was, however, bound to say that the Amendment was as objectionable to him now as it was when he first saw it upon the Paper. He regretted very much that the right hon. Gentleman should have brought in the word "protection," and should have talked about the incapacity of Ministers. Whether rightly or wrongly, the House supposed that Ministers were chosen because they were capable, and therefore he thought the question was altogether beyond the mark. If the right hon. Gentleman wished them to draw comparisons, the observation was unfortunate, because, if he remembered aright, after the right hon. Gentleman had been down to Brighton and had made a very strong speech asking the country not to look upon this question as an agricultural question, but one in which the whole country was concerned, his Colleague in the administration of the Privy Council had gone down to Manchester and had abused everyone who was asking for legislation, and had repudiated everything that the right hon. Gentleman had said. The noble Lord who had gone down to Manchester was at the head of the Department, and the real question for them was this—and they ought not to lose sight of it—whether the House of Commons was to lay down the way in which the Act was to be worked, and whether its working was to be left to the Lord President of the Council, who had said in his Manchester speech that the Bill was not required, and who in moving it in the House of Lords might have been supposed by his manner to be opposing instead of supporting it—at least it might have been sent to eternity if "damning it by faint praise" could be said to be opposing it. Since then the Lord President had received two deputations upon the subject, one of which he received with open arms, and the other of which, if he (Mr. Heneage) might be allowed the expression, the right hon. Gentleman had snubbed.

Mr. DODSON: What deputation does the hon. Gentleman refer to?

Mr. HENEAGE said, he did not mean that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) had done this; he was referring to the Lord President of the Council.

Mr. DODSON: He is not "the right hon. Gentleman."

Mr. HENEAGE said, he was referring to the noble Lord, and not to the right hon. Gentleman. With regard to this question there were three distinct classes interested. First, the agricultural class, consisting of producers, consumers, and ratepayers, who had suffered immensely; secondly, there were the people who had profited by what had been going on—namely, the foreign cattle dealers, who did not wish to see any restrictions imposed in order that their trade might continue; and, thirdly, there were the general community, who were consumers and ratepayers, and in whom all hon. Members were more or less interested. As to the interest of the agriculturists in this question it was admitted by everyone. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had said that they deserved some attention for the manner in which they had carried out the restrictions imposed upon them. With regard to the second class he did not think there would be much sympathy with them. For his own part he only wished to speak with reference to the consumers and the ratepayers. He represented a constituency of about 40,000, 30,000 of whom belonged to the wage-earning classes, and it was as to the manner in which the Bill would affect them that he wished to speak. He would briefly say that if the present Amendment were carried, so far as these people were concerned, he would prefer not to have the Bill at all — rather than have only a sham prohibition, he would prefer to have no restrictions at all. He entirely agreed with the remark that had fallen earlier in the evening from the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) that they should either do one thing or the other—either keep the disease out of the country, or allow it to have its full swing and take its chance. He (Mr. Heneage) preferred for his part to be in the hands of Providence rather than in the hands of the Lord President of the Council. Now, the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken said that he and the Government took a very strong view upon this question. Well, he (Mr. Heneage) might be entirely wrong; but he took a very strong view of this question too. He did not wish to affront the right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Bench below him; but, at the same time, he must say that the Amendment before the Committee appeared to him to be nothing less than a delusion and a snare. He would not be a party to deluding those unfortunate persons, whether they were producers, or ratepayers, or consumers, who had suffered much during the last three years, in asking them to spend their money in stocking their land in any way under a Bill which he thought would not do them the slightest good. What was required was that power should be given to prevent cattle being imported from countries which were affected with foot-and-mouth disease immediately it was known that they were so affected, and not that diseased animals should be allowed to come in before measures of restriction were adopted. What was required was something to restore confidence to the home meat trade, because if that were not done consumers would not have made up to them by production the amount of meat which the country required. That was required in order that the country farmers might be stimulated in the trade to produce more meat, and to produce milk which, as the Prime Minister had said, was so much required. They required to get rid of these harassing and costly restrictions which had taken money alike out of the pockets of producer and consumers, and had only benefited the cattle dealers. He was happy to say that the butchers of his own constituency had signed a Petition in favour of the Bill as it had come from the House of Lords; and they wanted the measure as it had so come to them, in order that it might decrease the price of meat eventually by increasing the production at home, and by improving the animals imported from abroad; and lastly, though by no means least, they wanted the Bill in order that they might get rid of those rates which had been such a heavy tax upon the poorest members of the population. But that was not all that they required. They wanted, further, that the powers should be by Statute, in order that a moral effect might be produced in foreign countries—in order that foreign countries that wished to trade with England might know that we had this law, and might be constrained to use more vigilance to control or stamp out disease, and improve their sanitary regulations and laws. It was no use having such powers that foreign countries could snap their fingers and say—"Oh, they are no use, they will never be put in force; only let us wait for the Recess, when Parliament is not sitting and Her Majesty's Ministers have gone on their holidays, when some minor officials will be at the head of affairs, and when we can do what we like with the people in charge of the Privy Council Office." Foreign countries who wished to trade with us should be given to understand that they could not do so unless they made proper sanitary regulations. Unless they produced a moral effect the Bill would be of no use at all. The Bill as it came from the House of Lords would have that moral effect; but with the proposed Amendment it would have no such result, especially after the speeches of the Lord President of the Council. He should have thought, when the right hon. Gentlemen representing Her Majesty's Government was speaking just now, that he would have considered it worth while—seeing there were a great number of hon. Members who had really not studied this question—to have told them exactly what was the result of the law as it now stood, and what it would be under the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman had not done so; but he (Mr. Heneage) would tell the Committee what it was. He had written down the law as it was and as it would be, and if the right hon. Gentleman thought he was misrepresenting the state of the case he should be glad to hand what he had noted down to him later on so that he could comment upon it. The law as it now stood was that animals from any or every country from which importation was not prohibited under Section 35 of the Act of 1878 could be admitted for slaughter at the port of landing; and animals must be admitted when the Privy Council were satisfied, under Section 5 of the Act, that there was reasonable security against importation of disease. By the Bill, the Privy Council were directed to prohibit the landing of animals from any country, or part of a country, as to which they were not satisfied that there was reasonable security against the importation of disease. This would throw the onus of proof on foreign countries that they were eradicating or controlling disease. But if they took the law as it would stand under the proposed Amendment of the Government, what were the Department to do? Why, they were to prohibit only when they were satisfied that such reasonable security did not exist. That was to say. whilst they were in communication with the authorities of America, Germany, and elsewhere—whilst they were making inquiries which might go on for weeks—cargoes of cattle might be freely landed on our shores, and disease might be disseminated from one end of the country to the other—for they knew how easily it spread after it once came to our shores. Then they were told that the adoption of the Bill as it came from the House of Lords would entail great loss upon the community by decreasing the supply of meat. Well, what amount of loss could it incur? Why, it could only incur the loss of the animals which could have been landed, diseased or not diseased, between the time at which the Consular Agent, or other person who gave them notice of the disease prevailing in the foreign country, gave them the notice and the time at which they found out whether they ought to prohibit or not. If they found out ultimately that there were grounds for prohibiting, then they would have been right in prohibiting from the first, and there would be no loss at all; but if they found out that the alarm was groundless, then all they had got to do was to say at once that cattle could be again imported from that foreign country. All the amount of cattle that would be prohibited from coming into the country would be just that amount which, supposing there were a false alarm, might have been imported between the time the notice was given and the time they set the foreign country free to import again. He regretted that he had detained the House so long; but he felt very strongly on this question, and he had not hitherto said a word to the House on the subject. As he did not represent an agricultural constituency, he wished to state the grounds on which he based his support to the Bill as it came down from the House of Lords. He had never changed his opinion on the subject. When he first saw the measure he told the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) what his opinion was. He believed that if the Bill became law as it was, farmers of the country would have confidence, and that the dead meat trade would materially develope; and he should like to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) to this fact. The right hon. Gentleman had given some figures the other day with regard to the importation of dead meat, and had put the quantity into pounds weight, as in that way the amount looked larger than in money. He (Mr. Heneage) would like to remind the right hon. Gentleman that 60,000,000 lbs. of foreign dead meat was now sold at Smithfield Market alone in each year, according to the Markets Committee's statistics; that the frozen carcases of sheep imported now averaged 20,000 per month. From Australia the supply for the first three months of 1884 was eight times as much as in 1882, showing how much the dead meat trade was developing, and showing that should the importations continue at the same rate they would be equivalent alone to all the meat which had been sent from Germany, Belgium, and America. This bogey of dear meat under the present Bill would be entirely illusory, and was merely a cry raised by interested foreign meat jobbers or salesmen to try and delude the British public, whilst they continued to make money out of diseases and restrictions in England. If the Bill passed as it now stood, he was certain that it would be a benefit, not only to the agricultural classes, but to the whole community. He should like to remind the Committee of a fact of which, perhaps, they were not aware—namely, of the amount of rates paid under the existing state of things. He would take, for example, the division of the county in which he lived. In Lindsey—four-sevenths of Lincolnshire—they amounted in 1883 to 30 per cent of the whole county rate, while the last six months alone gave them a half-penny in the pound, or equal to a penny on the Income Tax, in consequence of restrictions for putting down foot-and-mouth disease. That sum was levied on the poorest class of artizan labourers and small shopkeepers. He regretted that this charge was not made on the taxpayers instead of the ratepayers of the country, because, if it were, they would soon have the Chancellor of the Exchequer—who was not now in his place—on their side. They would have him and a great many right hon. Gentlemen on their side. He always noticed that right hon. Gentlemen, as a rule, left it to private Members to take care of the rates, unless, indeed, they were right hon. Gentlemen in Opposition. As this was not a taxpayers' question, therefore, he did not expect much help from right hon. Gentlemen. They were told this was not an artizans' or labourers' question; but he ventured to say that no classes had suffered so much as the artizans and labourers from the restrictions necessitated by foot-and-mouth disease. The artizans were more liable than anyone else in the large towns to the evil results of the use of diseased milk and diseased meat. The doctors could tell hon. Members of many instances in which the children of artizans and labourers had been affected by the use of impure milk and diseased meat. No class suffered more severely than the cow cottagers, who were really the most deserving class of agricultural labourers. No one had lost more than they had through foot-and-mouth disease, for they very often found that their solitary cow became diseased, and that the milk it yielded infected their children and their pigs. The cow then dried up, and they were often compelled to sell it at half the price they had given for it. In addition to that these poor people had to pay the heavy rate to which he had alluded. When, therefore, hon. Members talked about this not being a people's question, he maintained that it was eminently a people's question—it was not merely a farmers' or landlords' question, but a people's question; and, therefore, they had a right to demand from the Government a real measure, and not a sham one.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he was able to completely endorse, and endorse with great pleasure, much that had fallen from the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, and he asked leave of the Committee to rise at once in order to put before them some information bearing, as it seemed to him, directly on this Amendment, and of which he thought the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) must have been in entire ignorance, to judge from the answer he had given to a Question which he (Mr. Chaplin) had put to him that afternoon as to the prevalence of foot-and-mouth disease in the United States. Before, however, he did that, he should like to make one or two comments upon the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. With reference to his observation as to the trifling difference between the Amendment now on the Paper and the Bill as it came down from the House of Lords, and which had been described by one of his Friends as nothing more than the difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee, he (Mr. Chaplin) desired to express his opinion that if the Privy Council could be relied upon to do its duty whatever Government might be in power, and upon all occasions, he had not the slightest doubt in the world that the same objects might be and would be accomplished, either under the Bill as it came down from the House of Lords, or as it would stand if amended as proposed by the right hon. Gentleman; but, unfortunately, they knew from past experience that the Privy Council could not be depended upon; and that was the reason why, in the words of the hon. Member opposite, they desired to have a measure that should not be a sham, and why opposition was offered to legislation of a permissive character, against which they used to hear so much in scorn from hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite when they used to sit on the Opposition side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) had proceeded to make a whole series of assumptions in support of his Amendment, for which he had not offered a shadow of a reason. He had declared that the Amendments inserted in the Bill by the House of Lords were unjustifiable, and went a great deal beyond the grounds of necessity, and that the Bill as it at present stood would hamper trade, and seriously raise the price of meat. He (Mr. Chaplin) had ventured, he was afraid in a somewhat irregular manner, to interject across the House "Why?" But that was a question which the right hon. Gentleman had carefully abstained from answering during the whole course of his speech. What single reason did the right hon. Gentleman give for these statements? Did he explain to the Committee why the Bill went beyond the ground of necessity? Did he tell them why the Bill was not justifiable? Did he tell them why it would raise the price of meat? He (Mr. Chaplin) had had the honour, not very long ago, of speaking on behalf of a large deputation that attended upon the right hon. Gentleman at the Privy Council, and submitting the reasons that appeared to them to be conclusive against the fears and assumptions which had been expressed to-day. He had taken the opportunity of explaining to the right hon. Gentleman at that time the past history of this question, and had stated instances of the price of meat in the Metropolis, showing that, notwithstanding the extraordinary increase of population during the past 20 years, the number of live animals imported into London was less now than it was then, and that, concurrently with that state of things, the people had been generally supplied with meat at reasonable rates; and he must say he thought that after this the right hon. Gentleman was bound to give them some reason in support of his series of assumptions, which no one yet on the Government side of the House had ever attempted fairly to prove. The right hon. Gentleman had taken exception to a cheer which he (Mr. Chaplin) had given during the course of the right hon. Gentleman's observations, when he referred to a possible "indolent Agricultural Administration." What he had cheered at was the inference he had drawn from the right hon. Gentleman's remarks, strengthened by the knowledge he had of certain circumstances in the past as well as in the present, which showed that it was not only quite possible, but extremely probable, that they might have such things as indolent Agricultural Administrations in the future. The right hon Gentleman took great credit to the Government because, as he said, they had been so energetic, so little asleep, that since May, 1883, not one single cargo of diseased animals had been admitted into this country, save the cargo of the *Ontario*, which was peculiarly circumstanced. But what had the right hon. Gentleman to say about the period precedent to that? Unless his (Mr. Chaplin's) memory deceived him, this energetic Agricultural Administration had admitted cargoes of diseased animals into this country by hundreds. And in saying "by hundreds" he believed he was literally within the mark, and that the right hon. Gentleman would not dispute the accuracy of his statement. The Government had given no reasons whatever against the adoption of this Bill as it had come down from the House of Lords; but he and his Friends, on the other hand, had offered reasons and arguments in support of it, which, at all events, ought to be met or contradicted by Her Majesty's Government. The Government admitted—and the great bulk of their supporters agreed with them—that whatever was necessary to prevent the introduction of disease in the future ought to be done in this Bill. The right hon. Gentleman, however, declared that the measure went a great way beyond the grounds of necessity. Why? What was the difference between the position of himself and his Friends and that taken up by the Government? He and his Friends said that animals ought not to be admitted alive into the country unless the Privy Council were satisfied that it could be done with perfect safety from disease; and the Government, on the other hand, said—"No; we will admit the animals unless we know that there is danger." The Amendment of the House of Lords presumed that there was danger from a foreign country unless the Government actually knew that that country was safe; whilst the Government presumed that foreign countries were safe unless they had absolutely ascertained that they had the disease. That was a position to which the Committee ought not to submit, and which would not give that security that it was admitted by nearly everybody ought to be given provided it did not go beyond the grounds of necessity. He would give the right hon. Gentleman an instance or two of what he meant in regard to negligence on the part of the Agricultural Administration. They had to-day heard a statement from the right hon. Gentleman, in reply to a Question put by the hon. Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Hicks), to the effect that in spite of all the carefulness of the Administration there appeared to be no doubt that just at the period when the county of Cambridge, having imposed severe restrictions on itself, had escaped from the disease, it was readmitted into the county by reason of the importation from Liverpool of cattle suffering from foot-and-mouth disease, admitted into that port from abroad.

MR. DODSON: I expressly stated that the animals were landed at Liverpool on the 12th, that they were examined and found to be sound, and that seven days afterwards, in Cambridgeshire, they were found to be diseased.

MR. CHAPLIN begged pardon. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had admitted that the animals were suffering from disease in Liverpool. [Mr. Dodson: No, no.] Then, he was very sorry he had made the observation. He would, however, give the right hon. Gentleman another instance, which he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would also be able to contradict. He had himself asked the right hon. Gentleman this afternoon whether he had any information as to the prevalence of foot-and-mouth disease in Canada and the United States at the present time. He had asked as to Canada because, though he knew the right hon. Gentleman had stated that country had been free for some years, he had gathered from what was said in reply to the hon. Member for Cambridgeshire that the disease might have reappeared in the Dominion. As to the United States, he had some information which he did not know whether the Government were cognizant of, but which was contained in a paper published in Kansas, and dated March 19th, 1884. He found in that paper that the Legislature of Kansas had been especially summoned, the President, in the course of his Message, saying—

> "It was with great reluctance and hesitation that I issued the proclamation convening you in special session. I was apprehensive that your body and the people might not fully appreciate the gravity of the situation and the importance of such action. The proclamation convening you fully explains my reasons for my action. Additional outbreaks of the cattle disease confirm me in the opinion that such call was absolutely imperative."

The Message went on to say that the President had been notified by Mr. Finney that the peculiar and highly contagious disease known as "foot-and-mouth disease" had attacked the cattle at Neosho Falls. The Legislature of Kansas met, and, according to the paper he (Mr. Chaplin) had in his hand, adopted measures for the suppression of the foot-and-mouth disease. In the face of this information he must confess he had been somewhat surprised and somewhat disconcerted when the right hon. Gentleman, who was responsible for the Agricultural Department in the House, had informed him, in answer to a Question he had put, that so far as the Government were concerned they knew nothing about the prevalence or existence of the foot-and-mouth disease in the United States.

Mr. DODSON said, he apprehended the case the hon. Member was referring to was that reported from Neosho Falls, Kansas?

Mr. CHAPLIN: Yes.

Mr. DODSON: A Question was put about it some three weeks ago, and we have since heard that it is officially reported that the disease is not foot-and-mouth disease at all.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, there had been considerable difference of opinion on the subject at Neosho Falls some time ago; but he now understood it was admitted that the disease was foot-and-mouth disease. He wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to a paragraph in a little publication entitled *Proceedings of the National Convention of Cattle Breeders*, holden in Chicago on November 15th and 16th, 1883. In order that the Committee should not place too implicit reliance upon all the statements from that part of the world in regard to the absence of cattle disease, he should like to read a few words which appeared on page 41 of that publication. It was the report of a speech delivered during the Congress by a gentleman named Daniels. Referring to the Motion carried in the House of Commons last Session, the speaker said that it had brought about a very decided change of feeling over there. He had been over to England in the course of the summer, and he had been struck by a very strong remark made by the American Minister when he called upon him officially to assure him that there was no foot-and-mouth disease in that country. It was a day or two after the Motion which he (Mr. Chaplin) had introduced, and which was passed by the House. Mr. Daniels told the American Minister that he was prepared to state that there had been practically no change in that country, whereupon Mr. Lowell answered—

> "We have told the British public so many lies about the condition of cattle in our country they they will not believe us if we tell them the truth."

Under those circumstances, and taking into consideration the whole facts of the matter, he (Mr. Chaplin) thought it was not too much for the House of Commons to ask the Government that they should consent to allow this Bill to pass as it had come down amended in this particular form from the House of Lords. The distinction came to this, if the Government did their duty as they ought to do, precisely the same results would follow from the unamended as from the amended Bill. But, on the other hand, instead of leaving it in the discretion of the Privy Council in future to do their duty, or to decline to do their duty, it would place it beyond their power to neglect their duty by making it a matter of Statute Law. He had now nothing further to say on this question. He believed that the Government at this moment had a great opportunity of doing something which would not only afford an immense boon upon the agricultural interests of the country, but which would benefit all classes of the whole community. They might feel sure of this—that much of the bad trade of which they had heard so much of late, and much of the sufferings of the vast number of the people who had been put out of work, had been caused unquestionably by this above all other things—namely, the prolonged and severe depression which had fallen upon the agricultural interest in this country. It might be difficult to propose means for alleviating that depression, or for restoring agriculture to a happier state of things in the future, which would command the general assent and support of Parliament and the country; but he must say that it did seem to him that this was one of the most legitimate means they could employ in doing something to help that interest, in order to place it in a more fortunate and in a more happy position in the future. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had alluded to the working classes of the country. He had said it was a question of their interest which was entitled to as much consideration from Parliament as that of any other class. He (Mr. Chaplin) agreed with every word the hon. Member said, and he would only say, in conclusion, that he had of late received numerous communications from conferences of working men, presided over by leaders of the working men themselves, and held in various parts of the country, who were beginning now to appreciate and understand the merits of the question. The communications which he had received from all sides satisfied him that it was for their interests, as well as for all other interests, that this Bill should be passed into law as it had come down amended from the House of Lords.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that if the Bill now before the Committee was entitled in any way to be called a sham Bill, then the Act of 1878, which was passed by the Party opposite, was certainly a sham Act. In endeavouring to interpret for himself the difference between the words proposed by the House of Lords and those proposed by Her Majesty's Government, he took the declaration of the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin), who had taken so prominent and worthy a part in this matter, that the question which the Committee had to decide was, whether the Privy Council had any discretion in the matter whatever? What the Committee had to decide was, whether there should be any discretion at all left to the Privy Council in the matter, or whether there should be none whatever? Would the Committee be prepared to say that the Privy Council should have no discretion whatever? It was because exceptional cases might arise that it was desirable that the Privy Council—whatever might be the character of the Council, because at all times it would be governed by the opinion of Parliament—should exercise some form of discretion in regard to the question. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) had again alluded to the fact —or had, rather, brought forward again the argument with which he entertained the House on a former occasion—that when the supply of live animals fell in London the price also fell. Now, that was a very curious doctrine, which he thought it would be altogether impossible to prove. He would, however, ask hon. Members to deal with the facts of the case; and here was one fact in the last reported year. There were 866,000 live animals imported for the food of the people of the Metropolis from countries in regard to which the policy of the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln would operate as an absolute prohibition. As a matter of fact, during last year 220,000 animals were introduced into the county of Lancaster from countries in regard to which the hon. Member would enact an absolute prohibition. Now, was the hon. Member, or any other Member of the House, prepared to get up and say that the sudden prohibition of more than 1,000,000 of live animals into this country would make no difference in the price of food to the people? Yet that appeared to be the opinion of hon. Gentlemen opposite and their supporters. When the Amendment which had been inserted in the Bill in the House of Lords was carried, there was a statement in *The Standard* newspaper—an organ representing the views of hon. Members opposite—that great apprehensions were entertained that the policy pursued by the House of Lords would bring about a considerable increase in the price of meat; and hon. Members were cautioned that it would be necessary to take steps to prevent consequences which might be strongly prejudicial to the public interest. The hon. Member for Mid Lincoln had mentioned a case of reported outbreak of disease in Canada. He was sorry that the hon. Member had not made himself more thoroughly acquainted with the facts of the case. The course the hon. Member had taken reminded him (Mr. Arthur Arnold) of what Lord Beaconsfield had said of the country gentlemen. Lord Beaconsfield said that they lived in the open air, they knew but one language, and they never read. If the hon. Member had been acquainted with the real facts of the case, he would be aware that it had since been reported, and fully proved, that there had not been a case of foot-and-mouth disease in Canada. He should like hon. Members to bear in mind that in the United States the mode of breeding and fattening animals was different from that adopted in this country. In the United States there were 10,000,000 acres of land on which cattle-raising was carried on as on one farm. There were millions of acres with no substantial fence between them, and an outbreak of disease occurring under those circumstances was a matter of the greatest importance, and led to the greatest publicity, far more than would be the case in the event of some cattle becoming diseased on a sequestered farm in this country. It might be depended upon that if there should ever be in that large cattle-raising district a serious outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, there was nothing more certain than that this country would receive information of it long before any injury could arise to our own stock. The hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) had accused the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) of talking about meat in pounds' weight. Now, he (Mr. Arthur Arnold) thought the meat was always sold in pounds' weight, and not by the ton. He was glad to see that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) had deliberately dropped his original argument in reference to dead meat. The hon. Member appeared to have learned a great deal in a short time, since he (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had had the honour of sitting opposite to him.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he had not expressed any opinion upon the subject.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he was glad that the hon. Member denied having expressed any opinion upon the subject; but on a previous occasion the hon. Member had made important reference to the dead meat which came from the two great countries of the United States of America and Canada. If the dead meat trade was profitable, why should not both of those countries send it? Why did we not receive a single hundredweight of dead meat from the whole of the Dominion of Canada, when we received continuously a large importation of live stock? The fact was that where a country could export live stock it did not care to send dead meat, and that was the reason why we received so small an importation of dead meat from the Dominion of Canada. Now, this question turned very largely upon the position of the United States. From the United States, notwithstanding all the restrictions which had been imposed, the importation of live animals was constantly growing. He had just received the figures for the first three months of the present year; and, comparing the average with that of the first three months of the year 1882, the importation of live cattle from the United States was nearly four times as great, and nearly twice as great as in the first three months of 1883. The total number of cattle imported for the first three months of the year amounted to over 35,000. He had received a letter only the other day from a Norfolk farmer, who, he had no doubt, was very well known to the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read), strongly disapproving of restrictive legislation, which hon. Members opposite supported. He was glad to say that he had received many letters from farmers in different parts of the country, and all of them were of a very friendly character. Allusion had been made to the great gravity of the issue now before the Committee; but his right hon. Friend had not stated what he (Mr. Arthur Arnold) hoped he would be prepared to state—that if this important Amendment — the first of a series of Amendments — were not carried, Her Majesty's Government would not proceed further with the Bill. He apprehended that the Division, to which he hoped the Committee would go very quickly, would be taken upon this Amendment as the keystone of the whole; and in the interest of the great body of the people of the country, as well as of those who were connected with agriculture, he sincerely hoped it would be adopted.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he represented a very large constituency who were deeply interested in the question; and he feared he should not be doing his duty if he were to give a silent vote upon this occasion. He regretted very much that he could not agree in the views that were taken by hon. Gentlemen who sat around him. He had listened with considerable interest to the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage); and he felt that if the hon. Gentleman had a right to speak in behalf of the 40,000 constituents whom he represented, a very much greater responsibility rested upon him (Baron Henry de Worms), because he represented a constituency of more than five times that number. He would support the Amendment of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, because he was of opinion that it would afford all the safeguards that were necessary for the prevention of the spread of disease. He did not think that it would be sufficient, were it not accompanied by the security which was afforded at the different cattle markets where the animals were landed. But knowing, as he did, from personal experience, how admirably the Cattle Market at Deptford was conducted, he thought that, taking into consideration the Amendment of the Government, which went upon the assumption that unless there was actual evidence forthcoming of disease no restriction should be placed on the importation of live animals, with the precautionary measures which were adopted at Deptford when animals were imported from foreign countries, no danger was likely to arise from the passing of this Amendment. There was, however, a danger which presented itself to his mind, and which he did not think was sufficiently appreciated on that side of the House. It had often been stated that if the importation of foreign cattle were stopped this would not have a very material effect on the price of food. He could not understand upon what evidence that assumption was based. As a matter of fact, the foreign meat supply was equivalent to two-fifths of the whole amount of meat consumed in the Metropolis; and he must say that it appeared to him unreasonable to assume that if that supply was suddenly cut off the price would not be proportionately increased. He thought that, in approaching the question, those who took the view he did must approach it with an impartial and unbiassed mind, and with a desire only to afford such protection as would effectually put a stop to the spread of disease. If they could satisfy themselves that this Bill afforded those securities which were necessary to prevent the spread of disease, and if they were assured, as he was, that the different markets where these animals were imported would carry out strictly the very stringent rules laid down by the Privy Council, then he did not think they need fear any penal results from the introduction of this measure. It was no part of their duty to consider the interests of the butchers or the farmers at all, but the interests of the country at large; and he thought they would materially injure the interests of the working classes, who had to depend in a great measure for the supply of meat, as well as the price of meat, upon an importation of foreign animals, if they were to put a stop to the importation of those animals, unless they had evidence that in permitting it they were encouraging the spread of disease. In the absence of positive evidence to show that the measures which could now be taken to prevent the spread of disease were ineffective, it would be unjust to the working classes to pass a measure sanctioning the absolute prohibition of the importation of all foreign cattle.

COLONEL NOLAN said, the hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry de Worms), from his point of view, was quite right in voting for this Amendment, seeing that he represented a large Metropolitan constituency; but he (Colonel Nolan) found that the Irish Members were placed in a position altogether different. They had no big slaughter-houses to resort to, and no great market for the immediate sale of dead meat. They had, however, a very large number of stock; and it was of much more importance to them to take care of their cattle than it probably was to the English people. England had coal mines, manufactories, and every other description of industry. Ireland, however, depended mainly upon its agriculture, and the Irish people were very anxious to keep out disease from that country. They had already suffered enormously, not from actual disease, but from the restrictions imposed in order to keep down the disease. It was in every way to their advantage to support the Bill as it stood, and to resist the Amendment of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, provided that they found that they were treated fairly in the Bill. For example, when they came to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny), which provided that—

> "On and after the passing of this Act, no local authority in Great Britain shall prohibit the landing, or stop in transit, healthy cattle brought from Ireland to Great Britain, unless such local authority shall have obtained from the Privy Council an order authorizing them so to do."

He wished to know if Her Majesty's Government were inclined to support such an Amendment in order to show that they did not wish to strike a blow at Irish cattle? The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, on the present occasion, had certainly dropped a suggestion which he thought was an extremely useful one. The right hon. Gentleman said that he was thinking of limiting the power of local authorities to excluding cattle from diseased districts. He wanted to ask the right hon. Gentleman how he was going to do that? Would he do it by accepting the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ennis, which was the last Amendment on the Paper, or would he do it by some special action on the part of the Privy Council? He should like to get an answer to that question, which was a very important one, and one which had been introduced by the Government themselves, who had raised it in connection with this Amendment. He should certainly expect to get an answer to the question from the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster before the Committee went to a Division. The Irish Members were anxious to be perfectly clear upon the point, which was one of very considerable consequence to their constituents. At the present moment some of the local authorities excluded cattle coming from any part of Ireland. For instance, when it appeared that cattle disease existed in Ulster, they excluded cattle from Munster, notwithstanding the fact that it was 100 miles off. No doubt they would be justified in excluding cattle which came from districts in which disease absolutely existed; but they were not justified when particular districts only were affected in excluding animals which came from any part of Ireland. Unfortunately, the interests of the people of Ireland were different and more complicated than those of England; and he thought the Irish Members had a right to know where they really were before they went to a Division. He, therefore, asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to explain the meaning of the remark he had made, and to state how he proposed to restrict the power of the local authorities to exclude cattle from every district.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD wished to correct an error into which he believed he had been led. Speaking of the importation from the United States in the first three months of the present year, the number ought to be 35,000.

Mr. DUCKHAM said, he rose to express a very strong opinion against the Amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson). He thought the experience of the past few years was quite sufficient to show the evil of permissive legislation upon this great question. The Act of 1878, when put in force, freed not only this country, but Ireland and Scotland. Ireland continued free for three years; Scotland, with two very small exceptions just over the English Border, continued free for four years, and England was free for nine months, only to have restrictions imposed again in consequence of the importation of diseased animals from France in September, 1880. The effect of that freedom from disease was to reduce the price of meat very considerably. The price of meat in 1879 was, for beef, 5½*d.* and for mutton 4¼*d.* per 8 lbs. less than it had been during the four preceding years. In 1880, when the Act was enforced with considerable vigilance, there were only 15 cargoes of diseased animals landed in the United Kingdom; but in 1881 there were 143 cargoes. In 1882 there were 66, and in the first six months of 1883 93 were landed containing animals infected with disease. He regarded with great satisfaction the manner in which the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had carried out the Act since he came into the position of being, he (Mr. Duckham) regretted he could not say the Minister of Agriculture, but the Agricultural Minister of the Privy Council. If the Act of 1878 had been carried out as it was now being carried out, there would have been no necessity to come there and ask for fresh legislation. But that was not so, and it was manifest from the enormous number of diseased cargoes landed indiscriminately upon our shores during the years 1881 and 1882, and the early part of 1883, that the interest of the English agriculturists were altogether neglected by those whose duty it was to guard the Kingdom, as far as possible, against the introduction and spread of disease. It had been said by some that this was only an attempt to return to the old principles of Protection. Now, if that were the case, he would certainly not be found standing in his place there to say a word in favour of it. But he did feel this—that so long as the farmers of England had to compete with all the world with regard to their produce, they had a right to ask the Legislature of this great country to guard, as far as possible by wise legislation, their flocks and herds from so insidious and contagious a disease. It had been said that the disease had become acclimatized, and that it was indigenous to the soil of the country; but the experience of Ireland from 1879 up to January last year afforded a strong argument against that assertion, as also did the experience of Scotland and various parts of England. It was said also that this was purely a producer's question, and that the farmers were asking for legislation not because they desired to be protected from the effects of disease, but because they wished to enjoy a monopoly. Now, he maintained that it was a consumer's question quite as much as a producer's question; and he would ask the House to allow him very briefly to revert to the position of the country after the cattle plague was stamped out and all disease got rid of. In 1867 the price of meat went down ½*d.* per lb.; it went down more in 1868, although there were £2,000,000 sterling less animal food imported in 1867 and £3,250,000 less in 1868 than in the average of the three previous years. In 1871, when the disease was rife throughout the Kingdom, the price of beef went up 10½*d.* per 8 lbs., and of mutton 1*s.* per 8 lbs. in the Metropolitan Market beyond that of 1868, and £5,000,000 sterling of live and dead meat were imported that year more than in 1868. In 1879, when the country was comparatively free from disease, the price went down 5½*d.* per 8 lbs. of beef, and 4¼*d.* per 8 lbs. of mutton below the average of the four preceding years; and last year, when the disease was rife again, and about 600,000 animals in Great Britain and Ireland suffered from it, £5,000,000 more of animal food was imported than the average of the four preceding years. Nevertheless, as everyone knew, the price of meat, instead of being lowered owing to the enormous increase of importation, was absolutely higher than it had been previously. It had been said that the poorer classes would lose the offal which they were now able to obtain at a low price; but surely the offal of diseased animals could scarcely be regarded as wholesome food. As regarded the interest of the consumers in the offal, it could not be at all compared with that of general reduction in prices when the health of the flocks and herds was maintained as shown in the prices he had quoted. The hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), in noticing the speech of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), said that last year we imported 700,000,000 lbs. of dead meat, or nearly three times the quantity the right hon. Gentleman gave as the estimated quantity the Bill would deprive the inhabitants of London of. They were talking of meat to supply the food of the people, and whether fresh meat or salt it must be taken into consideration. When writing of our meat supply only last week he had been taken to task in *The Daily Telegraph* by a gentleman who attempted to show that the calculations he had made in the public Press were inaccurate. He had stated that the Bill, if passed, would only interfere with 6 per cent of the consumption of the food of the people, whereas it was alleged that it amounted to 20 per cent; but when the writer in *The Daily Telegraph* attempted to prove his case he simply took the cattle and sheep in Great Britain, and gave them as representing the meat supply for the consumption of the country. Nothing was said about Ireland or about the imported dead meat, and nothing was said about the pigs. Those items were not taken into consideration at all by the writer, and such gross misrepresentations he felt could not be too strongly or too loudly condemned. He would not detain the Committee any longer, but he would give a cordial support to the Bill as amended by the House of Lords, and he did so with the firm conviction that it would benefit not only the producers but the consumers of meat throughout the United Kingdom.

Mr. A. ELLIOT said, he was of opinion that the view of the farmers upon this very important question had not yet been fully laid before the Committee; and, as the Representative of an agricultural community, he desired to say a few words. The Committee had been told that the farmers were actuated by feelings in favour of Protection in the course they were now taking in supporting the Amendment introduced into this Bill by the House of Lords. If that were really so, he would be one of the last Members of the House to endorse that view; but he knew that among the farmers there were many who strongly entertained the opinion that it was desirable by every means in their power to improve the character of the store cattle. He wished to point out what the feelings of the farmers really were. It might be said that Free Trade was desirable internally as well as externally, or that they might close the country entirely against the importation of foreign cattle; or, in the third place, if they were to have local restrictions, it would be the bounden duty of the Legislature to see that full security was given by the enforcement of those local restrictions against the spread of disease. What the farmers said—and he thought it was the general view—was that they would much rather have no internal restrictions at all, but that they should be allowed to take their own risk of foot-and-mouth disease than be hampered in the way they were. He wished to point out that the agricultural interest, as compared with the consuming interest, was not given to vigorous or active agitation; but, nevertheless, although they were not given to agitation as much as urban communities, they did feel very strongly upon this point. When he came to listen to the argument put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, he must say, for his own part, he could not help feeling that those arguments depended upon the assumption that the Agricultural Department would not be able to do its work. He was of opinion that that assumption was altogether fallacious. The Agricultural Department would continue to do its work as it had done it during the last two years. What did the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster amount to? If he had taken down the words and figures of the right hon. Gentleman accurately, they came to this—that since the month of May, 1883, no single head of diseased cattle had been landed in this country from foreign parts, except on the 1st of June, when 11 diseased sheep and one swine were introduced. Now, what was the effect of that statement? Surely, the effect of that statement was this—that if proper precautions were taken, a state of things did exist under which cattle could be landed in this country from foreign parts with reasonable safety; and therefore he wished to press upon the Committee the statement which had been made over and over again that it was only necessary to give the Agricultural Department full power to deal with all these cases, and to exclude cattle that were found to be infected with disease. There was no reason to suppose that the exclusion would be very large, or, at any rate, that it would be so large that the price of meat would be enormously raised to the consumer. That argument altogether fell to the country, because the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had himself proved that diseased animals during the last two years had not been landed at our ports from foreign countries; and it was, therefore, an entire mistake to suppose that the prohibition of the landing of diseased animals would raise the price of meat. It was the general opinion of the farmers of the country that, local restrictions having been obtained, it was their duty to endeavour to get protection at the ports of landing; and, unless some such power as that proposed in the amended Bill were intrusted to the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council, the interests of the consumer would suffer very much indeed. He had thought it right to make these few remarks on a point upon which the farmers certainly did feel very strongly; but if he thought for a moment that their case depended in any considerable degree upon the Protectionist argument, he should be one of the first Members in that House to oppose it. He did not, however, believe that their case depended upon that argument; and, therefore, he should be obliged to vote against the Government upon this Amendment.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he thought that the debate had been useful in having removed from the minds of hon. Members the impression that there was very little difference in the Bill as it had been brought in by the Government and as it was brought down to the House of Lords, with the Amendments which had been inserted in it by the House of Lords. It certainly showed that hon. Members fully appreciated the nature of the difference. His hon. Friend behind him (Mr. Heneage), in the effective speech he had made, asserted that the difference was so great that the Bill, as originally introduced, was only a sham Bill, and it had been converted into a real Bill by the Amendments introduced into it. He could not agree with one passage of the speech of his hon. Friend, although he only desired to refer to it in a kindly spirit. He quite agreed with his hon. Friend that there was not an intention on the part of the agricultural Members to restore Protection in this matter. He was quite sure that that was not their intention. But while he gave credit for honourable motives to one set of persons, he did not think, at the same time, that dishonourable motives ought to be imputed to others. He had, therefore, been surprised and sorry to hear the remarks his hon. Friend had made in connection with a large class of people—the foreign traders. He understood his hon. Friend to say that it was their object to keep up the disease. Now, that was a very strong statement to make.

Mr. HENEAGE said, he had not stated that it was the object of foreign traders to keep up disease, but that it was to their interest to do so.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he thought his hon. Friend had given the idea that foreign traders were actuated by that motive; and he was glad to hear his hon. Friend state now that he did not think so. As far as he (Mr. W. E. Forster) was able to see, a charge of that nature was absolutely without foundation. The hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) showed clearly that there was a considerable difference between the proposal of the Government and that contained in the Bill as amended by the House of Lords. The hon. Member pointed out that in one case a discretion was given to the Government, whereas in the other it was not. He thought the Committee were able to see from the debate which had taken place what the difference had been. He imagined that hon. Members who were in favour of the Bill as it had been amended would be prepared to exclude the importation of any live animals from any foreign country in which foot-and-mouth disease might be said to exist. He understood that that was what hon. Members who supported the Lords' Amendments were aiming at. [Mr. Chaplin: A part only.] He (Mr. W. E. Forster) thought that such a safeguard should not be given if satisfactory arrangements were made against the spread of disease. He understood that the expectation was that no animals would be allowed to come from any country in which there was foot-and-mouth disease; but the words of the clause as amended would allow the matter to go a good deal further. They really said that from no country throughout the length and breadth of which a case of foot-and-mouth disease might be discovered after the most minute search should any animal be allowed to be imported into this country. In fact, a sort of search and report would have to be made by the Government in every country as to the existence of the disease before any live animals were allowed to be imported from any of them into this country. Upon a mere rumour that disease prevailed the importation of animals would be excluded, although it might be almost immediately discovered that the rumour was altogether without foundation. The effect of that would be, as the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) had frankly admitted in his speech last year and also now, that it would exclude the importation of all live animals from what were called the scheduled countries. It would, therefore, exclude a large and important part of the food at present provided for the consumption of the people. The hon. Member for Roxburghshire (Mr. A. Elliot), who had just sat down, had made use of an argument which he (Mr. W. E. Forster) thought was in favour of the course taken by the Government. The hon. Member admitted that the precautions taken by the Government had been successful in grappling with the disease; and he had congratulated the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster on what he had done. Nevertheless, his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had not adopted the principle of stopping the importation of animals from every country where it could be shown that a case of disease existed. His right hon. Friend had gone upon the principle of excluding the importation from all countries in which there was reasonable ground for the belief that the disease might be imported. That was the principle on which the Committee desired to work. They admitted that there was a change of opinion in regard to foot-and-mouth disease, and that they would be quite justified in stopping the importation of live animals where there was any real danger of spreading the disease; but, at the same time, they thought the Government ought to have a discretionary power to judge whether the regulations at the port of embarkation were not such as to afford a reasonable prospect of preventing the spread of disease. He was quite sure that if the Bill were passed as the Lords had sent it down, the Government would not be able to do that; and he was also quite sure that what the Lords intended was that the Government should be able to use a fair discretion. The matter was a very serious one. There had been a good deal of talk about figures, and some hon. Members had attempted to prove that the price of meat went down according to the number of animals imported into the country. They were all of them sufficiently men of business to know that if they diminished the supply of an article the price, as a general rule, would rise. There was no doubt whatever that, taking 4,000,000 of people in London, the stoppage of the importation of live animals from the scheduled countries would stop the importation of about 23 per cent of all the meat now consumed in London. The dead meat trade was not equal to 50 per cent of the live importation; and if they were to depend upon the dead meat alone it would take a very long time, indeed, before they filled up the gap. The increase in the dead meat trade from the Australian markets was, no doubt, most satisfactory; but it was still the merest bagatelle possible in comparison with the consumption of the country. He failed to see upon what ground they ought to abandon all the importation of live meat. It could not be on account of the disease, because, although it was a serious disease, it had not yet been so considered by the agriculturists themselves, and it was regarded as of so little importance at the time he passed his Bill on the subject that he had some difficulty in getting the mention of the disease inserted in the Bill, and yet the ravages of that disease had been greater before that time than they had been since. In 1878 no one thought of slaughtering animals at the port of debarkation. It was admitted that the experiment should be tried for two or three years. His full belief, however, was that no regulations they could make in regard to importation would banish disease from the country, and the statement which had been made by his right hon. Friend fully bore him out in that assertion. He was quite willing that there should be restrictions when necessary; but he was convinced that to lay down a rule that no animals should be imported from any country in which by chance disease might be found to exist was altogether unnecessary, and would be a most wanton interference with the food supply of the country.

Mr. KENNY said, that his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan), in addressing the Committee a short time ago, had made reference to a previous statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, that the Government would be prepared to limit the power of the local authorities in regard to the exclusion of animals. His hon. and gallant Friend had asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster what steps were proposed to be taken by the Privy Council; whether they proposed to act on their own authority, or to accept the Amendment which he (Mr. Kenny) had placed lower down upon the Paper? He should be very glad, before the Division took place, to receive an answer to that question from the right hon. Gentleman. It was only fair to his hon. and gallant Friend that that reply should be given.

Mr. DODSON said, he could answer that question at once. The Government were prepared to accept the Amendment of which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Kenny) had given Notice; but he might also state that they had it in contemplation to issue an Order in Council limiting the power of the local authorities to prohibit the introduction of animals into their districts from parts of the United Kingdom which were ascertained to be free from disease.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS said, he had no doubt as to the direction in which the interests of the people he represented ought to induce him to vote. He thought that a most extensive and significant demonstration had already been made against the modification which the House of Lords had introduced into the Government Bill. In the course of the debate some allusion had been made to Protection. They had to thank the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) for charging the Liberal Party and Her Majesty's Government with caring for nobody but the foreign producer. Seeing that the charge had been made, it was only natural that some answer should be given to it.

Mr. NEWDEGATE hoped the hon. Member (Mr. Thorold Rogers) would excuse him. He had not used the expression attributed to him. What he had said was that the Liberal Party had been the representatives of foreign interests in thwarting the agricultural interests of the country.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS said, he could not help thinking that there was very little difference between the two positions. He found that the supply of dead meat brought into this country averaged over £3,000,000 sterling a-year; and he was bound to say that it appeared to him to be almost an insult to the intelligence of the people to imagine that a very long time, indeed, must not elapse before the £3,000,000 now representing the importation of dead meat were made to counter-balance the £12,000,000 sterling expended in the importation of live meat, and if a scarcity arose there must necessarily be a rise of prices in geometrical proportion to the restriction of the supply. There would not only be a decline in the importation, but a corresponding increase in price; and they were bound to take into consideration the effect which those two operations would produce upon the condition of the people when the decline of the supply took place. The working classes of London fully appreciated the result of any limitation of the supply, and knew very well that it would have a material effect in increasing the price, and thereby diminishing the comfort and injuring the health of the general mass of the population. He could assure the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) that the repentance among the working classes on the subject of Free Trade was very small indeed. Allusion had been made to the Petitions which had been presented to the House. He was well aware of the way in which those Petitions were got up. They were got up in the back rooms of the public-houses of London, with only 10 or a dozen people present, who had no title, or claim, or pretension to represent the feeling of the general public. In no way did they represent the feelings of the working classes, which, if it were necessary, he could show were entirely in favour of the course taken by the Government in regard to the Bill. The result of adopting the Amendment introduced into the Bill in the House of Lords would, he believed, be that a very considerable reduction in the amount of live stock imported into England would be effected. Everyone knew that at the present moment the greatest possible precautions were taken to prevent the spread of disease in the country, at Deptford, and at the other cattle markets. He should like to know what precautions were taken to prevent the spread of the disease in the country itself? Only last year he happened to be at Croydon, and he passed by an inclosed field containing

50 steers and calves, which were suffering from foot-and-mouth disease, in the immediate neighbourhood of the high road. Surely, if the working classes were to be deprived of a foreign supply, some restrictions should be placed on the dissemination of disease at home. If such things as these were allowed he could well understand how a cargo of cattle perfectly free from disease might be landed at Liverpool, and seven days afterwards be found suffering from disease in Cambridgeshire. The disease would have been acquired simply by passing through an infected district. He did not believe that the administration of the regulations for the prevention of disease had been neglected by the Government, who had always had at heart the good of the community. Her Majesty's Government were fully aware that until the agricultural interests were prosperous and properly developed, the general prosperity of the country would be retarded; but he did not think they would be assisting in developing the prosperity of agriculture by imposing restrictions on the importation of food, which would be invidious in the eyes of the people generally.

Mr. DODSON said, he wished to correct a misapprehension which he was afraid might arise from the answer he had just given to the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny). He had not observed that the hon. Member had two Amendments on the Paper; and when he said that he would accept the Amendment of the hon. Member he referred to the first Amendment only. The subject of the second Amendment was one which should be dealt with by Orders in Council.

Mr. KENNY said, that his question had been principally directed to the second Amendment, which was the Amendment referred to by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan). He wished to know from the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster what course he proposed to take in regard to that Amendment?

Mr. DODSON said, that in regard to that Amendment he had just stated that it was in contemplation to deal with the subject by an Order in Council. He had every reason to believe that the alarm of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) in regard to Ireland would prove to be altogether unfounded. The Order in Council would, he hoped, be issued shortly, and he believed hon. Members would find that it met the case they desired to raise.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he must protest against the proposed limitation intimated by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster of the power of the local authorities in relation to the importation of cattle from Ireland. There was reason to believe that a good deal of the disease had been introduced into this country by the importation of cattle from Ireland. He would not say that they brought the disease from Ireland; but, as a matter of fact, cattle had been brought into the county of Forfar, which he represented, from Ireland which had introduced the disease into that county, and the farmers of Forfarshire had suffered considerably in consequence. It was to their interest to have Irish cattle; but, considering the necessity of preventing the spread of disease, they had had to deny themselves the advantages which might be derived from the introduction of Irish cattle. On that ground he took objection to the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, that it was the intention of the Government to limit the powers of the local authorities in relation to the importation of cattle from Ireland. A considerable majority of his constituents, and of the farmers of Scotland, were in favour of the importation of store cattle from abroad. They had had considerable experience of store cattle from Canada, which had, to a considerable extent, supplied the deficiency in this country. They hoped still, by some modification of the present Bill, to be able to obtain store cattle from the United States of America, reasonable security being given against the introduction of foot-and-mouth disease. There was one point which had not been raised in the course of the debate, with regard to which he wished to obtain some opinion from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was anxious that the Government should indicate what course they intended to pursue in regard to the disposal of animals at the port of debarkation. At the present moment there were three methods adopted in reference to foreign cattle. In the first place, the importation might be prohibited altogether; in the second place, they might be slaughtered at the port of debarkation; and, in the third, there was free admission into the country. He wished to know from the right hon. Gentleman what position the Government would take, when the present Bill passed into law, with respect to the slaughter of cattle at the port of debarkation? That was a very important point. If the Bill remained as it stood now, and such circumstances arose as the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) had referred to, he understood that it would be the duty of the Government, on first hearing of a rumour of disease, to prohibit the importation of all animals from America, for instance, or from any other foreign country, because they could not be altogether satisfied that there was no truth in the rumour. Then, after a little time, it might be found out that though a disease of some peculiar kind might affect certain classes of cattle, it was not at all contagious. If, however, they were to carry out the proposals of hon. Members opposite, they would entirely prohibit the importation of live foreign cattle into this country. By the active administration of the present system of administration the Government authorities in Scotland had prevented a spread of the disease to any extent in that country, although it had been frequently introduced into various counties in Scotland. The county which he had the honour to represent had had the disease introduced into it eight times by distinct outbreaks; but by the exercise of vigour on the part of the local authorities in putting the provisions of the Act into force, they had succeeded in preventing the disease from spreading. The question, therefore, at once rose, why was it that in certain counties in England the disease was allowed to spread to such a great extent when it had been effectually dealt with in other districts? He invited the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) to explain what natural causes existed in the county of Lincolnshire that caused the spread of disease to such an extent as had actually been the case in that county, whereas in other districts equally exposed to infection the disease had been satisfactorily dealt with. It appeared to him that if the local authorities dealt energetically with disease when it was first introduced into a district they would be able to prevent it from spreading. He placed more confidence in such action than in attempting, by any measure of legislation of this kind, to prevent the introduction of disease, even if the importation of cattle were altogether prohibited.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, he desired to trespass upon the attention of the Committee for only two or three minutes, mainly for the purpose of explaining the vote he was about to record. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a few moments ago, stated that very few animals had been landed in this country which were suffering from foot-and-mouth disease during the last twelve months. That was a matter for great satisfaction; but it was rather an argument against the importation of diseased animals altogether, because it must be admitted that a single spark might set on fire a whole city. The present outbreak, which had occasioned so serious a loss to the country, was entirely due to the importation of a very few diseased animals from France. He had at first been under the impression that the simple transposition of the negative, from the end of the clause to the beginning, would not practically make a very wide difference; but after the very strong views expressed on that subject by the Chancellor of the Duchy, as he was in favour of the most vigorous measure that could be adopted for stamping out the disease, he felt compelled to vote for the Bill as it had been sent down from the House of Lords. He did so because, as he had stated, he was in favour of the most effectual measure for stamping out the disease in the country. He would not go over the arguments which had been used inside and outside the House as to the effect and spread of the disease. He contended that it was quite as great an evil to the consumer as to the producer. None of them could experience satisfaction from anything that tended to raise the price of meat and check the supply of the dairy produce of the country, which, by the introduction and spread of foot-and-mouth disease, was the case. His hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had alluded to the fact that he had presented a Petition from his (Mr. J. Howard's) constituents against the Lords' Amendments in the Bill. He had discussed the matter with many of his constituents who were not concerned in agricultural operations, and he had found that their objections to this legislation were founded entirely upon ignorance. He also believed that the general opposition which was given to the Bill among the artizan class of the country was also founded upon ignorance; and he was of opinion that no class had more interest in keeping the cattle of the country free from the ravages of disease than the working men, for if the people were to be more cheaply fed our own flocks and herds must be maintained in health.

Mr. HASTINGS said, he only desired to say a very few words in order to explain why, as representing a large constituency, which was not only a large agricultural constituency, but one also containing a large urban and semi-urban population, he considered it his duty to support the Bill against the Amendments proposed by Her Majesty's Government. It seemed to him that they must do one of two things—either carry out strictly provisions for restricting the importation of cattle from infected countries or not. If it were intended to carry out those restrictions, there surely could be no reason why the Bill as it had come down from the House of Lords should not be passed. If they refused to adopt the Lords' Amendments, it could only be because they had no desire to carry out the restrictions with vigour and in good faith, and that was just what he feared, and exactly what those who represented constituencies that were largely interested in the production of the food supply dreaded. They feared that the restrictions which all persons considered to be necessary were not about to be adequately worked, and that a loophole was to be left by the amendment of the Bill which would practically allow them to be disregarded. Under those circumstances, they felt it incumbent upon them, in the interest of their constituencies, and in discharge of their duty to the large class of consumers throughout the country, to vote against the Amendment of Her Majesty's Government, and in favour of the Bill as it had come down from the House of Lords.

Mr. DODSON said, he would not trouble the Committee with many further observations; but it was desirable that he should say a word or two upon the debate which had taken place. In the first place, his hon. Friend the Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) had made a very severe attack upon the Privy Council for its action before that period in May, 1883, to which he had referred in his speech. Now, in what he (Mr. Dodson) had said he had not the slightest wish to lead the Committee to suppose that his noble Friend the President of the Council had in any way neglected his duty before that period. Lord Spencer, in the first instance, carried out faithfully and loyally the Act of 1878, in the spirit in which it was intended by those who framed and passed that Act; and his noble Friend (Lord Carlingford) had carried on the administration of the Act in the same spirit of fidelity. It had been alleged that if the Bill were amended in the manner he proposed, it would be so weak as to be almost a sham. Well, however weak it might be in the eyes of some hon. Gentlemen, at all events it would be stronger than the Act of 1878, which was the Act introduced by the late Government, and the Act under which they had hitherto proceeded. Moreover, the Act had never been so stringently administered by the late as by the present Government, more especially since the period in last year to which he had referred. And yet the demand for stringency had been louder than ever. They had found, as he had stated in moving the second reading of the Bill, that there was a very strong feeling in the country on the subject. The apprehension of foot-and-mouth disease had had a discouraging effect in the agricultural districts, and they were anxious to give a reasonable security in order to allay that apprehension. They, therefore, thought it right to exercise the powers of the Act of 1878 more stringently than they had ever been exercised before, and he ventured to say more stringently than the authors of that Act contemplated their being exercised. The hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) had asserted that he (Mr. Dodson) had given no reason for apprehension which he said existed in the mind of the Government as to the effect of the Bill as it had been sent down by the House of Lords in hampering and restricting trade. The Government considered that if the clause were retained in the form in which it came down from the other House, they would be running a serious risk, not only of hampering trade, but of raising the price of meat to the consumer, without any adequate addition to the security of the producer. It was suggested by the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) that there would be a corresponding increase in the trade in dead meat. No doubt the trade in fresh dead meat was a large and increasing trade; but the trade in live meat was a much larger and more important trade; it was also a rapidly increasing trade. He wished also to point out that while, on the one hand, the trade in live animals was steadily increasing, that in dead meat was a fluctuating one. There were some hon. Gentlemen who seemed to think that it was only necessary to prohibit the importation of live animals in order to insure a corresponding increase in the supply of fresh dead meat. But this was not the case, and the experience of past years showed that it was not so. He should like, upon this point, to call the attention of the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) to a few hard facts. The Privy Council last year prohibited the importation of live animals from France. And what had been the result? Had France sent a larger quantity of fresh dead meat in lieu of the live animals it had previously exported? Nothing of the kind. On the contrary, we had scarcely received any fresh dead meat from that country. Again, for a considerable number of years live cattle had been admitted to this country from Germany and Belgium; but some years ago the landing of live cattle from those countries was prohibited. What had happened? Did Germany and Belgium send fresh beef instead of live cattle? Not at all. The fact was that Germany and Belgium had sent us more fresh beef during the three years preceding the prohibition of live animals as was recorded in the Returns than in the following years. No doubt the trade in fresh dead meat had increased largely of late, principally from New Zealand; but, for some reason he was unable to state, the trade in dead meat from Holland and other countries in Europe had considerably diminished in 1883. He remembered that when the Act of 1878 was passed some hon. Gentlemen wanted to prohibit the landing of live animals from the United States, and asserted that the fresh dead meat trade would, in consequence, be largely increased. But the fact was that the live meat trade from the United States maintained a great superiority over that in fresh dead meat from the same country. In conclusion, he had only to repeat that Her Majesty's Government did not share the views of those who regarded this Amendment as an unimportant or immaterial one. They considered, on the contrary, that if the clause were retained in the Bill in the shape in which it had come down from the House of Lords it would be at the risk of very seriously hampering trade and raising the price of meat to the consumer, without in any degree making an adequate addition to the security of the home produce against the importation of disease from abroad. Her Majesty's Government looked upon this question as one of the utmost gravity, and as involving consequences of importance.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 185; Noes 161: Majority 24.

AYES

Alexander, Major-Gen.
Allsopp, C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Archdale, W. H.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Baring, T. C.
Barry, J.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beach, W. W. B.
Beaumont, W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bellingham, A. H.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biggar, J. G.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Borlase, W. C.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Bulwer, J. R.
Burghley, Lord
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Cartwright, W. C.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaplin, H.
Christie, W. L.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Close, M. C.
Coddington, W.
Collins, E.
Colthurst, Colonel
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corbet, W. J.
Cowen, J.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Crichton, Viscount
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Curzon, Major hon. M.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
Digby, Colonel hon. E.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Duckham, T.
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Elliot, G. W.
Elton, C. I.
Ennis, Sir J.
Estcourt, G. S.
Feilden, Lieut.-General
Fellowes, W. H.
Finch, G. H.
Finch-Hatton, hon. M. E. G.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Folkestone, Viscount
Foster, W. H.

Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Freshfield, C. K.
Garnier, J. C.
Gooch, Sir D.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Grantham, W.
Gregory, G. B.
Gurdon, R. T.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Hamilton, I. T.
Harrington, T.
Harris, W. J.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hastings, G. W.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Healy, T. M.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, A. S.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, right hon. A. J. B. B.
Howard, J.
Jackson, W. L.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennard, C. J.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenny, M. J.
King-Harman, Colonel E. R.
Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Leahy, J.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, right hn. Lord H. G. C. G.
Levett, T. J.
Lloyd, M.
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lowther, J. W.
Lynch, N.
Macfarlane, D. H.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
M'Lagan, P.
Manners, rt. hon. Lord J. J. R.
Marjoribanks, hon. E.
Martin, P.
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, T.
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Miles, C. W.
Molloy, B. C.
Monckton, F.
Moreton, Lord
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Newdegate, C. N.
Nicholson, W.
Nicholson, W. N.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
O'Beirne, Colonel F.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, T. P.
Onslow, D. R.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Palmer, C. M.
Peek, Sir H. W.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Pugh, L. P.
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ross, A. H.
Rothschild, Sir N. M. de
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Salt, T.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Sexton, T.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smith, A.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Storer, G.
Strutt, hon. C. H.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, A. J.
Thornhill, T.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, hn. W. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Tottenham, A. L.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Vivian, A. P.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Wilmot, Sir J. E
Winn, R.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.
Heneage, E.
Read, C. S.

NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Anderson, G.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Balfour, J. S.
Barclay, J. W.
Barran, J.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Bolton, J. C.
Boord, T. W.
Brand, hon. H. R.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brogden, A.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Buchanan, T. R.
Buszard, M. C.
Buxton, F. W.
Buxton, S. C.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Causton, R. K.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Churchill, Lord R.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Currie, Sir D.
Davies, W.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duff, R. W.
Earp, T.
Eckersley, N.
Egerton, Admiral hon. F.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Ferguson, R.
Findlater, W.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hn. W. E.
Fort, R.
Fry, L.
Giles, A.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gordon, Sir A.
Gorst, J. E.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Grey, A. H. G.
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Hopwood, C. H.
Houldsworth, W. H.
Howard, E. S.
Illingworth, A.
James, Sir H.
James, C.
James, W. H.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Lawrence, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Leake, R.
Leatham, E. A.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Lusk, Sir A.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Macliver, P. S.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Intyre, Æneas J.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
Maitland, W. F.
Marriott, W. T.
Martin, R. B.
Maskelyne, M. H. N. Story-
Mellor, J. W.
Monk, C. J.
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, J.
Morley, S.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Muntz, P. H.
Noel, E.
Norwood, C. M.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, G.
Pease, A.
Peddie, J. D.
Pender, J.
Playfair, rt. hn. Sir L.
Potter, T. B.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsay, J.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Ritchie, C. T.
Roberts, J.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, G. W. E.
Rylands, P.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sellar, A. C.
Shaw, T.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Smith, E.
Smith, S.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Summers, W.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Torrens, W. T. M.

Tracy, hon. F. S. A. Hanbury-
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G.O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Waddy, S. D.
Whitbread, S.
Whitley, E.
Williamson, S.
Wills, W. H.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wilson, I.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Woodall, W.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-

TELLERS.

Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Kensington, rt. hn. Lord

Amendment *negatived.*

Mr. DODSON: After the very serious vote the Committee has just come to the Committee will, I trust, not be surprised at my stating that Her Majesty's Government request time to consider the course they should adopt. I, therefore, move that the Chairman do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again." — (*Mr. Dodson.*)

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The proposal of the right hon. Gentleman is somewhat extraordinary. This is not the first time that an Amendment to the propositions of Her Majesty's Government has been made in this Bill. In "another place" the Bill was amended to the shape in which it now stands. Her Majesty's Government took ample time to consider their position with regard to that Amendment, and after that consideration they decided to go on with the Bill. Have they really been playing with the time of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons, and also with the opinion of the country, on this important subject; and do they come down now, when all that this House has done is to retain the Bill in the shape in which it has stood for the last two months, and ask the Committee to report Progress in order that they may reconsider their position, as if we had made some serious alteration in the measure? Sir, I venture to say that, if this Motion be a preliminary, as it would seem to be, to the decision of Her Majesty's Government to withdraw the measure, it will be accepted by the country as a proof that they have not been sincere in proposing it; but that they have merely brought it forward as a means of catching the votes of their supporters behind them, and of the agricultural interest, and not with any real intention of dealing with this great subject.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I certainly think that the doctrine laid down by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) is one of the most extraordinary I have ever heard. He has charged Her Majesty's Government with playing with this question, because, after the opinion of the House of Lords was obtained, the Government thought it desirable that the opinion of the House of Commons should also be obtained. Does the right hon. Gentleman suppose that with the majority his Party has in the House of Lords the Government are not to give the House of Commons an opportunity of forming a judgment on this question? Then the right hon. Gentleman says that, of course, the Government ought to go on with the Bill, notwithstanding the vote that has been come to. But the Committee will doubtless see that Her Majesty's Government have not merely to consider whether they have obtained the success of a vote or not, but whether that vote is in accordance with what they think to be right. When we know that the Department which will be responsible for the working of the measure has stated, both in this House and out of it, that the Bill, as sent down from the House of Lords, and which, I regret to say, is now supported by this House, would be mischievous, and do harm, and is unnecessary, then I say that to suppose the Government is at once to proceed with the measure after such a statement as that seems to me to imply the most extraordinary forgetfulness on the part of the right hon. Gentleman as to the duty of the Government to consider whether they think the decision come to by this Committee is right or not.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I think we ought to remember that this is not the only case within the present Session, or within a recent period, as to which Her Majesty's Government would appear to have set at naught the feeling of the majority of the House of Commons on questions deeply affecting the agricultural community. My hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), only the other day, carried a Motion of the greatest importance, but with regard to which absolutely no attention has been paid, and, indeed, to which Her Majesty's Government say it would be practically absurd that they should be expected to pay any attention; and now, upon a matter also of the gravest importance, upon a Bill which has not been discussed on Party lines, but on principles upon which Members on both sides of the House have come together, and which everybody in the House agrees to be of the greatest possible importance—when the House has decided by an exceptional and decisive majority a very important point, Her Majesty's Government say they are going to reconsider their position, which would seem to imply that they may drop the Bill. I want to know whether this is the spirit in which questions of this kind, affecting a large and important class of the population, are to be treated?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) says that this Bill has not been considered on Party lines. I think, Sir, that when the right hon. Gentleman made that statement he could not have heard what was said by the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) who sits near him. The right hon. Baronet, although we have now been told that this Bill has not been discussed on Party lines, contrived to introduce into a very short speech on a matter simply relating to common usage and procedure, charges as odious and offensive as I have ever heard made from one side of the House to the other. I rather presume that hon. Gentlemen are aware that people may think they have characters even when there are others who think they have not; and consequently the epithets which I have applied to those charges turn upon this—that the right hon. Baronet chose to accuse us, in the event of our taking a particular course in regard to which he does not know whether we shall take it or not, but as to which he anticipated a conclusion which he wishes it to be supposed will be taken—the right hon. Baronet accuses us of taking a course which will be regarded by the country as a proof of our insincerity, and insinuates that we have been making false professions to the country. Well, Sir, that is pretty well for a proceeding on a Bill which has not been discussed on Party lines. I should like to know what would be the language that might be used upon a Bill which is discussed on Party lines, if this be a specimen of the most impartial and most judicial temper in which the right hon. Baronet discusses this question. With regard to the question itself, I think his contention has been effectually disposed of by my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). But let us consider what the case really is. It is simple enough in regard to its facts. The right hon. Baronet appears to admit that it is a common and useful practice, when the Government have failed on an important Motion in respect to a Bill in Committee, to take time to consider their course. But he says that that will not hold in the present case, because after the Motion had been carried in the House of Lords the Government acquiesced in it, and did not abandon their Bill. Certainly not; but was there any fraud practised on the House of Lords? Let anyone read the language used by my noble Friend, Lord Carlingford—perhaps, Sir, I have made a slip of the tongue in my reference to him—but language was certainly used on the part of the Government which made it perfectly clear that their intention was to try the judgment of the House of Commons, and, in the event of their obtaining a favourable judgment in this House, they hoped the House of Lords might be disposed to defer to that decision. That being the case, were they right or were they wrong? Was it their duty to abandon the Bill in the House of Lords if they thought the Amendment would be fatal? It might have been convenient to abandon the Bill in the House of Lords, and to say—"We have fulfilled our pledge; and now you may shift for yourselves, and take your own course." But we did not do that; on the contrary, at great inconvenience, we carried forward the Bill, and brought it into this House. We have done all we could, and we rather stretched a point for the purpose of giving time to the House for the consideration of the Bill, in order that we might obtain the judgment of the House upon it. I contend that we are entitled to exercise our own deliberate and conscientious judgment on the effect of the vote of the House of Commons, just as if the Bill had been introduced by us in this House, and just as if the Amendment carried in the other House had been carried in the House of Commons. I hope the House will see that this is not unreasonable. I have stated how far this differs from other cases—they are not perhaps many; but certainly I have cases in my mind in which the Leader of the Party to which the right hon. Baronet belongs, having been defeated in a course which he thought serious, has asked for time, and it has been granted without a word. That is what I should have expected in this case, and that is all we ask to be done on the present occasion. Gentlemen will lose nothing by assenting to that course, and will only be conforming to the usage of the House. Our desire is that we shall take a reasonable, and not a long time to consider whether we can come to terms with the Amendment, which, on the whole, according to the declarations we have made "elsewhere," bears an aspect most formidable, and possibly fatal to the Bill. Our object is to see whether it is possible for us to so come to terms as to, in fact, fulfil the covenants we have given to the House in the most rigid and ample manner. It is for that purpose that we ask the House to report Progress, and we have some confidence that our proposal will be agreed to.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he felt bound to say that whatever the right hon. Gentleman might think of the observations of his right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), those observations were fully warranted by the circumstances; and he wished to remind the Prime Minister of a fact of which he and his Colleagues seemed to be totally oblivious. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had stated that this Division had been of so grave and serious a character that it was necessary for the Government to take time to consider their position with regard to it. Why, what had been the effect of the Division? Simply to re-insert in this Bill words which carried out literally, and word for word, the Resolution which was carried in this House last Session. He desired also to remind the Prime Minister of what occurred at the commencement of the Session. At that time, in the debate on the Address in answer to the Gracious Speech from the Throne, he gave Notice of an Amendment which the right hon. Gentleman acknowledged would, if carried, have been a Vote of Censure on the Government, and would have insured their retirement from Office. Why was it not proceeded with? Because the Government came down to the House in a hurry and announced—although no mention was made of the matter in the Queen's Speech—that they intended to deal with this question, and in a manner which everyone understood they intended loyally to carry out the Resolution of last year. The House of Commons had now, for the second time, declared its judgment on the matter; and now the right hon. Gentleman thought it necessary, under the circumstances, to have time to consider the position of the Government. Their duty was clear—it was either to carry out the Resolution twice passed by the House of Commons, or to make room for others who would do so.

Mr. HENEAGE said, he strongly objected to the language used by hon. Gentlemen on the other side. They seemed to think that this had been a Party Division; but it was no Party Division whatever. Those on this side who voted against the Government did so because they believed they were doing the best for the country; but they did not so vote in order that they might bring charges, which they believed entirely false, against the Government. He looked on the declaration of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster exactly in the opposite way to hon. Gentlemen opposite. The right hon. Gentleman said he thought it would be a very serious matter indeed if this Amendment was carried; but now he offered to take time to consider the matter, and that, he thought, showed that the Government were sincere in trying to go on with the Bill. If any attempt was made to prevent their Motion being acceded to he should vote with the Government.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, if the Motion to report Progress was to be understood as meaning the resignation of the Government he imagined it would be acceded to unanimously. If, on the other hand, no such fortunate result was to be anticipated from the Motion being agreed to, he would like to explain the vote he should give upon the Motion. He had supported the Government in the last Division, because he had grave doubts as to the manner in which the Amendment of the House of Lords might affect the urban populations. The House of Commons in its collective capacity, being of opinion that those doubts were not well founded, and having expressed the opinion that no danger need necessarily arise from the Amendment being agreed to, he should certainly not imitate the example of the Government by endeavouring to repudiate the decision of the House of Commons. He should be prepared to accept the decision of the House, and in order that a most valuable piece of legislation might not be lost to the country he should vote against the Motion to report Progress; because, undoubtedly, if what had fallen from the Government indicated that they would consider whether they would part with the Bill or not, it was important that the House should give them to understand that they must proceed with the Bill. Under these circumstances, he thought many borough Members who had supported the Government in the last Division must now oppose them.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he was glad that this Motion had been made, for otherwise he should have deemed it his duty to make the Motion himself, because certainly not fewer than 1,000 resolutions had been passed not merely by urban populations, but by populations in counties, praying the Government, if they could not pass this Bill as it was introduced, to abandon it; and that was the expectation of the country generally. He, himself, had to-day presented a Petition from the county of Bedford, urging that that step should be taken; and he was certain that that was not the desire only of the urban populations, but of the counties. Hon. Gentlemen opposite could not forget that with regard to the Bill, as it had come from the House of Lords, it had been stated by the most important organs of their Party that if the Amendment of the House of Lords was adopted so serious would be the condition of things with regard to the probable rise in the price of meat, that it would be the duty of the Government to consider what measures should be adopted to avoid so grave and serious a result. This had been stated by the *The Standard*, and he was therefore glad that this Motion had been made.

Lord JOHN MANNERS said, the statement in *The Standard*, which had twice been quoted to-day, was made, he did not know how many months ago. The hon. Member having twice quoted the statement, he assumed that the hon. Member seriously believed that the Conservative Party would have to consider what course they would pursue if the Amendment of the House of Lords was adopted. The hon. Member was, however, labouring under a complete delusion. With regard to what the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) had said, he had stated that this question had been described on this side of the House as a Party question.

Mr. HENEAGE said, that had been stated lately by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and he had not heard anybody deny it.

Lord JOHN MANNERS said, he was speaking of the debate on the Amendment proposed by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and he ventured to assert that never was a debate which partook less of the character of a Party debate than this had, and he understood that the hon. Gentleman himself assented to that view. All, then, that the hon. Gentleman meant was that his right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had shown some warmth in dissenting from the view of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. It was perfectly open to the right hon. Baronet to take that view, which he had expressed in terms not unbecoming his great reputation in that House. If the hon. Member for Great Grimsby differed from that view he was perfectly at liberty to express that difference, and he had done so. With respect to what had fallen from the Prime Minister, he would put the question from this point of view. The right hon. Gentleman had asked whether the Government, when they were defeated in the House of Lords, were to turn round on the House of Lords and the whole agricultural interest, and say—"We will not go further with the Bill, but will leave you to shift for yourselves." Would that have been a proper position for the Government to take on so important a question? Would that have been fair to the agricultural interest? He answered—It would have been infinitely fairer to the agricultural interest than the course which the Government had actually taken, if they intended now to abandon the Bill, and for this reason. He must remind the Prime Minster how it was that the Government had proposed legislation in the House of Lords at all on this question. It was not until the Duke of Richmond introduced a Bill on the subject, and that Bill was passing, that the Government undertook to introduce a measure at all; and if the right hon. Gentleman had acted in the way in which he said he had not acted, and in which he should have acted—namely, said he repudiated all further legislation on the subject, then the Duke of Richmond would have proceeded with his Bill. It would have come down to this House, and this House would have had to decide upon its principles. Therefore the right hon. Gentleman had not stated fully or candidly the real position of the question as it presented itself when the House of Lords passed this Amendment. That being the position, the House of Commons had now expressed the same opinion as the House of Lords, and the Government at this moment stood in this predicament—that they had against them the opinion of the House of Lords; that they had against them the opinion of the House of Commons, as expressed last year on the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin); and that they had against them the opinion of the House of Commons as expressed in a full House, and after a full debate this afternoon; that was the position of the matter, and if the Government required further time to consider what they ought to do in the matter, he for one should not be disposed to interpose any impediment in the way of their doing so.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he was glad that the noble Lord, as representing the Front Bench opposite, had shown a disposition to treat the Government with some little courtesy, which previous speakers on that Bench had not shown. Of course, hon. Members on this side of the House admitted that owing to a combination of votes in the House they had been defeated; but they none the less knew that they represented millions of the population of this country whose interests and industrial advantages were struck at. Knowing that a most serious change had been made in this Bill, they were perfectly ready to support the Government in asking for time to consider the course they might think it necessary to take; and he thought he might say, with perfect confidence, that the Representatives of the manufacturing populations of the country would rightly express their opinion by saying that the Government should not allow this Bill, in its present shape, to pass.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he thought the Committee was disinclined to proceed unnecessarily to a Division on this question; but he also thought the Prime Minister would effectually avoid any risk of such action being taken, if he were to give some indication of the course the Government intended to take in the future in respect to fixing a day for the further consideration of this Bill, and for making their announcement with regard thereto. He fully agreed with his noble Friend that this had never been treated as a Party question from first to last by anyone sitting in that part of the House; but, at the same time, he fully and heartily concurred—as he believed nearly every Member on that side of the House did—with his right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) when he stigmatized the conduct of the Government in terms which he (Mr. Lowther) heartily endorsed. He did not wish to divide against the Motion to report Progress; but what they had a right to ask was this—three-fourths of the time which the Prime Minister was never weary of telling them was invaluable had been taken from them this afternoon. When the Government proposed to report Progress at a quarter-past 6, they had a right to ask what further facilities the Government intended to give for the discussion of this subject? Did the Government, having deprived them of a portion of the afternoon which was set apart for the consideration of this subject, intend indefinitely to hang this Bill up, and practically withdraw it from the cognizance of Parliament? He had not hesitated to say elsewhere, and he would repeat here, that he had a firm conviction that the Government were trifling with this subject. As he had said not long ago, using the words in a Parliamentary sense, he believed that the Bill had been introduced upon false pretences. That opinion he now repeated in the presence of the Government; and he thought the Committee had a right to insist that an early opportunity should be given of resuming this debate.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, he hoped the Committee would assent to the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman, and allow Progress to be reported. He had supported the Bill on its merits, and how did the matter now stand? Further procedure with the Bill at this hour was impossible; but apart from that the Government had not said they would abandon the Bill, but that they would consider their position. It was reasonable to allow them the time they asked for, and possibly that might result in their accepting the course which the Committee had decided upon. At all events, it was not fair to assume that they would not do so, because they were defeated in "another place," and they had then considered their position. If they did not do so, then the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) would have a strong case against them for refusing to act on a decision which had been twice recorded. Under these circumstances, he thought it would be a mere act of fairness to the Executive to agree to the Motion, and allow them time for reconsidering their position.

MR. DODSON said, he proposed to put the Bill down for Friday, and he would then state what course the Government intended to adopt.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, there would not be any chance of taking the Bill on Friday, as there was other Business on the Paper for that day. What he wished to know was, whether the Government would afford any indication as to when they would put the Bill down for practical consideration?

MR. DODSON replied, that he had answered that question by anticipation. He would put the Bill down for Friday, not with any intention of proceeding with it then, but with a view to stating what further course the Government would pursue.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Friday.*

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [21st April] *reported.*

First Two Resolutions *agreed to.*

Third Resolution *postponed.*

Postponed Resolution to be considered upon *Monday* next.

REVISION OF JURORS AND VOTERS LISTS (DUBLIN COUNTY) BILL.

(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan.*)

[BILL 124.] COMMITTEE.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [21st March], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (for Committee on the Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) Bill.

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. J. LOWTHER rose to address the House, when—

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said: I rise to Order. The right hon. Gentleman has already spoken upon this subject.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he had spoken on the subject, but it was four or five years ago; and he had yet to learn that he could not state his views on the matter now because he spoke on it in 1878 or 1879. He shared the prevailing ignorance in regard to the merits or demerits of this Bill. His recollection was that it was a very small and a very narrow Bill. He objected to it on the ground that it had not been introduced for the purpose of remedying any existing grievance, or placing the law on any reliable and comprehensive basis, but in order to secure a Party advantage in a particular constituency, and it was open to all the objections brought against measures introduced by Irish Members.

MR. SEXTON: It is a Government Bill.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, the Bill to which he referred as having been opposed by himself several years ago was introduced by private Members, though it now appeared to have passed into official hands, and under these new auspices had never been even explained to the House. The Bill, he observed, proposed to create a new Office, and this Office was to be given to the inevitable barrister of 10 years' standing.

MR. HEALY: Go on; you have only three minutes to do it.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he hoped they would have an explanation of the Bill from the Chief Secretary.

Mr. ION HAMILTON said, he was surprised that the Chief Secretary did not give the House an explanation of this Bill. If it was intended to be a censure on the Recorder of Dublin the right hon. Gentleman ought to say so.

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

MOTIONS.

IRELAND—CONVENT NATIONAL SCHOOLS (REMUNERATION OF TEACHERS).

RESOLUTION.

Mr. BIGGAR, in rising to call the attention of the Government to the scale of remuneration allowed by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland to the teachers of Convent National Schools in that country; and to move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, it is just and expedient that the teachers of Convent National Schools in Ireland be dealt with, as to remuneration, on equal terms with those applied to other teachers of primary schools in connection with the system of Irish national education,"

said, this case was only another illustration of the unfortunate position in which they were placed in Ireland by being governed by those Gentlemen who did not understand, and who in some instances, indeed, did not wish to understand, the peculiar characteristics and requirements of the country. The Gentlemen sent over from England, Lord Lieutenants and Chief Secretaries for Ireland, seemed to think that the system of education which suited England should also suit remarkably well for Ireland, and because they were not satisfied with their condition they were told they were very unreasonable people. The position and ideas of the two peoples were exceedingly different, and some gentlemen seemed to forget that matters which might be of very small weight in England were to Ireland often of very grave importance. The nuns had not up to the present, so far as he was aware, had anyone of influence to endeavour to obtain a removal of the grievances under which they laboured, and it was merely by accident he had learned the state of affairs. Their case was different to that of the National School teachers, who had also grievances to complain of, but which certainly were not greater than those of the nuns. They had ably stated their grievances, and had got the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon) to use his influence with the Government on their behalf. The nuns had, however, no one to advocate their claims until the matter came to the knowledge of some of the Irish Members, when the Irish Party thought it desirable that their case should be brought before the attention of the House, in order to see if the Government would not afford them some redress. They did not ask any special favour, but only that the nuns should get fair play. It seemed to him from the short investigation he had made that a plainer case could not be imagined. The nuns got a very much smaller amount of remuneration for the same amount of work than the National teachers. He could not understand why these ladies should not get the same remuneration as that of National teachers. The excuse made by the Government was that these ladies did not get classed as teachers, because they did not pass the examinations. He had no great opinion of competitive examinations, his own experience being that, as regards practical work, those who passed them successfully were often of very little use; but there were excellent reasons why these ladies should not undergo that test. In the first place, the Bishops had passed a Resolution forbidding them to do so; the Rules of their Order in other cases precluded them; and when they did not, the teaching of children formed a small portion only of their duties; so that if a certain number of ladies passed from any convent, they could not devote themselves wholly to teaching, but would have to share it with the remainder of the nuns. The result of their teaching was very successful——.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. BIGGAR, resuming, said, the case of these ladies was a hard one. Whilst the nuns were only allowed 4*s.* for each pupil whom they taught, teachers in other schools were allowed 16*s.* 8*d.*, or four times as much. This was a glaring, gross, and monstrous injustice. He must also complain of the inadequate capitation grant allowed to the nuns. In the other schools where there were 40 pupils the teacher received £24 10*s.* per annum in the second class schools, between which and the £8 received by the nuns there was a large difference. The outside teachers were allowed £25 for the annual rent of each school, and £125 for the building of a teacher's residence; but the nuns were granted no part of these advantages. Further, they got no pension whatever, whereas in the other schools the teachers received a substantial pension when disabled by age or illness from their duties. The Reports of the different Inspectors in different parts of the country were exceedingly favourable to the convent schools. Looking at the number of passes, the Reports showed a considerable percentage to the advantage of the convent schools as compared with the others. As regarded monitors, the convent schools were placed at a considerable disadvantage as compared with the National Schools, because while the monitors from the latter were educated at the training school in Dublin for their examination, owing to Catholic rules those from the nuns' schools had to go to it directly from those schools. But in spite of this the Reports showed a superiority on the part of the convent schools even as regarded the monitors. He thought that he had made out so clear a case on behalf of these convent schools that he could not see how the Government could refuse to adopt his Motion. At present the nun's schools were the best schools in Ireland; but, at the same time, they were the worst paid. Whether such a state of matters was to continue for any length of time he could not say; but he knew that if not remedied now it would be discussed again, and he was convinced the result must be, at no distant date, that the nuns would get all they asked. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Mr. HEALY, in seconding the Motion, congratulated the hon. Member for Cavan on his great moderation, and the admirable array of statistics which he had presented to the House. He expressed the hope that the Chief Secretary, who had been obliged to rub against so many corners in the case of Ireland, would now find some means to apply balm to the feelings of the people of Ireland on a matter which deserved so much consideration at the hands of the Government. The great interest felt in this subject was shown by the large attendance of Irish Members; and he could imagine no argument which the Government could oppose to the Motion except the mere argument of non-presentation for examination. After all, that was not so great an obstacle as it might at first sight appear. The main object of examination of the teachers was to insure that the pupils should be properly taught; but if by another piece of machinery it was proved that the pupils were so taught as they had it proved by the exceedingly favourable results which statistics showed the nuns obtained, what, then, was the necessity of insisting upon examination in the case of the convent schools? It had been properly pointed out that the object of the institution of the religious orders was not in the first instance that of teaching; but, owing to the secular system of education which the Government imposed years ago upon the Irish people, it was seen fit in the wisdom of the directors of these religious Bodies to take up the subject of education, and having taken it up and succeeded in the remarkable way that they had done, the Irish people had a fit and proper case to ask this House to grant some better remuneration than hitherto. It was simply absurd that while the schools taught by nuns produced 8 or 10 per cent better results than the ordinary National schools, the nuns were paid only £8 as against £34 10*s.* to the National teachers. The nuns produced 10 per cent better results, and they got 300 per cent less salary. That was a glaring anomaly, which should at once commend itself for correction to the minds of Her Majesty's Government. He did not desire to decry the National school teaching of Ireland, for everybody must feel gratification at the way in which the National teachers had done their duty, when they considered the small salaries which even these teachers received, and the bad way in which they were housed, and the poor system of education which they received in their training schools; but, at the same time, the House must consider the great fact that the nuns gave something else to the country besides mere secular education. While agrarian crime in Ireland in the last few years had achieved an unfortunate pre-eminence, yet, if they turned to the statistics of morality, and went into America, and even in England, and examined the percentages amongst the Catholics of illegitimacy, or any unfortunate statistics of that nature, they would find there was a bright page in the records of the female Celtic population of Ireland. It had been shown over and over again that as regarded the percentages in which morality was concerned the Irish had a remarkably bright pre-eminence; and he had no doubt it was owing to the teaching received in the convent schools. Fortunately the day had long passed when Motions were made in that House with regard to the inspection of conventual institutions in Ireland; and he was glad to have heard last year from the hon. and much-respected Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) that he had laid aside the prejudices, at least so far as their outward expression was concerned, which in former times he had been imbued with in regard to these institutions. He (Mr. Healy) noted that to show the advance of liberality which the House had made; and therefore the Chief Secretary would seek in vain——

MR. NEWDEGATE: You misrepresent me. I never repented of what I had done.

MR. HEALY said, he should be sorry to impute any repentance to the hon. Gentleman. He merely stated that, in deference to feelings expressed on the Irish Benches, the hon. Gentleman had withdrawn the Motions which had previously been annuals in his hands. The Chief Secretary could not now appeal to any prejudice with regard to conventual institutions. They noticed there tonight hon. Gentlemen like the hon. Member for Fermanagh (Mr. Archdale), Protestants, and others, coming to assist in making a house for the nuns of Ireland, also some Scotch Members assisting in that course that showed a desire for fair play and justice. Even in foreign countries—he had known it to be the case in Belgium—the Freethinking fathers of girls sent their daughters to convent schools to receive their education. In some instances in Ireland he had known Protestants so imbued with a consciousness of their superior moral and religious instruction, and knowing that no dogmatic teaching was to be intruded, that they sent their daughters to the Catholic schools. He trusted the Chief Secretary would not attempt to pay the nuns off with antique compliment, but that they should have something solid in his statement. In every way, except that of non-presentation for examinations, the nuns had a complete case, and there were sufficient reasons why the nuns should not present themselves for examination. They should bear in mind the large sums which the nuns had saved with regard to school endowments. All the convent schools of the nuns had been built at the expense of the Catholic parishioners; whereas in 80 cases, or even 90 out of 100, the local National Schools were built at the expense of the State. The State was not charged a penny for the erection of the nuns' schools, or for the training of their monitors or teachers. When they remembered that fact, and also that the nuns turned out 5 to 10 per cent better results than any other schools in Ireland, saving alone the model schools, it would be the merest technicality if the Chief Secretary should rest himself upon the non-presentation for examination. He hoped those religious ladies would be enabled to carry on with still further vigour and efficiency that teaching which had done so much for the moral life of the country.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is just and expedient that the teachers of Convent National Schools in Ireland be dealt with, as to remuneration, on equal terms with those applied to other teachers of Primary Schools in connection with the system of Irish National Education."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

MR. MELDON said, the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) was entitled to the thanks of his countrymen for having brought forward one of the greatest unredressed grievances in Ireland. What was the reason given for its not having been redressed long ago? The only answer given was that the teachers in the schools of the religious orders did not present themselves for examination, and were, therefore, deprived of every chance of remuneration in the way of salary. But was there any reason in this argument? The sole object of examining teachers was to secure that they should be thoroughly efficient. Therefore the only question to be discussed was whether the teachers of these schools had proved themselves to be efficient teachers. The last Report of the Commissioners on National Education showed that the convents continued to maintain their high character for usefulness and efficiency. Considering the higher education possessed by the nuns, he thought it was no wonder that Roman Catholics parents preferred those schools to others. There was a great deal of work done in those schools beside the mere communication of the elements of education. There was the moral training which the pupils received. He would like to refer to one or two figures in order to demonstrate that the efficiency of the teachers in the convent schools was beyond all doubt. The last Reports of the Commissioners respecting these schools were most favourable. There were 217 of these schools upon the roll of the National Board at the present time, and the number of scholars amounted to 105,453, while the average attendance was 52,424. The convent schools thus commanded an average attendance per school of 241. The House knew the great difficulty which existed in getting children to attend school, hence the clamour for compulsion; but the convent schools showed an average of 241, while the average attendance in the other schools was about 50. He found, further, that 20 per cent of all the girls in the entire country were educated in these schools, and that 95 per cent of the pupils qualified to be examined presented themselves, of whom 75·8 per cent passed. In the 208 convent schools, of the 46,366 scholars qualified to be presented for examination 100 per cent were actually presented, and 37,929, or nearly 82 per cent of those presented, passed. It was plain, therefore, that these schools were thoroughly efficient, and that the teachers brought about all that the most rigid examination of teachers could accomplish. The State paid, not because a teacher was examined, but for results, and it had been over and over again urged in that House that the State was willing to pay provided they got good value. It might be asked what value, and his reply was—"In the education of the children." If, as had been demonstrated, the highest results were obtained by teachers in these convent schools, why was nothing virtually being paid for the work so satisfactorily done? A similar school, where the attendance averaged 100, was entitled to a sum of £103 10*s.* for the expenses of the principal teacher, the assistant teacher, and the monitors; but a nuns' school, with better attendance and better results, was only entitled to capitation grants amounting to £47. In fact, while the position of National School teachers had been improving progressively since 1855, the position of convent school teachers had gradually become worse than it was at that date, for privileges which they then possessed had been taken from them.

MR. NEWDEGATE: It appears from the observations made by some hon. Members who have preceded me that they anticipate that I shall pursue a course dictated by prejudice with respect to the Motion now before the House, because it relates to schools connected with convents, and because the House of Commons thought fit to appoint a Committee to inquire into Monastic and Conventual Institutions existing in Great Britain on my Motion during the Session of 1870. That Committee reported in 1871. One of the principal objects I had in view in moving for that Committee was the establishment of a system for the inspection of convents similar to that which exists in most Continental countries. I have always been at a loss to understand why the Irish Roman Catholic Members of this House have always been so much narrower, and so much more exclusive in their views than are the Roman Catholics of the other nations of Europe. Why should hon. Members imagine that I was a party to doing them or their conventual establishments—nay, doing even the monastic establishments, which are illegal in this country—any injustice by having promoted inquiry by a Select Committee of this House in 1870? No legislative enactment ensued upon the Report of that Committee; but I am inclined to believe that it had a very useful operation as a warning. 1870 was a remarkable year at Rome; it was the year of the Papal Council, and the States of

Europe from that date appear to have found it necessary to take action for the expulsion of the Jesuits, and for the control of some other monastic and conventual orders. Germany took action in 1872, Italy took action in 1873, Switzerland took action in 1874, Austria took action in 1876, and France took action in 1880. These conventual institutions, like the monastic institutions, are exaggeratedly Papal in their constitution, and it is to be presumed in their teaching. I do not wish to see Ireland more Papal than she is. I remember Mr. O'Connell as a Member of this House. Long since his death I became possessed of a laudatory *History of the Jesuits*, first published in America, and afterwards republished in Paris by M. Crétineau Joly. In this work it is declared that the late Mr. O'Connell was a pupil of the Jesuits, and that throughout his life he co-operated with the Jesuits in all matters relating to Ireland. I do not consider that Mr. O'Connell was a benefactor to Ireland, either as a promoter of her internal peace, or as an advocate for the unqualified repeal of the Corn Laws. Far be it from me to say anything disrespectful of the ladies who inhabit the Irish convents, and who find a natural and innocent gratification in the education of Irish children. The Committee of which I was a Member was limited in its inquiries to conventual and monastic institutions within Great Britain. I know nothing, therefore, directly with respect to Irish convents; but this I know—that a considerable number of the convents in Great Britain are wealthy. An Act was passed in 1860, with clauses enabling these convents to arrange their property. I therefore presume that some, at all events, of the Irish convents must have property. I remember that in 1874 the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon) moved that the position of the Irish National School teachers ought to be improved. Again, in 1878, the hon. Member moved that means ought to be adopted for relieving the poverty of the Irish National School teachers; and I was quite prepared to vote in support of that hon. Member had he found it necessary to take a Division. I have, however, reason to believe that the convent teachers in Ireland suffer under no such poverty as the National School teachers endure. I hope, therefore, that since the convents all refuse even such qualified inspection as the examination of their school teachers might involve, the Irish Government will consider the necessities of the National School teachers, who are exclusively dependent on the Government before they increase the grants to the convent school teachers, who are comparatively well to do.

Mr. CHARLES RUSSELL said, that, however others might differ from the views the hon. Member who had just spoken had advanced, no one could doubt the perfect honesty and sincerity of purpose he always displayed. As to the question before the House, he thought the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had done good service in bringing it before the House, and that his criticisms had been characterized by very great moderation. He considered the question one of very great importance; and he (Mr. Russell) thought that the Government might, with good grace, and with every prospect of desirable results, yield to the proposal. The consensus of opinion in Ireland was to the effect that the convent schools did admirable work, and work of a higher degree of excellence than any other class of schools in Ireland. If there was an exception it was the model schools, which had cost the country a great deal of money. The results of the convent schools had, however, far exceeded those of the model schools. He did not know that the question need be argued as a matter of principle, as for a great many years past the State had on principle recognized it as its duty to advance the primary education of the people of Ireland, and had also recognized the claims made upon it to pay for work done in that direction. The simple claim which was made on the part of the religious teachers in these convent schools was that they should be paid for work which they did for the State upon the same terms of remuneration as the like work was paid for in other schools. As to the question of the superiority of the convent schools, Sir Patrick Keenan, the head of the Irish Education Department, had said in his evidence before the Powis Commission that, taking the different results averaging over a number of years, and taking the convent schools in one category and all other schools in the other, the convent schools showed greatly superior results. On the same occasion, that gentleman had pointed out that the convent schools also gave valuable education in industrial training. He (Mr. C. Russell) had received a letter from a Lady Superior of one of the convent schools, in which she stated that she received 14*s*. for teaching a pupil for four hours each day during 52 weeks in the year. She wondered what other teachers would do if they were only assisted to this extent. Of late years the result fees increased somewhat; but it had been no personal benefit to them. They devoted their school funds to the support of orphans and the relief of the poor visited in their homes. It would be the poor who would reap the benefit; they wished they could receive more orphans. Comparing the state of things as regarded the maximum results under the present Code of the National Board, they found that the nuns were paid less than one-fourth of the rate paid to secular teachers, and that, too, for equal, if not superior, tuition. These were examples, he thought, sufficiently glaring. But what were the reasons given for this state of things? They were that, according to the 57th Rule of the Board of National Education, the teachers who were non-certificated were treated differently in point of payment from those who were certificated; and as certification followed upon examination, and the nuns did not submit to examination, they were not certificated. How was this? Practically speaking, it was enough to say that the Bishops in the Synod held at Maynooth some years ago—for reasons which, no doubt, were sufficient in their judgment—came to the conclusion that the ladies in these convents ought not to submit to allow themselves for examination. In the case of many of those teaching and religious communities the members belonged to orders known as "inclosed orders," by whose rules they were not supposed to go outside the establishments to which they belonged except for special reasons. Therefore, the Bishops had thought it right that none of these should submit themselves to classification. But when, in 1871, the State recognized a more important and valuable test—namely, the test of results, and payment by results—the fact of non-certification ceased to have any force as a reason for reduced payment to the non-certificated teachers. But, in fact, examination could not determine the existence of some of the most essential qualifications in a teacher. It seemed to him that the most important qualification of the teacher was his or her ability to impart to others the information which he or she possessed. More than that, the exercise of powers of self-control, the power of governing others, and the power of influencing others were properties which could never be accurately tested by an examination. But these might be carefully gauged by results, and in the case of the convent schools the Reports frankly avowed over and over again the marked superiority of the religious teachers. The influence of the convent teachers upon their pupils did not end with their convent pupil life. It followed the pupils through their after life. He thought he had shown some reasons why the injustice in the existing state of things should be remedied, and also that no adequate reason had been adduced to justify its continuance. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would see its way, either by increasing the capitation grant or by increasing the payment by results, to equalize the payment of the convent and secular teachers.

Mr. J. E. REDMOND said, the Government was to be congratulated on the fact that the attempt made at an earlier hour of the debate to count the House had failed, because if a count had taken place on this subject, it could not but reflect grave discredit upon the Government, whose duty it was to keep a House for the purpose of discussing a grievance of this character. That debate was a very remarkable one; for every Member who had spoken agreed that the convent schools of Ireland were labouring under a grave disability. There was one exception, an exception that was to be expected by everyone acquainted with the proceedings and the history of the hon. Member (Mr. Newdegate); but even he admitted that his conscience was satisfied. His Committee, of which he was so proud, had quieted his soul; but he said the Committee of Inspection proved that the English convents were wealthy, and from that he drew the extraordinary inference that the convents of Ireland were wealthy also. Well, even admitting that they were wealthy, which they were not, was that any reason why they should not be paid for doing the work for the doing of which others were paid? The hon. Member (Mr. Newdegate) asked how he would support a Committee of Inspection? Was the hon. Member so ignorant or so inattentive to that debate as not to know that these schools were at present inspected by a Government Inspector? In 1831, when the National system was established, teachers were paid £10 per cent on the number of pupils on the roll. In 1855 that was changed, and it was £20 per cent. But what was given by one hand was taken away by another; for it was made £20 per cent on the average attendance instead of on the number on the roll, which was found to be about one-half. He did not see why the convent teachers should be classified, when in 1871 the Government admitted the principle of payment by results. The Government could meet this difficulty in many ways. They could give the full amount of the salaries to the convent teachers whose schools were above a certain standard, and cease to pay it when the schools fell below that standard. He hoped the Chief Secretary, for the first time during his holding of Office, and not, he hoped, for the only time, would remove this crying grievance, which was felt by a large portion of the Irish people. England still owed something to Irish Catholic education, and the time had been when they were taunted with their ignorance, which had been owing to the fact that the means of education had been denied the people. He believed that if the grievance which they were now calling attention to were not removed, the people would regard the treatment of the nuns as a sort of remaining shred of the penal spirit which forbade education to Catholic Ireland. If the Government did not concede the just claims of the convent teachers, it would be impossible to remove from the minds of the great bulk of the Irish people the suspicion that the penal times were not dead yet in that House. If this concession was not granted, the Government would be undoubtedly curtailing the means at the disposal of the great mass of the Irish people of obtaining a sound education for their children. It was the duty of the Government to afford them every possibility of advancing Irish education amongst the lower classes of the Irish people. They often heard the aspirations and hopes expressed by Members of that House that the Irish people would become less violent and more peaceable, and look with greater hope and confidence to that House. Well, if ever the Irish people looked with confidence to an English Administration —he confessed he never would — that day would never come while they met refusals to requests of this kind. He thought it was an insult to these ladies who did the noblest work that could be done by mortal hands or brains in educating the children of the poor of Ireland to ask them to come out of their cloisters to submit to an examination side by side with, perhaps, pupils from their own convent schools, in a public room conducted by examiners chosen haphazard. There were 200 convent schools in Ireland, towards the erection of which the Government had not contributed a farthing, so that from this cause alone they had saved from £300,000 to £400,000 to the State. He thought, therefore, under all these circumstances, they would be met with no plausible refusals, but that the Government would take a just and generous view of the question.

Mr. M'COAN said, he thought the advocacy of this cause should not be left entirely to the Catholic Members. As a Protestant, he endorsed all that had fallen from hon. Members as to the services these ladies rendered to education in Ireland. These ladies were of the highest moral character, and had received a much higher scholastic training than the teachers in the National Schools. He held a memorandum in his hand, drawn up, he understood, by Professor Kavanagh, from official sources; and the result left on his mind after perusing it was that the justness of their demand was indisputable. The hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell) had placed before the House the cardinal point—results; and it was too late in the day for the Government to insist on any rigid rule of examinations. It was his (Mr. M'Coan's) conviction that higher moral tone and discipline was given to the pupils attending the convent schools than to those of any other.

Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN said, he wished to bear testimony to the intense interest taken throughout the county he represented in the claims of the nuns to fair remuneration for their valuable services. The rules with reference to examination stood in the way of an admitted grievance, and there could be no good reason for insisting upon rigidly enforcing them. The nuns were bound to obey the Church to which they belonged, and that Church forbade them to submit themselves to these examinations. At the same time, the feeling in Ireland was unanimous in favour of the concession of their claims. It was admitted that the results shown by their teaching were most satisfactory; and there could be no reason why the opinion of a few Commissioners in Dublin should be permitted to outweigh the unanimous wish of the country. The present proposal was made without opposition from any section of the Irish Members. It was a matter of right, and he could not conceive the Government longer refusing to do the justice demanded.

MR. HARRINGTON said, he did not wish to protract the debate; but he desired to point out that there were some minor considerations in favour of the proposal which had not yet been brought to the notice of the House. One of these was the rule of these establishments which precluded them from taking any fees from the parents of the children. This was a source of emolument to the National teachers, and he thought that it was another reason why State aid should not be denied them. It should also be borne in mind that the nuns were precluded from making any appointment of monitors or work mistresses from their own community, and thus a source of income was lost to them. It was clear that the miserable stipends offered to the convents were no remuneration whatever for the services they gave to the State. The grievance brought forward by the Motion was one not of a particular section, but of the whole people of Ireland. The nuns devoted their lives to the poorer classes of Ireland, and their desire was not that their convents should be enriched, but simply that the scope of their labours should be extended, and that the duties to which they gave their lives might be productive in good results. The only difficulty in the way of recognizing the claims of the convent schools seemed to be the question of the examination; but he thought that that was an artificial difficulty which could be easily removed. Even in the case of the ordinary National teacher his examination was not the chief element in fixing the salary. No matter how satisfactory might be his examination from a literary point of view, unless his school was in a certain state of efficiency he did not get the class for which he might have passed. This itself was a proof that even the Board of Education did not look to his examination as the proper test of the value of the services which a teacher might give to the State. After all, the state of efficiency in a school was to every reasonable man the proper test of the value of the teaching; and it did not follow that those teachers who passed the best examination necessarily kept their schools in the highest state of efficiency. Both as regarded the regularity of attendance and the proficiency of the pupils, the convent schools stood far above the National. It was only fair to the National School teachers to say that this was owing to the fact of the communities of the convents having a larger staff in the working of their schools. That, however, did not at all diminish the claim of the nuns to proper remuneration from the State. The difficulty of examination was one which might be easily disposed of; and in disposing of it in a satisfactory manner, so as to remove the soreness felt on this question in Ireland, the Chief Secretary would find himself in collision with no class in Ireland. The unanimity exhibited in the House to-night went to prove that on this question the whole Irish people were practically agreed.

MR. FINDLATER said, he rose, as an Irish Protestant Member, to give his hearty support to the Motion of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). When the National School system was founded in 1831, the Commissioners, at one of their earliest meetings, consulted the Irish Government as to the propriety of giving aid to Monastic and Convent Schools, and the proposal was warmly supported, approved, and acted upon. Up to 1837, the original scheme proposed, which was the grant of gratuities of £8 or £10 to each school for every 100 pupils on the roll, was carried out as regarded all schools, whether convent, monastic, or secular; but in that year a change was made, and permanent salaries founded on classification were first introduced. These salaries, small at first, had been increased from time to time until they now stood thus:—Masters, first class, £70, £60, and £53, according to grades; second class, £46 and £44; and third class, £35. Mistresses, first class, £58, £50, and £43; second class, £37 and £34 10*s.*; and third class, £27 10*s.* These schools conducted by the religious communities being opposed to the principle of individual examination of their mistresses, and to class certificates, the original capitation allowance made to them of £10 for every 100 pupils on the roll was changed in 1855 to £20 for every £100 pupils in average daily attendance. This was substantially the same, as the former was nearly double the latter, so that the religious schools were now exactly in the same position they were in 30 years ago. In 1871 the scheme of payment by results was introduced, under which the teachers of secular schools derived two-thirds of their State aid from personal salaries, and one-third from results; while the religious schools, which were subject to the same test, obtained a very much smaller proportion of aid through the miserable capitation grant of £20 for every 100 pupils in average daily attendance. There could be no doubt that results were the best of all tests of the efficiency of the teachers; and, judging the religious schools by this standard, they stood in an excellent position. He quoted figures to show how well the convent schools did their work both from a literary and industrial point of view. In fact, these schools were in the van in the matter of industrial education. Furthermore, their teachers were trained at their own expense, and while the secular teachers received pensions from the State, the nuns sought no pensions, and never had. Why, then, when the cost to the State was so much less in many respects, had not the State been more liberal to those who had done and were doing such excellent work? He would, no doubt, be told that if the nuns chose to undergo the examination necessary for classification they would be entitled to the benefits of the recent increase granted to classified teachers; but he presumed that they were precluded by the Ordinances of their Church from submitting to such an examination. He would ask why should not a feeling such as this be respected, and justice done to these schools by an increase of the capitation grant, which in the case of the religious schools had the same relation as the salary of the lay teachers? The nuns had shown unmistakably that they both possessed the knowledge and the power of imparting it by the results which their pupils had attained. Why, then, should there be such a disparity in rewarding services in all respects similar? He was afraid that the answer must be that the nuns had either no Parliamentary influence, or they did not make effectual use of it. He had great pleasure in supporting the Resolution.

MR. P. MARTIN said, it appeared to him that the hon. Gentleman who had brought forward this question had proved to demonstration the justice of the claim now made. That claim might be summarized in a few words. It had been admitted that the teachers of these schools were competent and proper teachers. Their schools were under Government supervision and inspection; and the ladies, as was shown by the Reports of gentlemen appointed by the Government, produced the very highest and most excellent results. The Inspectors admitted the superiority of the nuns' teaching over that of the ordinary National Schools as well as of the model schools. It was, therefore, reasonable, looking to the educational results produced, to ask that these convent schools should have the amount of grant increased. Every class teacher under the State, both in England and Ireland, had within the last few years demanded and received fitting recognition for their labours in augmented salaries and a right to pensions. But though each year the Inspectors under the National Board testified to the excellence of the educational work performed by the teachers in the convent schools, yet these teachers had been treated with shameful neglect by the Government. Indeed, instead of augmented aid, they had suffered diminution, because the building grants which they were formerly allowed in aid of schools had been of late withdrawn. He hoped that the Chief Secretary would give a favourable answer to this Motion. As far back as 1878 the National Board in Ireland felt so convinced of the justice of the claim of the nuns in respect of this matter that they recommended they should get a large increase. The Chief Secretary would find from documents in his possession that the recommendation was made alike by Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Catholic Members of the Board; and he must say, in justice to the late Conservative Chief Secretary for Ireland, that after his attention had been directed to the matter by means of Questions, he showed a desire to meet the demand then made in a fair and equitable way. This was shortly before the right hon. Gentleman left Office; and he believed that if the Conservative Government had remained in power the convent teachers would not now be waiting in vain to have their just claims redressed at the hands of the House.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I may say, at the outset of the remarks I have to make, that the Resolution in the shape in which the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) has moved it, is one which it would be impossible for the Government, and perhaps impossible for the House, or any part of the House, to adopt. It is a very difficult Resolution. There are, no doubt, some words in the Resolution which the hon. Member has moved which justified the remarks which have been made by hon. Members who have followed him, all of whom have spoken in strict accordance with the spirit of the Resolution; but I can hardly think that the hon. Member for Cavan would wish the House to set the seal of its approbation on the opinion that—

> "It is just and expedient that the teachers of Convent National Schools in Ireland be dealt with, as to remuneration, on equal terms with those applied to other teachers of Primary Schools in connection with the system of Irish National Education."

The rules of the Commissioners of the National Education in Ireland on this point are absolute; and, so far from being the worst treated, as far as the rules can define that treatment, teachers of the National Schools are better treated than any other teachers in Ireland. Rule 57, which is the cardinal rule in this case, was quoted by the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell), and quoted quite correctly. The amount of salaries in the Convent National Schools is exactly the same as that allotted to teachers of other schools, if they were only willing to adopt the principle of classification, and submit themselves to classification. ["Oh, oh!"] I am not trying to bewilder hon. Gentlemen, but I am simply speaking to the terms of the Resolution; and if those schools object to that principle, and are unwilling to submit themselves to examination, then they are not left as other teachers would be, to what they can get by result fees, but they are allowed to take a capitation grant of 4*s.* for the number of children educated. Therefore, if the Resolution of the hon. Member for Cavan were carried exactly as it stands on the Paper, I conclude that the only result would be that the teachers would be deprived of that privilege of being able to get the capitation fee, where, in a great number of cases, they refuse to subject themselves to examination. I gather from the speech of the hon. Member for Cavan, and those of other hon. Members, that they do not suggest to the Government any cut-and-dried or any unelastic principle, and that their object in the debate to-night is to impress upon the minds of the country and the Government that teachers in convent schools are under disadvantages which ought not to exist. Now, it is important to consider what those disadvantages are. I must say that, in some respects, hon. Members have only stated one-half of the case to-day. The hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. J. E. Redmond), putting the case in somewhat more animated language than it was put by other hon. Members, but still speaking in exact accordance with their views, said it was a remnant of the old penal statute, forbidding the teaching of Irish children by Catholics, or words to that effect. Now, the grievance under which the Catholic convent children are labouring is one that is peculiar to Ireland; and, so far from the assertion of the hon. Member being correct, Ireland is the only country in Europe where nuns are permitted to teach in a public school, and to obtain any State aid for their teaching without submitting to the examinations demanded from other teachers. I will not enlarge upon that statement. It is sufficiently strong in itself to refute, and refute absolutely, the idea that, in this case, there is any special disadvantage placed upon Ireland. It is difficult to argue this as a question of principle, when we are arguing it with reference to such a Church as the Roman Catholic Church—a Church which I conclude does not know any difference in right or wrong in different countries. In England, all the teachers of the Roman Catholic denomination are included, so far as the statistics of the Education Department are concerned, in the general body of certificated and assistant teachers. There were, and no doubt are, some convent schools in England which refuse to submit to the examinations demanded by the Department; but the teachers in those schools have, at the same time, to submit to the disadvantage which that refusal brings with it, and they do not share in any respect in any of the advantages which the certificated teachers receive. Ireland is the only part of the United Kingdom, and the only country in Europe, in which members of religious Bodies, whether male or female, are allowed to share in any of the advantages of public subsidies, unless they submit themselves, in the first instance, to a public examination. And now in regard to this question of undergoing a State examination. I think some words have been used which convey an inaccurate meaning to the House. We have heard of these ladies being obliged to come out from their cloisters, or of their being obliged to expose themselves to the indiscriminate contact of a public examination; but it must be remembered that these examinations are written examinations only. There is no oral examination whatever, so these ladies are perfectly free from the embarrassment which might attend a *vivâ voce* examination at a distance from their own establishment. Nor is it the case that the objection to undergo these examinations is universal among these ladies, and among the members of religious houses of the other sex in Ireland. There are, if I recollect right, 224 schools attached to convents and monasteries. Of these, 20 schools have submitted to a system of examination and classification; and of these 20 schools the nuns receive as much payment as if they were lay-trained teachers. In fact, they receive more; because there is one point in which I can most heartily agree with every hon. Member who has spoken on the subject; and that is that, in regard to these payments, which depend upon the efficiency of the teaching, the amount of money earned by the convent schools is very much in excess of that earned by any other schools, although it falls short, at the same time, of that which is earned by the smaller number of model schools.

Mr. SEXTON: Have any teachers been qualified in these schools since 1875?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I conclude that that is so; but I am unwilling to speak positively. From information I have received, I believe it is the case; but I cannot say positively whether the members of these religious Bodies have been qualified or not. They certainly were between 1873 and 1875.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Can the right hon. Gentleman refer to any case?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I can only say that it is not a question of any particular diocese, but that these certificated teachers connected with the convent schools are scattered throughout 10 of the Roman Catholic dioceses of Ireland. The hon. Member for Cavan, when he introduced this question, referred to what he considered to be an unfair distinction which the Government drew between the teachers of convent schools and the teachers of the lay schools with regard to the amount of the capitation grant. The hon. Member said the teachers of convent schools were rigidly confined to 4*s.* per head for the children; whereas in lay schools, where the capitation grant was given, that capitation grant was as high as 16*s.* 8*d.* per head. The hon. Member spoke quite correctly; but he did not apprehend the circumstances under which this grant is made to the lay schools. There is a rule that, in schools in which the children in average attendance are under 30, the teacher shall not be allowed to obtain a grant certificate; and, under those circumstances, in order to provide that these small schools are not stinted in regard to public money, a capitation grant is given to the amount of 16*s.* 8*d.*; but that capitation grant is given only in the special case of a small school, which, otherwise, could not be maintained at all. It is given as a *pis aller;* because there are no other means of seeing that such schools are properly endowed with proper money. But in the case of the convent schools taught by the nuns, the number of children are large, and there is no cause that they should come under the same head as these small schools, where it is necessary to name a certain sum of capitation grant in order that they may get a share of the public funds at all. The hon. Member likewise spoke of the disadvantage under which the nuns stand in regard to monitors. I did not take down his words at the time; but they amount to this—that they did not get sufficient pay for their monitors. Now, I cannot say that is a fair or a just statement according to the views of the Education Commissioners. In addition to the capitation payments, and the result payments in the convent schools, they receive a sum of about £10,630 a-year in payment of their monitorial staff, and also premiums for instructing those monitors, which places them on equal terms with the lay teachers. In that respect, again, they are better treated than similar schools in England, because the same class of teachers in England who receive capitation grants are teachers who were permitted, during a very short period after the passing of the Education Act, to be paid by capitation grants, because the demand for teachers was so great in England at that time that they were unable to get a sufficient number of certificated teachers. But capitation grants under these circumstances were made during a very limited period, and there was an express stipulation that no teacher paid by capitation grant and who was not a certificated teacher should be qualified to have a pupil teacher under him or her. In the case of these ladies the Education Department showed that amount of confidence in them that it allowed them to teach and have the care of monitors, while it paid those monitors by exactly the same rate at which monitors under certificated teachers were paid. Under those circumstances, I think it must be evident to the House that there are two sides to this question, and that hon. Members have dwelt far too much on the one side, while they have neglected the other; but I do not, at the same time, say that there is not another side. I think that the principle from which the Government cannot possibly depart is the principle that as an element in the efficiency of the schools it is very important to have a Government test in regard to the efficiency of the teachers. One hon. Member says that the teaching of the children is really subsidiary to the other work that the nuns have to do, and that they have other things of greater importance to occupy themselves in, and that it would be very hard to call upon them to present themselves for public examination. Not in their capacity of sisters of a religious Body, but in their capacity of teachers, in which they are distinctly public servants, we have a right to call on them to subject themselves to the conditions to which other public servants are subjected. Therefore, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that they cannot depart from this principle. In every possible way we must encourage the teachers of the public schools to present themselves at these examinations in order to test their efficiency as teachers. The Government certainly cannot act as far as the hon. Gentleman and other hon. Gentlemen who have spoken this evening would be prepared to go, in placing these ladies who have not passed an examination on exactly the same level as the lay teachers who have passed an examination. On the other hand, there is a great deal of truth in what has been stated by several hon. Members that what the House has to look to is the results, and that if it can be satisfied that it gets a very good article, it should pay the money which that article is worth. The Irish Government have for some time past had this question under their consideration. I regret that these convent schools, or, indeed, that any schools, should have been dealt with under the principle of bold and downright capitation. It seems to me that is dealing with human heads in the school in almost the same manner in which you deal with cattle in the market. It is a principle which, in my opinion, is an exceedingly false one. I have been sorry to hear it started, and I certainly shall not, as far as I am concerned, carry it any further; but I must say I think it is worth while to see whether there is not some middle course. I think, as I have said already, that the Government would not be justified in placing these members of religious Bodies in exactly the same position pecuniarily as the lay teachers who possess certificates, and I see an argument against it in the extremely eloquent speech of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell). As far as I can follow the passage of his speech to which I refer, he appealed to us on the ground of the very great extent to which these ladies involved themselves by the charitable works in which they engaged. Now, it is no part of the business of the Government to help these ladies in their charitable works. The Government fully admire their zeal in that respect, and warmly appreciate the sacrifice they make in the work of education; but it is no part of the duty of the Government to provide them with money for that purpose. It is one of the conditions of their life that they are able to give some of their spare time to the teaching of the children; and I think for that reason, among others, that they can hardly complain, if they do not find themselves, they having as it were abandoned the world, in exactly as good a position as teachers who have taken up professional teaching in order to live by it. They cannot expect to be paid exactly as if they were in the open market competing with teachers, who are compelled to live by their teaching, and to make a profession of it for their wives and families. For these reasons, the Government still wish to give great encouragement to these ladies as to other teachers to submit themselves to Government examinations, in the belief that, as time goes on, the feeling against submitting to these public examinations will die out. The Government, therefore, intend to keep up, whatever else they may do, the distinct difference between lay teachers and the teachers in the Convent schools; but, at the same time, the Government are considering, with an earnest desire to come to some satisfactory solution of the question, whether some means may not be found, dependent upon the efficiency of these Convent schools, to enable the grants from the Exchequer to approach somewhat nearer than they do at present to the desires of these Convent schools.

Mr. DAWSON said, he had to complain that while the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland admitted, as a universal proposition, the efficiency of the teaching in the Convent schools, he refused to the nuns the remuneration given to the lay teachers who failed to produce the same excellent results. Now, what was the whole business of education? He was glad to see the right hon. Gentleman the Minister of Education and some other Ministers, although it was past midnight, entering the House for the first time to take their places on the Treasury Bench and listen to the discussion. Only a few minutes ago the Treasury Bench had been entirely denuded of all the responsible Ministers of the Crown. The Committee of Education, of which he (Mr. Dawson) was a Member, was now sitting; and although, from private reasons, he had not been able to attend the sittings, he entertained deep sympathy with the object, and had carefully studied the reports of the proceedings. He repeated that the Chief Secretary had entirely admitted the whole of the case attempted to be made out by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) and those who supported him. Now, what was the aim and object of education? It was not to produce teachers, so much as to produce an educated people; and it was admitted that the nuns had pre-eminently distinguished themselves by the efficiency of their teaching. It mattered not how the results were attained, if the people were educated in a successful manner; and he regretted to see the Government turning round upon some quibble, and refusing to these ladies, who had produced such satisfactory results, the remuneration to which they were fairly entitled. The right hon Gentleman said, in one breath, that the Government would make no distinction, and, in the very next, he proposed to make a very serious distinction. The right hon. Gentleman said the complaint of the hon. Member for Cavan was against the 57th rule. Now, the Irish Members found fault with no rules; but they found fault with the terms on which the Convent schools were paid, not only for the same, but for better results than those produced by the lay teachers. He (Mr. Dawson) thought that too much stress could not be laid upon that point. He was himself altogether in favour of a system that would secure that, when the State paid for education, the country should really get it; and he thought that the State ought to pay for it all the same, whether it was supplied by Convent schools, or in any other form, if the results were satisfactory. In this case, however, if there was any choice between the two, the results in the case of the Convent schools were better than the results in the case of the other schools. Where, then, was the consistency of the right hon. Gentleman or of the National Board of Education? It was not a question of principle, but a question of degree. The Government abandoned the principle when they gave a capitation grant. Why did they give a capitation grant at all? Why did they give £20, or £10, or any sum whatever? It was a salary, and why did they give it? In giving it, they at once abandoned the principle. They only gave it, however, to a small and restricted extent, and refused to extend it any further. There was no principle in such an argument. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, or the Minister of Education, to stand up in that place and say why it was that they gave a capitation grant at all. On what ground did they give £10, and refuse to give £40? They ought to act upon some principle of logic, in order to show that they properly appreciated the question. There was another thing he wished to mention. Why did the hon. Gentleman the Member for New Ross (Mr. J. E. Redmond) assume that, if they cut down the nuns' well-earned fee, those ladies would gladly continue to give their services in the cause of education? There was no compulsory system of education in Ireland; that was, it was alleged that because compulsory education did not exist there, that the nuns were to be defrauded of their remuneration. He protested against the starving of the Convent schools. It was said that in England the school rate was supplemented largely by voluntary contributions, and that that was not the case in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman having granted the general proposition, as if he were trying to make the case still stronger, went on to quote the advantages afforded by the schools. The right hon. Gentleman had told the House that the Convent schools had a much larger number of children in proportion than the National Board schools. Did the right hon. Gentleman not know that that fact produced a saving to the Board of Education, and that more largely a school was attended the less expense was incurred in inspection and other respects? These Convent schools, therefore, gave advantages to the National Board, for which they ought to be recouped. It had often been urged that it was the nuns alone in religious orders who carried out the work of education in Ireland, and he had not only seen it stated in the Press, but had read it in evidence, that the people of Ireland would not contribute anything to the work of education. He asserted, on the contrary, that a much larger proportionate amount was contributed voluntarily for educational purposes in Ireland than in rich England. It was a fact that the Convent schools of Ireland had been built at a cost of £400,000, and that altogether more than £1,000,000 had been contributed for educational purposes in that country during the last few months. Nevertheless, hon. Members opposite turned round flippantly, and said the Irish people did nothing. The nuns of Ireland sprung from the laity, and they expended their fortunes without remuneration in works of education and charity. All that was asked was that the Government should treat the Convent schools on the same principle as the National schools. They did not ask the Government to maintain them. The nuns maintained them themselves through the resources they obtained from the Irish people. Therefore, they had an unanswerable claim upon Her Majesty's Government to take their case into consideration, and to see that the country really got what they paid for. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to what was done in foreign countries; but he (Mr. Dawson) contended that no parallel could be drawn between the systems pursued abroad and in Ireland. In every other country education had been raised, whether lay or clerical, to a dignity and position which it did not occupy in Ireland. At present there were two systems pursued in Ireland, and he called upon the Government to abandon one of them, and retain the other. If they were to pay the nuns by results, let them be paid by results; and if they were to be paid by salary, then let them be paid by salary. Unless some such principle were adopted by the Government, it would be almost preferable to go back to the system by which education was made to depend upon the love of learning, without being undertaken for any kind of remuneration whatever. On the Treasury Bench education was rapidly becoming to be regarded as a mere mechanical and trade matter. The Government admitted the overwelming efficiency of the Catholic schools, and because they were efficient, and had produced wonderful results, they ought not to be deprived of the fruit of their labour, while others were rewarded who had altogether failed to produce the same results.

Colonel **COLTHURST** said, he wished to say a word or two as to the two ways by which the Government sought, to a certain extent, to meet the question, without giving salaries, where a public examination had not been passed. One mode was suggested by the Commissioners of National Education in 1878. When £60,000 a-year was given towards the increase of national teachers, the Commissioners recommended that it should be given for results; and, if their advice had been followed, the Convents would have had a fair share of the Vote. But the Government of the day, no doubt, for sufficient reasons, elected to give the money in another way, the consequence of which was that the payment by result fees did not apply to the Convent schools. No doubt, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, on referring to the Reports of the Commissioners on National Education, would be able to put his hand upon that scheme; and if he would adopt it now, or an alternative scheme submitted about the same time for a special scale of result fees to schools paid by capitation grants, a great deal of what the Irish Members had been asking for would be effected. There was another way in which considerable assistance might be given—namely, in regard to the question of building. There had been, as several hon. Members had observed, an enormous expenditure on the part of the Convents in the shape of building schools out of their own resources. If a system of building grants, or building loans, were introduced in reference to non-vested schools, the Convents would be able to take a share of it. At present, no assistance was given to building, except to schools which were vested in Trustees. As it was impossible for Convents to invests their schools in Trustees, they were, therefore, excluded from the building grants. He believed that, if building grants were given to non-invested schools, they would be largely resorted to by Convents, and, in addition, those Convents which had already private schools should be allowed to recoup the expenditure they had incurred by obtaining loans to pay off the debt upon such schools. He submitted these points to the consideration of the Government, because his right hon. Friend had frankly and completely admitted that there was a grievance. He certainly did not take the unfavourable view of his right hon. Friend's speech which the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson) did; and he thought that a more liberal system of result fees and building grants would get over the difficulty.

Mr. **ARCHDALE** said, that if grants of public money were given to Convent schools, they ought also to be given to the Church schools.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 44; Noes 71: Majority 27.—(Div. List, No. 67.)

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

MOTION FOR A PAPER.

Mr. **BIGGAR** moved for a Return of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland showing the name and religious denomination of each Commissioner, the number of attendances at the ordinary and special meetings of the Board during the 12 months ended in March last, the dates of the ordinary and special meetings, the number of Commissioners present on each occasion, the number necessary to constitute a quorum, the names and addresses of Commissioners who had been paid personal expenses, the sum paid to each, and a copy of any minutes or regulations of the Board defining the conditions, duties, and powers of Sub-Committees.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That there be laid before this House, a Return of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, showing:—

(1.) The name and religious denomination of each Commissioner;

(2.) The number of attendances made by each at (a.) the ordinary and (b.) special meetings of the Board during the twelve months ended the 31st day of March 1884;

(3.) The dates on which (a.) ordinary and (b.) special meetings were held, and the names of Commissioners present on each occasion;

(4.) The number necessary to constitute a quorum (if any), and the number of occasions (if any) on which the attendance of Commissioners fell short of this number;

(5.) The names and addresses of Commissioners (if any) who have been paid personal expenses, and the sum so paid to each;"

"And, Copy of any Minutes or Regulations of the Board defining the constitution, duties, and powers of Sub-Committees." — (*Mr. Biggar.*)

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that, in reply to the Motion of the hon. Member for Cavan, he was always unwilling to stand in the way of any desire for information upon any public question; but, with regard to this Return, he must own that he should be glad if the hon. Member would give some explanation of the use to which he proposed to put it, or the object for which he moved it. It was a Return of such a nature that he should be unwilling, under any circumstances, to grant, unless a decided public advantage could be shown for giving it.

Mr. BIGGAR said, the reason he asked for the Return was that he desired to ascertain to what extent these public servants performed their duties. The first part of the Motion was of a merely formal nature. He believed that gentlemen who professed the Catholic religion were, in some cases, quite as unfavourable to the work of education as non-Catholics. He wanted also to know the attendance given by each of the Commissioners, so that there might be an opportunity of seeing who was responsible for the different matters of which complaint was made. As was very well known, many of the Commissioners lived in different parts of Ireland, and he wanted to ascertain whether the entire work devolved upon a very small number, or whether the whole generally attended the meetings. He thought the document he asked for was a very reasonable one, and that it was much wanted. If they found that certain gentlemen gave no attention at all to the work of the Commission, their names ought to be removed from the list of members, and their places supplied by others who would do the work. The question of National Education was a very important one, and one in regard to which questions were constantly arising that were of interest to the constituents whom the Irish Members represented. It was most desirable, therefore, that they should have the means of knowing who were responsible for the various matters which arose in connection with the work of education.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he saw a long list of questions included in the Motion, and he thought the answer of the hon. Member for Cavan had increased his difficulty in granting the Return. The hon. Member said he wished to see who were in constant attendance at Dublin, and who were not. It was quite obvious that upon a very large Board, chosen for the purpose of representing the whole of Ireland, all the members could not live in Dublin. It was very undesirable that they should do so; and the object of the hon. Member appeared to be to ascertain which of the members were not the ordinary attendants of the meetings of the Board. It was only to be presumed that among the members who were not ordinarily in attendance would be the great majority of members who lived away from Dublin at a very considerable distance, and who could only come up at very great inconvenience, but who reserved to themselves the right of coming up on any occasion when a great and important work of administration, carried out by the Board, had to be discussed. He could quite see that Irish Education might be very well managed by two or three paid Commissioners, all of them quartered in Dublin; but that was not the system on which it was managed, and he thought the present system was a better one. It was managed by a special representative Body selected from the whole of Ireland, and to pick out those who lived at a distance, and who could only attend on great occasions, and to hold them up in some sense to public reprobation would, he thought, be unfair. He would tell the hon. Member what would be the effect of granting this Return. The Return asked for the names and addresses of Commissioners, if any, who have been paid personal expenses, and the sum so paid to each. Now, who were those members who had their personal expenses paid to them? They were those members who lived at a distance from Dublin, who, when they came up, were paid their fares and their residential expenses during the period they were in Dublin; and those gentlemen would find themselves in the disagreeable predicament of being held up, on the one hand, as having attended much more seldom than those gentlemen who habitually resided in Dublin; and of having, on the other hand, received the public money, while those who were resident in Dublin had received none. Under those circumstances, he certainly could not agree to Sub-head 5 of the Return, because that was merely another form, and he thought an unpleasant form, of specifying the names of those gentlemen who lived at a distance from Dublin, and who obtained payment of their expenses, without any explanation of the circumstances which induced them to ask for an allowance. Nor could he agree to the religious denomination of each member being attached to the name of each Commissioner. Upon that point, he must enter an absolute protest on the part of the Government. To the best of his knowledge, during the time he had been connected with the Government, they had never given a Return of that nature. The utmost they had ever done was to give the aggregate number of members of each religious denomination in any special Body connected with the Public Service. He would not say that it had never been done by others; but, certainly, it had not been done in any Department with which he had been connected. He should be glad to give the names of the Commissioners, and the aggregate number of members of each religious denomination, but nothing further. Then, again, with regard to the number of attendances, he should be willing to give that, if the hon. Member would withdraw the Motion at the present moment, and allow him slightly to alter it, or if there was an understanding that a note might be subjoined, which should specify what members of the Board were habitually resident in Dublin, and what members lived at a distance from Dublin. If that were done, the objections he entertained to the Return would be substantially removed; and although the Commissioners of National Education would not, he thought, approve of the Return being given in any shape, because it was most unusual to ask for any Return of that sort, still if hon. Members opposite pressed it in the shape he had outlined, he would agree to give it.

Mr. SEXTON said, he quite understood that the Commissioners of National Education would make a strong objection to this Return in its present shape, or, indeed, in any shape which human ingenuity could devise. The Commissioners of National Education, of all public Bodies in Ireland, were the most nervous in regard to the publicity of their transactions. He could, therefore, quite understand why the Government should be unwilling to give a Return which would supply any data to the House; but would they give the dates of the ordinary meetings, and the Commissioners present on each occasion? Would they give Sub-head 3?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he was quite willing to give the first four sub-heads of the Return and a copy of the Minutes, with the exception that, in the 1st sub-head, he could not attach the religious denominations of the Commissioners.

Mr. SEXTON said, that, in that case, he should advise his hon. Friend (Mr. Biggar) to accept the Return in an amended shape; but he must express a hope that, whenever it was necessary for the House to have a Return, the unwillingness of the Department to give it and have criticism applied, would not be given as a reason for not granting the Return.

Mr. HEALY suggested that the Return should be granted now as it stood, and that then the Speaker should amend it by leaving out "religious denomination" in line 1, and the whole of Sub-head 5. He thought that would meet the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He would move to leave out "religious denomination" in Sub-head 1.

Amendment proposed, in sub-head (1.) to leave out the words "and religious denomination."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'and religious denomination' stand part of the Question."

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he could not understand this difficulty about the religious denomination. Why should the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland object to give the religious denomination of the Commissioners? He (Colonel King-Harman) did not suppose those Commissioners were ashamed of their religion, and he did not see why their religion should not be given in a public Return. As to the allegation that they kept their proceedings secret, he knew nothing about that; but he had invariably found them to be a body of men who were always perfectly willing to face the light of day, and he could not see why the right hon. Gentleman should object to giving this Return in every respect. It was ridiculous to object to give their religion, as if any gentleman in Ireland was ashamed of his religion, or as if there was anything wrong in their religion, or anything to be concealed. There was nothing of the kind, and he hoped, that if the Return was granted, it would be given in its entirety, or not at all.

Mr. PLUNKET said, he could not agree altogether with what had fallen from his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel King-Harman). Not in the least did he suppose that the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland were ashamed of their religion; but he objected altogether to granting a Return of this kind with regard to such a Body as had been assailed on the present occasion. The Commissioners of National Education in Ireland had had a long history, and in that long history they had not received very fair measure at the hands of, at one time, one Party in the State, and of another Party at another time. So far as his judgment went, they had done a great deal of most excellent work in Ireland, and that under great difficulties. They had been assailed at one time by persons who took an extremely strong view—the high Protestant view; and at another time they had been assailed by those who took a very strong and extreme Roman Catholic view; but through all this they had pursued their course with firmness and fairness and impartiality, and they had come out of all the scandalous accusations made against them very creditably. Everyone remembered the famous O'Keefe case, which came before this House on a good many occasions; and he thought that this Return was obviously intended for the purpose of founding attacks hereafter, and if the House granted it they would open the door to unpleasant controversies. The Education Question in Ireland was long the burning question of the day, and there had been debates in this House upon University Education, Intermediate Education, and Primary Education. The unfortunate circumstances connected with the case of Father O'Keefe were over and over again brought before the House, and no result whatever came of it, except a great deal of heart-burning on both sides of the House. Who brought that matter forward, and for what purpose? It was brought forward because accusations were made against the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland respecting their action in that case; but that was only part of the question, because Intermediate Education in Ireland at that time had hardly shown its head. University Education was taken up and fought out on the question of religious or denominational or united education. The Ministry were actually defeated, and their fall was ultimately brought about by their defeat over that question. The question of University Education in Ireland was fortunately set at rest by the late Ministry, at all events for some time, and the Royal University of Ireland was proceeding with a considerable amount of success. He was aware that there were some outside questions with regard to the Queen's Colleges; but he must say that the Motion for this Return, as far as he could see, could have no other purpose than to afford material for founding some kind of attack upon the Commissioners of National Education, and for re-opening the old controversies. As the Chief Secretary for Ireland had said, the Commissioners would not at all approve of this Return, but not because they had anything to conceal; and he greatly regretted that the Motion had been made.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) was interesting, as his speeches always were; but he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) could not see the relevancy of his observations to the question before the House. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had said there had been a great deal of progress in regard to education in Ireland, and in that he quite agreed with the right hon. and learned Gentleman. There were only two points between himself and his hon. Friend (Mr. Biggar) and the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan). He thought Sub-head 5 was certainly too inquisitorial, and he was glad that his hon. Friend had seen his way to omitting that portion of the Return. The second point of difference was with regard to the 1st sub-head. The hon.

and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), who certainly could not be supposed to be predisposed in favour of any Motion made by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), was actually more in agreement with his hon. Friend than the Chief Secretary for Ireland; and he wished to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that the religion of every one of these Commissioners was notorious in Ireland. Whatever else might be known about a man in Ireland, his religious persuasion was known, and, consequently, the right hon. Gentleman would not be making any statement of anything that was not notorious in Ireland. He was sorry to see that the right hon. Gentleman had brought into this matter many ideas which were just in regard to England, but inappropriate in regard to Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman was a friend of religious toleration, and thought, as he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) himself thought, that the absence of questions as to a man's religious persuasion in a public office was a necessary corollary to religious and political toleration. But the right hon. Gentleman knew that the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland were selected not only for their fitness for the position, but also because of their religious persuasion. They were a Body consisting of the representatives of the different religious persuasions, as well as of every other interest in Ireland, and it was as members of certain religious persuasions that a number of them were entitled to hold the position of Education Commissioners. Of course, the right hon. Gentleman, in giving this portion of the Return, would not be stating anything which was not already notorious to the people of Ireland; but the object of the Return, he assumed, was to bring before the House in an official form the religious constitution of the Board. The Return obtained by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), giving, in an official form and with the sanction of the Government, the religious persuasion of the Irish magistrates, had done a great deal to enlighten public opinion on that question. If the right hon. Gentleman would give the religious persuasion only in the aggregate, he did not think his hon. Friend (Mr. Biggar) would meet him with any obstinate opposition; but, as religion in the aggregate meant the religion of the individuals, the right hon. Gentleman would simply be fighting a shadow, and he thought that if the hon. Member withdrew the whole of Sub-head 5, the right hon. Gentleman might agree to give the rest of the Return in its present form.

Mr. DAWSON said, he could not help feeling, considering the position of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) with regard to educational matters in Ireland, to what a lamentable position he had fallen. This opposition was very much of the type of resistance which would be offered to light being thrown on University Education in Ireland, and on the vast resources and emoluments of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, and the slight benefit that accrued to the nation which provided those emoluments, and placed at its disposal thousands of acres of Irish land.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN said, that the objection of the Government to giving this Return was a most extraordinary objection. Why should the Return be refused on the ground the Government had advanced? If the Return, when granted, gave grounds for accusations, why should they not be made? If it afforded no such grounds, the accusations could not be made; but it was most extraordinary to refuse a Return, because, if the Return was granted, certain accusations might be founded upon it. Such an objection came with especially bad grace from hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House. What were hon. Gentlemen doing here, night after night, but seeking for information—trying to draw information from the Government, not on historical facts, or matters that could be embodied in a Return of this kind, but on telegrams only a few minutes old? They wanted information, and they were a most inquisitorial Party themselves; and if they refused information on so simple a matter as this relating to the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, why did they seek for all that information they looked for day after day and night after night? Was it not for the purpose of founding accusations? Yet the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland could coolly stand by and seriously urge the Government and the House not to give this information, because accusations might be founded upon it. Who were the accusing angels of the Government? They were the people who were in continual resistance to the Government; and the more grounds of accusation they could find in the newspapers, and from any other source, the better they were pleased; and yet other hon. Members were to be refused useful information because they might found accusations upon it. That objection was of no avail or weight whatever. If there was anything in the complaint it was only right that the Return should be granted, in order that that complaint might be substantiated. As to the religious objection, he agreed with what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman). Who was it that was ashamed to have his religion published in public Returns or in any other way? The Catholic members of the Commission were not—were the Protestant? If they were not, what, then, became of the objection raised against the Return? He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland would reconsider his decision, and would give fuller information than that which he had promised this evening.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he thoroughly fell in with the Amendment moved by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), to leave out the words "and religious denomination" from Sub-head (1). He did not place any substantial value on the words, and should be quite content to leave them out. He also fully agreed with the suggestion that Sub-head (5)—

> "The names and addresses of Commissioners (if any) who have been paid personal expenses, and the sum so paid to each,"

should be left out. Probably it would be a mean thing to make inquiries as to the travelling expenses of the Commissioners. They were fully entitled to those expenses, seeing that they got nothing for their services. If he had thought that any imputation would have been cast upon these gentlemen in consequence, he should not have put Sub-head (5) in the Return.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Words *left out* accordingly.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of Sub-head (1.) to add "and the aggregate number of each religious denomination in the Commission."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, to leave out Sub-head (5.)—(*Mr Biggar.*)

Question "That Sub-head (5.) stand part of the Question," put and *negatived.*

Sub-head *omitted* accordingly.

Ordered, That there be laid before this House "a Return of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, showing—

(1.) The name of each Commissioner, and the aggregate number of each religious denomination in the Commission;

(2.) The number of attendances made by each at (a.) the ordinary and (b.) special meetings of the Board during the twelve months ended the 31st day of March 1884;

(3.) The dates on which (a.) ordinary and (b.) special meetings were held, and the names of Commissioners present on each occasion;

(4.) The number necessary to constitute a quorum (if any), and the number of occasions (if any) on which the attendance of Commissioners fell short of this number;"

"And, Copy of any Minutes or Regulations of the Board defining the constitution, duties, and powers of Sub-Committees."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

PRIMARY EDUCATION (IRELAND)—NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. MELDON said, that, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour (12.45), he intended to proceed, in accordance with the Notice he had on the Paper:—To call attention to the subject of the National system of Education in Ireland, especially as to the position of the Irish National Teachers; and to move—

> "That, having regard to the Resolution passed by the House of Commons on the 7th May 1878, and to the pledges since given on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, this House deprecates the delay which has occurred in removing the admitted grievances of the Irish National School teachers, and is of opinion that it was the duty of Her Majesty's Government to have acted in conformity with such Resolution, and to have submitted proposals to this House for a satisfactory adjustment of the claims of the Irish National School teachers."

He thought he should be able to satisfy the House that the facts he would have to bring before it would entitle him to claim its verdict for his Resolution. The grievances of the Irish National Teachers were brought before the House so far back as the year 1874—on June 7th, he believed. A complaint was then made that the salaries of the Primary School Teachers were insufficient, that they were entitled to pensions, and that the number of residences supplied for them was insufficient. The manner in which the Motion was met by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who was then Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was by making an entire admission of the case brought before the House. That admission was of the most unqualified kind, and the right hon. Gentleman had asked the House to allow the matter to remain in the hands of the Government until it was settled, the right hon. Gentleman giving an undertaking that satisfactory proposals would be made for the removal of the three grievances. Nothing was done until the following year, when, in the month of June, the right hon. Gentleman brought forward his proposals. He (Mr. Meldon) proposed to deal with only two of the grievances which had been submitted for the consideration of the House. The first was the question of salaries, and the right hon. Gentleman proposed to deal with that in two ways. He added a sum to the existing salaries of the National School Teachers amounting in the aggregate to £60,000 a-year. The right hon. Gentleman stated that it was the intention and the wish of the Government that the House should add a further sum to the remuneration of teachers with respect to payment by results, and that the results earned by the teachers should be divided into three parts—one-third, by examinations, from Parliament unconditionally; one-third from Parliament conditionally; and the remaining third was to depend upon the discretion of the Board of Guardians, and carried with it the second, on conditional Government payment. The Parliamentary Vote arrangement was agreed to, and he had nothing to say to that; but the other portion of the scheme had wholly and entirely failed. He would state, very shortly, what the nature of the arrangement was. The pupils in the different schools were to be examined for results; and, in the case of those who passed, the fees to which the teachers were to be entitled were to be divided, as he had said, into three parts—the first to be paid unconditionally, and the second to depend on the Guardians taxing themselves for the third. It was foretold that the condition as to Boards of Guardians would necessarily be a failure; but a pledge was given to Parliament, to the teachers, and to the public of the most explicit character. When it was pointed out to the then Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that the scheme would necessarily fail, he made use of these words, which constituted a pledge, which, to the present moment, remained unfulfilled both to Parliament and the Irish teachers. He said—"We do not intend this to be a permanent measure. I consider it highly important to get Boards of Guardians to contribute, and I should like to train them up to it. If it succeeds, well and good, the teachers will be reasonably remunerated; if not, the Government will take steps to secure that the remuneration now intended shall be paid to them." These were, in effect, the words spoken by a Minister of the Crown nine years ago, and the *gravamen* of his (Mr. Meldon's) charge now was, that that promise remained at the present moment entirely unfulfilled, the remuneration it was intended they should have remaining unpaid. It was foretold that this "Permissive Act," as it was called, would remain a failure. In 1875, 65 Unions out of the entire number contributed; in 1876, 70 Unions contributed; and so on until the year 1881-2, when there were but 16 Unions which contributed; and last year the number decreased to four. They might assume that the substantial failure of the Act was proved to demonstration in 1877, when the number of Unions contributary had fallen to 39. They were entitled to have the pledge given in 1875 fulfilled, and to have the Act, which had proved a failure, remedied in some way. Up to the present time, however, nothing had been done to remedy the failure of the Act. The Unions in Ireland, or the great mass of them, had declined to become contributory, and the thing was going from bad to worse. The teachers, in every Union not contributory, had been debarred of a third of the hard-earned result fees the Government had given them in 1875. Under ordinary circumstances, it would have been two-thirds; but the case really was so flagrant, that the Government were obliged to step in and say—"We will not insist on the condition that the Guardians are to contribute before Parliament gives the two-thirds; but, if you will get made up from other sources, local or otherwise, a certain sum of money, we will contribute out of the Parliamentary grant as much as you get." But so far as the result fees were concerned, they had been absolutely lost in those cases where the Unions had not been contributory. That was the position in which the salary question remained at the present time. As to the pension question, nothing was done from 1875 to 1878; and, as to residences, a Bill had been brought in which, for other reasons, had not worked satisfactorily. However, he confined his complaint to the two points he had mentioned. Nothing had been done up to 1878 in regard to pensions, and nothing had been done to redeem the pledge made to the House by the Government. Every kind of pressure had been brought to bear on them to make them redeem their pledge. The teachers had been obliged to bring their case before the House.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 23rd April, 1884.

MINUTES.] — Private Bill (*by Order*) — *Second Reading*—Trent Navigation.*

Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Strensall Common * [177]; Municipal Rates * [178].

Second Reading—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [170]; Sites for Churches, Teachers' Residences, &c. (Ireland) [18], *put off.*

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he wished, on behalf of the Government, to inform the House that the Business after the Budget to-morrow would be —first, the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill, and next, the Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases Bill, both Bills of his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General, and both to be referred to the Committee on Law. After that, if there were time, the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill would be taken. If the Bills were not reached to-morrow night after the Budget, it was proposed that there should be a Morning Sitting on Friday, when they would be taken in the same order.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, that the Question which he had upon the Paper had been answered by the announcement of the right hon. Gentleman, and it would, therefore, be unnecessary for him to put it.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SITES FOR CHURCHES, TEACHERS' RESIDENCES, &c. (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Colonel Nolan, Mr. Gray, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Sullivan.*)

[BILL 18.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Colonel NOLAN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he wished to explain that it was one proposing to afford facilities for the sale of sites by owners, for the erection of churches, clergymen and teachers' residences, and other like purposes of the character it indicated. The Bill was one which he felt confident would obtain the approval of the whole House. It was not confined to the voluntary sale of land by owners; but, in certain cases, it would give a compulsory power for the acquisition of these sites. However, with regard to the Compulsory Clause of the Bill, he had endeavoured, as much as possible, to adopt means which would prevent it causing inconvenience to landowners and others affected by it. He might also mention that he had consulted with a Conservative Member who had suggested some alterations in the Bill, all of which had been accepted by him. The Bill had been conceived and framed in a spirit of fairness; and he might mention that, if any of the hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Conservative Benches wished to insert any further safeguards to the rights of the owners, he should be happy to receive them, as he was desirous of purchasing their consent by any amount of concession possible in that respect. There were two or three causes which rendered the introduction of this Bill necessary in Ireland, which he would briefly enumerate. In the present state of the country, there were three causes which prevented sites being given for the purposes mentioned in the Bill in Ireland. The first was the way in which the land was tied up in Ireland. That was one of the reasons why it was so difficult for owners to dispose of their land. He quite allowed that landowners in England laboured under similar disadvantages; but these constituted much more serious difficulties in Ireland than in the former country. The second cause was the prevalence amongst some owners of the remnants of feudal ideas. The third was the religious difficulty. He did not consider that, at present, religious intolerance prevailed with or influenced the great majority of landowners in Ireland; but it unquestionably did with some, and there was a minority who were still affected by it. There were still a number of owners of property, who thought that, by the Law of Property, no one should have any claim whatever to the land—not even to a plot of ground which would be required for such a necessary purpose. However, the real and main difficulty was the law regulating the sale of land in Ireland, and also the arrangement under which these sales had to be completed. He was aware that the same difficulty was experienced in England, and it might be asked why it did not produce the same result as in Ireland? That was an argument to which he would reply, by saying that it was always easier to get over difficulties of that kind in a country which governed itself. A bad law, moreover, always worked worse in a country like Ireland, which was under external rule, than it would in a country enjoying such advantages as England. There had, he said, always been large endowments for schools in England, and Education had flourished; but Education was prohibited in Ireland, and it was penal to encourage it until very lately. The means of Education in Ireland had really only existed for the last 30 or 40 years, and there had not been time to obtain these sites. People might think that it was very easy for the landowners to sell a couple of acres of land. If he was able to do it, certainly, it would be of great advantage; but it would give a very great deal of trouble to sell two or three acres out of 10,000 or 12,000. The landlord might be afraid of a question of title being raised; he might have to consult two or three different sets of mortgagees, and one or two ladies with jointures on the property. The object of the Bill was to make sales of land for sites as cheap and easy to the landlord as possible, such transactions being at present very troublesome and costly. In the market town near which he (Colonel Nolan) lived, the Poor Law Board of which he happened to be Chairman, had bought a site of three or four acres of land, and for it they paid £350. Well, what were the law costs? They were about £300. He maintained that the state of the law which made the acquisition of £350 worth of land cost £300 for law expenses, was a great scandal, which demanded immediate attention and remedy. The Union to which he belonged might be able to pay it; but a poor Union could not afford to spend £300. He might say the costs would have been nearly the same, if they had only paid £250 for the land. It might be imagined, from what he had said, that they purchased this land compulsorily, and that they had an unwilling owner to deal with. On the contrary, the landlord had behaved extremely well to the place. It would, he considered, be of enormous advantage, if they could introduce some simplication of the law, which would make the purchase of land for special purposes more easy. People say—"Oh! wait, till we have a thorough system as to the sale of land." He (Colonel Nolan) believed nothing would help the landowners of Ireland more than a simple and inexpensive system for the sale of land; but they might have to wait a very long time till that took place. Landowners might object to the Bill, because it might throw too much land into the market at one time; but the small portion he proposed to affect by it could not possibly injuriously affect the price of land in the market. The Bill dealt first with providing sites for schools; but it was also intended to provide sites for churches. It was a disgrace and a scandal that half-a-dozen places should be kept out of church accommodation, from the difficulty and, indeed, impossibility of obtaining sites. This Bill, with a very trifling amendment, would certainly supply great want in this direction, and it could be altered so as to include churches built on terminable leases. Then there was the case of houses for the clergy. There were a great number of cases in which clergymen could not obtain a proper site on which to build houses, the reason for which was that the proprietor might impose such conditions as made it very expensive for the clergyman, or he might have to deal with four, five, or six small proprietors. This Bill was very modest in its proposals, and he had restricted it as far as possible. Referring to the question of schools, he could say that the schools in Ireland were in an extremely bad state. There had been a very bad distribution of the schools throughout the country, and it had evidently been settled by questions other than the density of the population. If they asked the clergyman or manager, why was not the school in greater proximity to the population, the reply generally was, that there were difficulties about getting a site, that they had to go where there was a site, and very fortunate they thought themselves in getting one where they had it. In consequence of the choice of sites for schools being so limited, the State was wasting one-tenth of the money they spent on education. The children had often to go miles to school; and, although, in fine weather, it might not matter if they had to go an extra couple of miles, yet, in bad weather, it was a very serious thing. Their shoes were, perhaps, not quite suited for the weather, and they did not employ umbrellas. The result was that they often caught very severe colds. But that might be largely prevented if they had not to go an unnecessary distance to school. He did not wish to rest his case altogether on his own assertions, although he had often seen the want of proper sites for schools, and for residences for the clergy. He would read an extract from a letter from the Archbishop of Tuam, in which he said—

> "There is a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction at the impossibility of procuring sites for churches and schools where they are so much needed."

He had also seen letters from other Bishops. The Bishop of Down wrote to say that he had made an arrangement to buy an acre and 12 perches of land at £18 a-year, and after he had made this arrangement the agent asked him for what purpose he wanted the land. The Bishop replied that it was for a church. The land was then refused, although the proprietor formerly was willing to give it. In another case, in the same diocese, another site was refused. The Archbishop of Cashel said he could not imagine a more useful Act; but he was an ecclesiastic who had spent some of his time in the Colonies, and he pointed out that it prevailed in the Colonies. One part of his letter had a melancholy kind of amusement about it. He said he thought the Bill could have been drawn up in one page, because it was only a page long in the Colonies. He seemed to forget the difference in the land system in the Colonies. He (Colonel Nolan) only hoped our land system was something like that in the Colonies; and if they had free sale of land in Ireland, he believed the Land Question would settle itself. Another Bishop had said of the Bill that there was no more crying necessity than there was for it. He could not get a spot on which to build a school, and he had been obliged to build new schools in churchyards. He (Colonel Nolan) did not suppose there was anything necessarily unhealthy in building schools in churchyards; but, still, his own idea was that it was not a place for building a school.

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked the hon. and gallant Member if, by churchyard, the Bishop meant graveyard?

Colonel NOLAN said, he really could not say; but, in any case, a churchyard could not be the best place for a school. The same Bishop wrote that some of the landlords would not give a spot, even of the most worthless land, and others only on the condition that the site was vested wholly in the Board; and he said that it would be a terrible calamity to Catholics in the North of Ireland, if a compulsory Education Bill was passed while this state of things lasted. His Lordship evidently feared that they might be driven into National schools, which were not managed in the manner that Catholic schools were, if a compulsory Education Act were passed before these sites were granted. Besides these letters from Bishops, he had a letter from Father Crealey, who had done a great deal of good in the counties of Galway, Mayo, and Connemara, in which he said that two sites for schools were refused in the parish of Moyrust, in Connemara; two more were refused by one landlord in the parish of Omagh; another by a landlord in the parish of Omagh; and in another parish two were refused. Since August last, in Mayo, he had been refused sites for schools by three different landlords. In every instance in Connemara, and, he believed, in some of the instances in Mayo, the land asked for was barren and rocky, and of no agricultural value. A great many clergymen in Ireland were also put to great shifts for want of small pieces of land for the erection of residences, schools, and school residences, and he maintained that a Bill which merely afforded facilities for the building of churches would not be complete. He only asked that each schoolmaster might be allowed three statute acres. At present, those persons had to spend a large part of their incomes on those necessaries of life which they could produce for themselves at great saving if they had this land. According to a pamphlet published by the Irish School Teachers, their Body numbered 7,429, and of these only 1,515, or 20 per cent, were provided with residences, leaving 80 per cent unprovided; and it was set forth that these figures compared very unfavourably with those for England and Scotland, although the accommodation was not wanted nearly so much in those countries as in Ireland. But the National School Inspectors, as well as the teachers, had expressed views favourable to such legislation. In support of this statement, he (Colonel Nolan) would refer hon. Members to several letters which he had seen from National School Inspectors in Ireland, including those of Mr. Greer, Mr. M'Aulay, Mr. Eardley, and Mr. Keenan. These communications, written before the introduction of the present Bill, advocated the adoption of some such legislation as this now proposed, in regard to sites for schools, declaring that the wretched cabins in which the National School Teachers were obliged to reside in some districts of the country rendered study almost impossible; and that the absence of proper school residences rendered it necessary for some schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to walk as much as 12 miles a-day. The statements of the Government School Inspectors, in fact, could not be more strongly in support of the Bill if they had been written to order. In what he proposed, he was not asking for an increase to the salaries of the National School Teachers, directly or indirectly, even by giving free residences—indeed, the teachers themselves, in the pamphlet, declared that they would be willing to pay for the sites by annual instalments. They would like to have free residences, and they thought they had a fair claim for increased salaries; but they, at the same time, regarded the question of sites quite apart from the question of increase of salaries. As to the machinery of the Bill, he was not wedded to his own proposal, save, perhaps, to that part affecting cheapness of Law costs. He should also have no objection to accepting the Board of Works as the executive authority in preference to the Local Government Board; and, if it were desired, would be agreeable to meeting Members who were not favourably disposed in the Smoking Room to settle the question. [*Laughter.*] Well, meetings of that kind had taken place with regard to other measures, if not in the Smoking Room, at any rate in the Conference Room—notably as regarded the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill in the last Parliament—and he should be disposed to welcome such a mode of settling any difference there might be as to machinery; or to send the Bill to a Select Committee for the purpose, if hon. Members preferred it. He should also be willing to modify the safeguards he had proposed in the Bill, or to meet Conservative Members halfway on any point, in order to secure the principle of the Bill and make it a working measure. Furthermore, he would point out to Irish Conservative landowners, that the object of the Bill was not to confiscate any part of their property, but that a fair price would be paid for the land compulsorily acquired. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Leitrim County (Colonel Tottenham), who had given Notice of opposition to the measure, should remember that he had himself acquired land compulsorily. He had constructed a railway, acquiring land for the purpose from his neighbours; for though the line ran through his own property, it also went beyond it. That railway was a public benefit, no doubt, as well as a benefit individually, to the hon. and gallant Member; but so would the granting of compulsory sites under this Bill be a benefit to the people of Ireland. He would, therefore, urge the hon. and gallant Member to agree to an extension of the principle recognized in his own railway scheme. It had been said that the Conservative Members themselves gave sites for school-houses, churches, and residences; but that was no argument against the Bill, for the reason that it was only the most popular Conservatives who were returned to Parliament. Those hon. Gentlemen were good landlords; but there were a large number of other landlords in Ireland who had no desire to get into Parliament, or who knew they had no chance of ever being returned, and who would refuse voluntarily to surrender sites, however convenient their property might be, for the purposes of education. At present, it was to the best-natured landlords the teachers and clergymen went for the facilities they desired; and, therefore, an extra burden was thrown upon those gentlemen, and this extra burden would continue, from time to time, to be imposed until the State took the matter into its hands. He maintained that he had presented to the Government a very strong case for the granting of compulsory powers. He did not expect an absolute refusal from them in point of principle, for he did not think they could possibly get over the statements of their own Inspectors. Her Majesty's Ministers might say they were such a perfect Government that they had every possible remedy for every possible grievance in their portfolios, and that they would, at some future time, legislate on this subject. Such an answer would be as bad as unwillingness to do anything, for it would mean that they had so many Bills to past that one was bound to block the other, and that nothing would be done on any subject until action was rendered necessary by violent agitation. To his mind, the Government would be setting a very bad example if they refused to act until forced by agitation, though he was sorry to say that the history of the past few years showed that they never did do anything until they were forced by such agitation. There was no prospect of the Government being able to pass a Bill on the subject either that or the next Session; and he hardly thought that, if the next Government chanced to be Conservative, there would be much hope of the matter being taken up by them. If the present Government would undertake to take up the measure, or to introduce a similar one, and pass it through this year, he should only be too delighted, and would himself abstain from proceeding any further with the present proposals. All he wanted them to assent to was the principle of the Bill. Its machinery he would leave to them, even were it such as he could not readily sympathize with.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said, he rose to second the Motion with great pleasure, because he believed there were few Bills brought before the House which would be of more service than this. There was not a county in Ireland in which the want of such a measure was not deeply felt. In the county which he had the honour to represent (Limerick), although a rich county, many of the clergymen's and teachers' residences were a disgrace to a civilized nation. In one case which he knew, where the clergyman's residence was partly constructed out of an old police barrack, the clergyman had to come every morning to his church, a distance of over three miles, and the same returning. His residence, which was at the extreme end of the parish, was the only one he could get. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) did not wish to make a personal attack on anyone; but he must say that three very extensive landowners held all the land surrounding the church, and none of them would give the smallest portion of land for a residence for the clergyman. The tenants in several places around the church would give the required number of acres, but none of the landowners would consent. He was sorry to see that the Amendment to reject the Bill was put down by one of the largest landowners in that House. It was unfortunate for the landlord class that they would not learn, even at the last moment, that even when they saw their power was dying out, they still did things which made them objectionable in the eyes of the country. In another portion of his county, the clergyman, after waiting for years before he could get a place for his residence, was at last compelled to build a house in a very small churchyard not three times the size of the House of Commons. There he had to make his garden and the stable for his horse, and all the necessary requirements. In another case, the clergyman had to take part of the old chapel, in order to make a school-house, because he could not get a site; and that occurred, too, in the rich county of Limerick. In the very same parish, there was no residence at present for either the male or the female teacher, and he had known the female teacher to walk every morning three miles to her duty. In another case, a male school, a female school, and a residence for the female teacher had to be built within the churchyard, which was scarcely 100 yards square, and yet the land surrounding the church was held by three large owners. The male teacher had to go two miles to a miserable residence. Then, in towns, a great many of the teachers had to go into lodgings, where they got a miserable room for which they had to pay largely. Both teachers and clergymen, in fact, were in a miserable way in the country for want of residences. He believed the Bill contained sufficient safeguards to protect the interests of the landlords; and, if it did not, in the opinion of the Government, the promoters would be glad to make any and as many alterations to meet their views as they pleased. Those who sought that legislation had no objection to pay the full value of land. All they wanted was that, where the landlords would not give voluntarily, they should be compelled to give it. It was true there was an Act giving power to purchase; but they could not purchase unless they had powers to compel both occupier and owner. They wanted nothing unreasonable or unfair, and they trusted the Government would not stand in the way of remedying a grievous injustice.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the Bill showed they had not yet settled the Land Question of Ireland. His hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Nolan) had shown a great grievance to exist in Ireland which demanded the attention of the House. There was no evil in Ireland so great, even after all the reforms made by Parliament, as the limited ownership of the land. It existed to so great an extent that, at that moment, one-third of the land was in the hands of fewer than 300 persons. Under such a condition of things, no doubt, there was great hardship in connection with the obtaining of sites for objects of public importance and utility; but his hon. and gallant Friend, when he asked the House to adopt the Bill, must bear in mind that, in reference to the principle of the measure, there was nothing in the particular circumstances of Ireland in which that country so greatly differed from England and Scotland, and English and Scotch Members who voted for it would not be committed to its principle in regard to their own countries. With reference to what had been said as to the acquisition of land for the purposes of schools, he was not able to go further with the hon. and gallant Member than to say that, for all purposes on which the nation were agreed, it was right and proper that power should be given for the compulsory acquisition of land. Parliament having agreed that education was a matter of primary national concern, for which the Government was bound to make provision, he (Mr. Arnold) quite agreed that if there was no power now existing in the Government of Ireland to take compulsory sites for the education of the people, such power ought to be vested in them. But was there no such power? He believed, at all events as far as England was concerned, there was unquestionably power for the Privy Council Office, in all the educational arrangements throughout the country, to acquire sites for the building of schools in any and every part of Great Britain compulsorily; and if the law of Ireland were not so comprehensive as that, he was disposed to say that the sooner it was amended the better. But his hon. and gallant Friend was not content with asking that that power should be vested in the Irish National Board of Education. His Bill went very much further, and asked that all recognized religious denominations in Ireland should have power to purchase land compulsorily. That, perhaps, would work very well in Ireland, where there were, certainly, only two or three religious denominations which were in great prominence; but in the United Kingdom there were 75. [MR. WARTON: 160.] There were certainly not fewer than 75 Christian sects in this country who, if this Bill applied to England as well as to Ireland, would have the power of making representations to the Local Government Board to obtain power for the compulsory acquisition of land. The Local Government Board would, if they made a restriction, have to say invidiously which of these sects should have the right of compulsory purchase. It would be impossible to sever the religious question from the decision which would have to be given. Though some hon. Members might not believe it, he was a stickler for rights of property. He had no desire to promote legislation at the expense of the rights of property; but he did desire to multiply owners of property so as to give a larger choice to would-be purchasers, instead of depending on one or two great landlords. He would earnestly entreat hon. Members from Ireland, instead of bringing forward a measure like this, to use all their endeavours to promote the multiplication of ownerships in Ireland. An Act of the time of George III. had allowed one religious Body only to acquire land compulsorily. That had been the order of legislation which had prevailed in that House at one time, when there was an alien Church in Ireland, and when it was presumed that everyone was of one mind in religious matters. Now it would be absurd to propose such an Act as that, because it would be entirely against the sentiment of the people. The hon. and gallant Gentleman, in proposing the Bill, had made one observation, at least, that was sensible—that if they had a free system of land transfer there would be no difficulty in this matter. He fully agreed with that sentiment, and until they had Land Laws such as existed in Australia and other Colonies, this difficulty would undoubtedly occur. He sympathized with the difficulties which occasionally existed where the Roman Catholic community were brought face to face with Protestant landlords, who would not afford facilities for the erection of churches and schools; but he declined to vote for the measure. If the Bill had only referred to education, he would have heartily supported it.

Colonel KING-HARMAN, in rising to move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months said, in his opinion, there was very little argument advanced in its favour, and, therefore, very little for him to answer. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Arthur Arnold), and who had given them a lecture on various religions, and on political economy, about which he appeared to know something, had made a charge against the Protestant landlords of Ireland, that they placed themselves in direct opposition to their Roman Catholic brethren on the subject.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD: I did nothing of the sort. I said when such cases occurred, I sympathized with the Roman Catholics.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he was in the recollection of the House, and he thought the House would agree with him that the hon. Member did make that charge against the Protestant landlords of Ireland. In doing so, the hon. Member showed his absolute ignorance of the subject. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway County (Colonel Nolan), in moving the second reading of the Bill, appealed to the Conservatives as Conservatives, and the landlords as landlords, not to oppose it now. He (Colonel King-Harman) thought that the giving of power to three persons, to be called "Trustees," to seize any property they liked for these indefinite purposes, was as likely to injure the tenant farmers as it was to injure the landlords, and, perhaps, more; because, whereas the landlord would get compensation, the tenant farmer would be turned out of the land without compensation, which would mean, according to hon. Members below the Gangway, a sentence of death.

Mr. SEXTON: The Prime Minister.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, the Prime Minister used the expression, and it was often cheered and endorsed by hon. Members below the Gangway. Now, his objection to the Bill was that it was absolutely unnecessary, and would be used for the purpose of annoyance and little else. In his own experience, the difficulties of obtaining land for the purposes in question seldom occurred, and were by no means so great as had been alleged. It had been said that the landlords could not part with their land. There might be a difficulty in selling it; but there was no difficulty under the present system in letting a plot of ground sufficient either for a place of worship or a school on what amounted practically to a perpetuity. When any difficulty did arise, it was because the landlord objected to the site selected, but was ready to give another. In the counties with which he was connected there was no difficulty found, and he was always ready to give such sites. Indeed, one of the things most remarkable about Ireland was the large number of handsome Roman Catholic churches that were to be found everywhere throughout the country; for even in times of poverty and distress the people were ready to build churches of a high order. One objection to the giving of sites which he had known to arise was that the tenant farmers did not like to have a church or school in their neighbourhood, on the ground of the damage that the children would do on their way to the school in trespassing after birds and other objects over adjoining grounds. Surely, gentlemen and farmers living in the neighbourhood had as much right to a voice in the matter as the persons who chose the site. He opposed the Bill because its principle was thoroughly vicious and radically wrong, and because its machinery was absurd and ridiculous. There were 40 religious denominations in Ireland, each of whom under the Bill would be entitled to take 12 acres wherever it liked. Any three persons, even persons who might not have anything to do with the parish or know anything about it, might come down and say—"You are very badly off here for a teacher's residence; we shall get you one;" and then these three persons were to become trustees, and the teacher was to be under their thumb. They would have power to go down and take 12 acres of land anywhere they liked for a teacher's and clergyman's residence, and a school and church; and if the Bill passed, people would probably find a church of one particular denomination in Ireland at one end of their land, and a Quaker's meeting-house at the other. Then the Bill could be used, as the Labourers' Act was now being used, simply as an instrument of intimidation and torture. [*Laughter.*] It was thoroughly well known that the Labourers' Act was now being used so as to put up labourers' houses on the lands of every loyal and respectable man that could be found in a Union; but he (Colonel King-Harman) had never found that the Land League Guardians were as anxious to have such houses placed on their own lands. Whenever there was a man in the district who had voted against them or their Party, it was at once proposed to settle six or seven labourers on his holding. The Bill, if it were passed, would be used in the same way. It would be used for the purpose of terrorizing the tenants. Further than that, the safeguards which were contained in the Bill as to the trustees were absolutely illusory. What was going to be done after they had made the schools? Supposing that the school broke down altogether, what were they going to do with it? Were the trustees to put the money in their pockets? Yet they were to erect these buildings all over the country, and put them into the hands of three trustees, who were self-elected, and over whom there was no control. He also thought that the matter being referred to the Local Government Board was not a sufficient guarantee, as the Local Government Board in Ireland had shown itself to be a remarkably "squeezable" Body at the present moment, as he knew. It was said that this 12 acres of land would not be taken from inside demesnes; but that was all "clap-trap," for the farmer, who only owned from 15 to 20 acres, valued his plot of land quite as much as he (Colonel King-Harman) did his demesne. He supposed that the supporters of the Bill would not take the land from their own friends; but he had as much right to see that his friends would be protected. The Bill he believed to be one of the most absurd ever brought before the House, and was contrary to all precedent and common sense; and he did not see how any Government could support it. He therefore earnestly moved its rejection.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Colonel King-Harman.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. WARTON said, he had to complain that the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) had taken away almost all the arguments he (Mr. Warton) was about to advance against the Bill. However, there were some of its provisions which had not been criticized, and to which he thought attention should be called, as to his mind they were most absurd. He was deeply grateful to the Irish Members when they brought forward a Bill; for, even although it might be absurd, there was always some fun called forth. He was amused by the reference of the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin to trespassing schoolboys. It reminded him of the manner in which a high authority had described the office of the teacher—

> "It is a gentle task to rear the tender mind, and teach the young idea how to shoot."

He, therefore, on account of the poetic originality which was displayed by the Irish Members, was always inclined to forgive them—even for some of their schemes of plunder. He, however, must dissent from the manner in which they drafted their Bills. In the present case the Bill was so vaguely worded that it left in perfect uncertainty the amount of land that might be taken under its provisions. Beyond that, there were several other clauses in the Bill which, he argued, were not sufficiently explicit, a circumstance which, he thought, was to be attributed to the fact that the hon. and gallant Member who introduced the Bill (Colonel Nolan) was not a lawyer. The effect of the Bill would be mischievous, and its whole object was malicious.

Mr. GRAY said, that the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Warton) was very fond of poetry. He (Mr. Gray) wondered had he ever heard of a celebrated poem entitled "Who Killed Cock Robin?" He wondered had the hon. and learned Gentleman ever heard the historic lines—

> "Who saw him die?
> I, said the fly, with my little eye,
> I saw him die."

The hon. and learned Member seemed to be possessed of "a little eye" of a most miscroscopic description. He had referred, in a very interesting manner, to the fact that the hon. and gallant Member who had introduced the Bill (Colonel Nolan) was no lawyer. Well, he (Mr. Gray) understood that the Bill had been drafted by a Queen's Counsel, who had probably had as much practical experience of law as the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down. The hon. and learned Member had criticized some of the smaller provisions of the Bill; but he had not attempted to show that there was not a necessity for such a Bill; in fact, he (Mr. Gray) thought he had not touched the main spirit of the Bill at all. His speech would have been more appropriate on the Committee stage. He had also listened to the reckless objections of the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman), who appeared to be ready to back himself as a sort of "special prize bamboozler." Probably, however, the hon. and gallant Member knew well how to lay out his money in making bets in that character; but he (Mr. Gray) wished to remind the hon. and gallant Member that most persons were inclined to be guided by "public form" when doing so; and, therefore, judging by the "public form" of the hon. and gallant Gentleman on the present occasion, he would not be inclined to back him as the special prize bamboozler which he had described himself. In his speech he had managed to discover a considerable amount of absurdity in the Bill—indeed, in the way he had criticized it, it was very absurd. The "idea of people building churches for the purpose of terrorizing landlords" had never been heard of before, most assuredly. [Colonel King-Harman: I said terrorizing the tenants.] He would accept the correction of the hon. and gallant Member; but must say that the idea of building churches for terrorizing those for whose benefit they were erected was exceedingly comic indeed. He was sorry that the hon. and gallant Member had not considered the Bill in a somewhat more serious spirit. It was simply ridiculous to imagine that the churches would be erected with any idea of terrorizing over anyone. The hon. and gallant Member must be aware of the public sources from which the money would come, and must know that the ratepayers would supply the funds required. The money being obtained from private individuals, he (Mr. Gray) would ask the House, was it likely that it would be expended in any scheme for terrorizing over landlords or respectable tenants; but rather for the purpose of supplying a public want in the locality. The fact that the proposal would have to be supported by the Guardians of the Union, and other persons in the district, when there was an intention to erect school-houses, teachers' residences, or manses in a district, ought to be a sufficient guarantee against all the imaginary and somewhat comic terrors which the hon. and gallant Gentleman had conjured up against the Bill. It was manifest that, when a school was proposed to be erected in a locality by public subscription, in order to supply a public want, it was the best possible guarantee that it would be preserved for the purpose for which it was erected. The very name of trustees would be sufficient to guarantee that the buildings would be preserved for their proper purpose, as would the trustees of a marriage settlement, for instance. The other criticisms of the hon. and gallant Member were not at all relevant to the Bill. He (Mr. Gray) ventured to say he could not quote a single Act of Parliament dealing with the acquisition of land in large tracts which contained the provisions which he seemed to think should be required in order to obtain a few acres. [Colonel King-Harman: The Tramways and Public Companies Act.] If that Act did contain those provisions, it was quite an exceptional Act to all others. The hon. and gallant Member had not opposed the main principles of the Bill, but merely some trivial details, which could be better dealt with in Committee. The one and only question, as to whether, in Ireland, when the public of a certain locality were, owing to one circumstance or another, unable to procure land for the public purposes enumerated in the Bill, had not been considered by him at all. There was no doubt, he (Mr. Gray) believed, that that was the case in a number of instances; and, therefore, when it was required for public and useful purposes of that character, some provision should be made for the acquisition of land by Act of Parliament. The hon. and gallant Member had apparently a strong objection to Boards of Guardians; but he (Mr. Gray) would like to remind him that these bodies were already armed with far more power than was sought under this Bill under the Sanitary Acts; and there was no reason why there should not be some provision which would facilitate such useful works as the erection of places of public worship and places of public instruction for children. He would not weary the House by giving any quotations in support of the case, but would merely direct their attention to a communication which he had received from a clergyman in the county he represented (Carlow), which he thought would make apparent to the House the necessity which existed for such an Act. Following the example of a previous speaker, he would not seek to introduce any bitterness into that debate by mentioning the name of the landlord. The letter stated that they had been repeatedly refused the site for a schoolhouse, and had been threatened by the Commissioners with a withdrawal of the teachers' salaries on account of the dilapidated condition of the house. The landlord, who was a dignitary of the Episcopalian Church, refused to grant the site. Would the hon. and gallant Member, who, he believed, showed a most liberal example upon his own estates in this respect, desire that such a state of things as was shown by this letter, and which was not exceptional, should be continued? If the hon. and gallant Member objected to any particular machinery, they were perfectly ready to introduce such safeguards as might be thought desirable; but he thought that the sanction of the Local Government Board was a thoroughly reliable safeguard. As regarded the principle of the Bill, he would ask, was it or was it not reasonable that, in a parish where a site for a church or school could not be found, owing to the hostility of the landowners in the neighbourhood—for they knew that a single landlord would be often the owner of a whole district—some provision should be made for complying with the requirements of the people in this respect? A great absentee landlord, who absolutely put his foot down and refused such facilities, practically controlled a whole parish, and could refuse all reasonable facilities for the education of the children or convenience of the public in his locality. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would see his way to having some of the provisions of the Bill adopted by the Government. They could, of course, then be simplified or improved as far as might be deemed desirable, for the hon. and gallant Gentleman who brought it forward (Colonel Nolan) was not wedded to the machinery, and he would have no objection to alterations in points of detail. However that might be, there could be no reasonable objection to the principle of the Bill. Surely the time had come when the Government should do something in the matter to meet what was recognized as a public necessity, by giving some assurance that they would adopt a course which would give much satisfaction in Ireland, and remove a very just cause of complaint.

Mr. P. MARTIN, in supporting the second reading, said, it was remarkable that hon. Members who had opposed the Bill claimed credit for having, of their own accord, so far as they were individually concerned, given practical effect to the principle of the Bill. Their criticisms had been directed mainly to the manner in which the Bill had been drafted and the machinery provided. He would suggest it was contrary to precedent and most unfair to thus, on the second reading of a Bill, enter into the discussion of matters which were more proper to be considered in Committee. The only question now to be debated was as to the principle of the Bill—whether it was right or wrong—whether it was reasonable that facilities should be granted for the erection of schools and schoolhouses; and he contended that a strong case had been made out, showing the necessity of the Bill. In his opinion, it was absolutely necessary that compulsory powers should be granted for obtaining sites for places of worship and teachers' residences. Those sites had undoubtedly been refused in Ireland; and he believed that the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) had left nothing unanswered in the speech of the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman). The Bill should, therefore, be allowed to pass the second reading, and any Amendments which it was desired should be made in it should be proposed in Committee. He (Mr. P. Martin) was surprised that the hon. and gallant Member should have thrown aspersions on the Local Government Board. If a dispute arose between parties in respect to a school site, there must be an impartial authority to settle the matter; and where could they have a more impartial authority than the Local Government Board, which was a Government institution? That the Bill was absolutely necessary was clearly proved by the evidence brought before the House. The Reports of the Inspectors of Schools proved that it was required for educational purposes. He believed, under an Act recently passed for Scotland, powers similar to those sought for in the present Bill had been given. He could give several instances where there had been most wanton and unreasonable refusal on the part of owners in fee to grant sites for chapels. Not 20 miles from Dublin there was a very extensive estate owned by a Nobleman now dead, and every lease on that estate contained a covenant that the tenant should not give a site on his land for a church; and the consequence was that for years no Roman Catholic church could be erected, and Divine Service had to be carried on in a room granted by a hotel-keeper for the purpose. He would remind the House, unless clearly shown that these sites were, in fact, required for the public good, and that the refusal was unreasonable, the compulsory powers could not be enforced. The Bill had been introduced by his hon. and gallant Friend in no sectarian spirit. The principle had been already sanctioned by the Legislature in Scotland and in this country. They already had the principle of compulsory purchase of sites applying to Board schools in England, and also the principle of compulsory purchase of sites for churches of the Established religion in England. Why not, therefore, apply the principle which obtained for the wealthy classes of England to the poorer Catholics and the poorer Dissenters of Ireland?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that as no hon. Member on the Opposition side of the House rose to answer the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Kilkenny (Mr. P. Martin), it might, perhaps, be convenient if he (Mr. Trevelyan) now stated to the House the views of the Government on the subject. The opinion of the Government was perfectly clear as to the course which they would propose to take. That opinion he would state clearly to the House, and he hoped to be able to commend it to the House also. The Bill contained a great deal that was new. In the first place, the process which it proposed to apply was new. It would apply to compulsory purchases, sections of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act; but it would apply them under circumstances essentially different from those in which they had been hitherto exercised. The Bill proposed that any persons three in number, with the assent of 100 ratepayers, might present a petition to the Local Government Board, asking for an Order to enable them compulsorily to take land for sites for churches and schools, and for teachers' and clergymen's residences. This petition was to be forwarded to the Board of Guardians, who were, however, only to be the channel of communication with the Local Government Board; and then came the important difference between the mode of proceeding under the Bill and that adopted in all Acts of Parliament previously passed dealing with cognate subjects. In all similar cases, at present, an Order made by a Body in the position of the Local Government Board for the compulsory purchase of land was a Provisional Order only. If, for example, the London School Board desired to take a site compulsorily, a Provisional Order only was granted; and if the compulsory taking of the site was opposed by any persons interested, the Provisional Order might assume the form of a Private Bill, when evidence could be taken and the rights of those interested could be ascertained. But, according to the Bill before the House, the Order would be absolute; and when once the Local Government Board had made that Order all persons concerned would have to abide by it. That would be quite a new system of procedure, and the objects to which it would be applied were also new, and that was a very grave matter indeed. Some hon. Members—the hon. and learned Member for Kilkenny, and the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray), for instance—said that a Bill like the present ought to be met at the stage of second reading by acceptance or resistance to its principle, and that the only question to be decided that afternoon was whether the principle of the measure was right or wrong. Now, he (Mr. Trevelyan) should say that he thought these hon. Members were carrying that principle much too far. Wednesday was too often used as if it were Tuesday or Friday, and Bills were brought forward which the House should not accept, and hon. Members voted for them, merely because there was something in the principle of those measures which they approved. Now, there was something in the principle of the present Bill which the Government approved, and with regard to which they would give a practical sign of their approbation; but he thought the Government, if, because they approved of a certain part of the Bill, voted for a principle which they considered utterly unlike that which they should apply, would be establishing a very serious precedent. Their approbation, therefore, would not go far enough to justify them in voting for the second reading. He regretted very much, and thought it very unfortunate, that on Wednesdays Bills of this important character were discussed before such a small section of the House. The result was that last year they passed unanimously on a Wednesday a measure into which such alterations were introduced by the Government that it partook of the character of a Government Bill—he meant the Labourers' Bill. Now, that Bill was brought forward and agreed to, in what appeared at the time to be a perfectly unanimous House; and when an assurance was given in consequence by the Government that they would carry it into law, a great number of Members came to them, and appealed to them not to carry out their promises, on the ground that it would be a very serious step to take to establish the new principles embodied in the measure in question. Instead of acting in that manner, Members ought to attend and discuss the second reading of Bills like this, so that the Government might hear their views. Then the Government would know what to take and what to reject, and then a Bill relating to Ireland, accepted with apparent unanimity, or almost unanimity, in what constituted the House of Commons at the moment, might be quoted as a precedent for other measures. Now, what were the objects to which compulsory purchase was to be applied under the Bill? That was the question for consideration, and, as he thought, by far the most important part was that relating to the compulsory purchase of sites for schools. However, he was not at all satisfied with that part of the Bill which related to schools, because, as far as he could gather, the Bill would allow private schools and schools established by religious denominations and not brought under Government inspection to be erected on sites compulsorily purchased. The hon. and gallant Member opposite (Colonel Nolan), in bringing forward the Bill, had made the most interesting speech he (Mr. Trevelyan) had ever heard him deliver, and he had heard him deliver very interesting speeches. He had brought forward a large body of evidence to show the necessity of the measure. The hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman), who moved its rejection, strong in the consciousness of what he had himself done to help forward education, said there was no difficulty in obtaining sites for schools. Now, that was not the view of the Government as regarded the question. In the opinion of the Government this was a very great and a very crying grievance. The statistics on the subject which he had before him were almost unanswerable, and the complaints respecting it were not in any way exaggerated. Out of 7,302 schools, 1,704 were without out-offices. The Commissioners of National Education had a strong objection to allowing schools to be erected on sites used for strictly religious purposes; and yet in 340 cases the Commissioners had to erect schools on such sites, because they could not obtain sites elsewhere. At present, in the cases of 107 new schools which the Commissioners considered were absolutely required, the promoters of them could not obtain sites; and in 86 of these cases the deadlock was in consequence of the refusal of the landlords to provide the land; and in 21 because of the refusal of the tenants in occupation of the land. Again, in the cases of 246 schools managers found great difficulty in obtaining the suitable sites for the rebuilding and enlargement of schools which were in an imperfect condition. Innumerable instances could be cited from the Reports of the Inspectors to show how impossible it was to obtain sites. In one district every landlord applied to refused to grant a site; in another, where a school had been built, the only title to the site was the goodwill of the tenant; in a third, the tenants would not give up a single foot of ground for school sites, and so on. With regard to this matter the Government had fully made up their minds. In England sites for board schools could be obtained compulsorily, and the Government were prepared to apply to Ireland the same principle which had been adopted in the case of board schools in this country. They were convinced that the necessity was as great as the average necessity in England, and perhaps very much greater than the average existing in England. Scotland was still without powers of this sort; but there were circumstances there which rendered those powers unnecessary. If the Bill stopped at schools, they would have no doubt whatever in accepting it, altering it in Committee. His objections to the Bill on the part of the Government were with regard to the proposal to make compulsory the purchase of land for clergymen's and teachers' residences. The Bill proposed that sites for residences might be purchased for clergymen with five acres of land attached, and for schoolmasters with three acres of land attached. That was an innovation of the gravest sort, to which the Government were quite unable to agree; and he supposed that that was the first occasion in which a proposal to purchase ground compulsorily for the occupation of persons in some private capacity had ever been made in Parliament. He thought hon. Members must take into consideration what an immense vista they opened up. What was there that made it desirable or convenient that a clergyman should be allowed compulsorily to acquire a residence? Why should a clergyman have the privilege of acquiring five acres of land any more than a Member of that House or any other man? Just think what five acres of land was. [Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Hear, hear!] He should suppose that in England there were not fewer than 50,000 persons who would, in some shape or other, come within the category of ministers of religion; and let the House reflect upon the privilege they would be conferring on that body of individuals by allowing each to put in a claim to purchase five acres of land wherever they could persuade the Local Government Board to allow it. It was argued that clergymen were, in some sense, public servants. Even if that were allowed, there were many other people who were likewise public servants. There were tax collectors, and other people engaged in the local government of the country, who were at least as much public servants as clergymen, and who were quite entitled to as much consideration; and if they went into the necessity for the existence of a clergyman in a particular place—he was not going into the question as to the degrees of necessity, which no one would be able satisfactorily to deal with with any certainty—they would have to admit that a doctor was a very important person in a village, and quite as necessary as a clergyman. Then the lawyer also considered himself a very important person; and he (Mr. Trevelyan) could quite see the possibility of a landed proprietor in Ireland, who objected to the opinions of a certain class, refusing to allow an attorney, though the body of the people might trust him, to come within 10 or 12 or 15 miles of some particular centre of population. Hon. Members had spoken of the extreme importance of providing these small properties for clergymen and schoolmasters, on the ground that it would form such a substantial addition to their incomes. But those hon. Members could scarcely have realized what was the nature of the demand they were making upon the community for the benefit of two classes of individuals when they asked that, in a country were land was such a great source of comfort as it was in Ireland, these two sorts of men, taken out of the whole community, should be adjudged the privilege of taking compulsorily small farms for the purpose of increasing their incomes. But hon. Members had spoken with considerable point and effect about the difficulties and scandals that were thrown in the way of education through teachers being quite unable to get residences anywhere near their schools. He had already spoken about obtaining sites for schools. As to houses for teachers, he could only say that the debate of that day would afford matter for very serious reflection to the Government. [" Hear, hear! "] He did not want hon. Members to suppose, for a moment, that he endorsed the idea that teachers, in any case, should have anything like small farms allowed to them; but he could quite conceive that, if it were a question of adding a residence, and a residence only, to a school in the case where the convenience or the economical advantage of the teachers had to be considered, but where it would be absolutely impossible otherwise to have the teachers housed in a way that would be decent, or in some cases housed at all—he could quite conceive that the Government should consider the propriety of making such residence part of the school buildings; but he must, however, repeat that hon. Members must accept the declaration of the Government, that nothing in the shape of farming land, or land for cultivation, or anything based on the number of acres mentioned in the clauses of the Bill, could, for a moment, be allowed to the classes it was sought to benefit. With regard to the process by which the hon. and gallant Member for Galway wished to carry out his object, he did not agree either with the hon. and learned Member for Kilkenny (Mr. P. Martin), or the hon. Member for Carlow County (Mr. Gray), that the machinery of the Local Government Board would be sufficient for making compulsory Orders. The hon. Member for Carlow County and the hon. and learned Member for Kilkenny said the Local Government Board might be thoroughly trusted in this matter. He thought the Local Government Board might, for certain purposes, be trusted, and he would presently state what those purposes were; but he did not think it was, as the hon. and learned Member for Kilkenny called it, the proper tribunal for deciding whether a school or a teacher's residence was wanted. And as regarded the question of whether a clergyman or minister of religion should have a house, he could not conceive any Government Department that would be a good or proper tribunal; but as regarded the question whether a school or a teacher's residence was wanted, there was only one tribunal that could possibly pronounce a good and valuable opinion upon it, and that was the Board of National Education in Ireland. An absolutely necessary preliminary to any system for granting compulsory sites for schools and teachers' residences was that an application for the compulsory Order should have to pass through the Commissioners of National Education, and they should scrutinize it most carefully, as he was sure they would scrutinize it, both in the interests of local education and next in the interest of public economy. When the Commissioners of National Education had, under this hypothetical scheme for erecting schools and residences on compulsory sites, determined that such a school ought to be erected, then the Local Government Board was by far the best tribunal for determining all the questions of place and of the convenience of those whose land it was proposed to take. They had a staff of Inspectors who were accustomed to hold inquiries in reference to the taking of land under the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act for various purposes, for waterworks, burial grounds, and under the Labourers Act, which came most nearly within the class analogous to the cases referred to in the Bill. He did not agree with the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman), whose speech he listened to with very great interest, and with which in some respects he heartily agreed—he did not think that the hon. and gallant Gentleman was quite justified in his sweeping charges against the working of the Labourers' Act, that there certainly had been some most improper applications under that Act, and some that he could characterize as nothing else than absurdities, and in one case as insanity.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he did not make a sweeping charge. He did not comment on particular cases.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he understood the hon. and gallant Member to refer to particular cases of a very serious class, indeed, of improper applications; but he (Mr. Trevelyan) had not yet heard any complaints, neither had he any apprehension that the Local Government Board would not be a perfect guarantee against any cases of injustice under the Act, and, above all, against cases of the Act being put in force for purposes of strife. The hon. and gallant Member approved of the Bill, before it became an Act, on the second reading, on the ground he (Mr. Trevelyan) said that he trusted the Local Government Board; and he earnestly hoped that the hon. and gallant Gentleman would acknowledge in the course of one or two years that that trust had not been displaced. If he should have reason not to make that acknowledgment, all he (Mr. Trevelyan) could say was that the Irish Government would have laid themselves open to about as serious an imputation as could possibly be brought against any Government in the world. The state of things then with regard to the Bill was this—the Bill contained in it provisions which a Government could not possibly endorse in a second reading. To give a second reading to a Bill proposing to give residences and small farms to ministers of religion, however glad the Government would be to see them obtain these advantages by other means, was what would, he thought, lay them open to very great inconvenience. He did not want to make any vague promises to the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan). He was a veteran in the House, and no one knew the condition of the Business of the House better than the hon. and gallant Member; and he (Mr. Trevelyan) was glad to say that it was better than it was this time last year. The condition of Business being what it was, gave him very great hopes indeed that the Government would be able to introduce a Bill, which he actually had in his pocket that moment in draft, and which would go very far indeed, and which would satisfy, he thought, what he might call all the legitimate aspirations of the hon. and gallant Member. Under these circumstances, he earnestly trusted that the House would not proceed to a Division upon the Bill. He would use every personal faculty that he had to try and get that Bill passed into law this Session; and though he was not going to make a public declaration as to the exact order in which it would come forward in the Irish Business, he might state that it would come forward as soon as they could possibly put it down after the Bill which stood first on the list of Irish Bills—that was to say, the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill.

Mr. EUGENE COLLINS said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had made it a ground of opposition to the Bill that it would be an innovation to give powers to the Local Government Board in Ireland to make Orders, empowering persons to purchase lands compulsorily for purposes of this Act, without coming to Parliament for authority to do so, either by Bills or Provisional Orders; and he stated the fact that, in England, land for school board, and other such public purposes, could only be acquired under powers conferred by Provisional Orders. He (Mr. Eugene Collins) desired to direct the right hon. Gentleman's attention to Acts already in operation, under which much larger quantities of land could be acquired, without coming to Parliament. He might mention the Irish Tramways Acts of 1860 and 1861; by those Acts, land could be compulsorily acquired for the purposes of tramway projects. The applications for that purpose were first brought before Presentment Sessions; then they were referred to the Grand Jury for approval; and, finally, brought before the Lord Lieutenant in Council, who could definitely sanction them without the necessity of coming to Parliament, unless serious opposition were offered. He would, therefore, suggest—and he had no doubt that the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Galway (Colonel Nolan) would comply with the suggestion—to introduce a clause in Committee, providing that the applications under the Bill should be similarly dealt with, so that there should be a final appeal to Parliament from the Order of the Local Government Board, in the case of opposition of a serious character being persisted in. With such an undertaking from his hon. and gallant Friend, perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, on the part of the Government, would agree to allow the Bill to be read a second time.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought the debate was very disappointing indeed. The Bill was introduced by the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Galway (Colonel Nolan) in a speech which was as conciliatory and as temperate in tone as any speech that had been delivered in that House. In fact, if his hon. and gallant Friend made any mistake whatever, it was really in making admissions against his case. In the first place, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) must express his strong disappointment at the attitude taken by the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), who had the reputation—he did not know whether it was deserved or undeserved; but he assumed it to be so, and he believed it was so—of dealing upon the very points raised in the Bill with no stinted liberality whatever towards his fellow-countrymen; and how he could get up and oppose that being made compulsory by law on a very small minority of his fellow-landlords, which he himself voluntarily approved of, was a position which he did not understand. He had lately visited that part of the country where the hon. and gallant Member resided, and he understood that among the friends of the hon. and gallant Member were many Catholic priests, who had supported him notwithstanding the unpopularity they incurred by so doing. Under those circumstances, he was surprised at the attitude he had taken up, and at his reluctance to allow this small measure of justice to be meted out to the Catholic priesthood. The action of the hon. and gallant Member showed the gratitude with which their support was regarded. The attitude of the Government also had been very disappointing to him. In fact, he was reminded of two very true sayings in regard to the attitude of the Government on this question. There was an old Latin saying that "those whom the Gods wished to destroy they first made mad;" and there was the well-known expression of Campbell that "in the sunset of life a man about to depart from existence seems to get a more than usually clear appreciation of circumstances and facts." He did not know whether the Government was in a moribund condition or not; but he must say that he thought it displayed all the madness of persons about to be destroyed, the want of intelligence of those about to depart from existence. There had not been a single measure brought forward by the Irish Members which had not been confronted by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland with the most obstinate, and he must say the pedantic opposition. Last night the right hon. Gentleman assumed an exactly similar attitude with regard to the proposal to increase the remuneration of teachers in the Convent Schools. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman in having secured for his Government a combination of the hatred of all the farmers, all the clergy, and all the nuns in Ireland. He wanted to know what the particular objections of the right hon. Gentleman were? He noted, with some satisfaction, the presence during the debate of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), though he must say that he could not express his satisfaction at the attitude he had shown by his cheers on this question. The Bill proposed to deal with a grievance which, as Leader of the Dissenting Party in this country, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was constantly bringing before the English people—that was the refusal by the landlords belonging to one religious persuasion, whether from motives of mistake or religious sentiment, to give facilities for the erection of places of worship belonging to persons of another persuasion which they did not possess. That was a power they ought not to possess; and it was to protect the Catholics of Ireland against that mistaken view of the obligations of a landlord to insist upon his own creed alone to have a facility for the erection of a place of worship, at which the right hon. Gentleman, as chief champion of the Dissenters in England, so constantly protested, that this Bill was entered. From the cheers of the right hon. Gentleman, when the Chief Secretary for Ireland made some particular point which commended itself to his special admiration, the point in his speech which the right hon. Gentleman apparently thought was the strongest was the point in which he said—"Why should a Catholic priest get five acres of land any more than anybody else?" But did the right hon. Gentleman not know that the proposal of the Bill was not that a Catholic priest should get five acres of land for his own benefit as an individual; but that it should be given to the congregation of the priest, who, out of their own pockets, raised the money for the purpose of the erection of his chapel and his house? The proposal was, not that the land should be given to the priest as an individual, but that it should be given to him and all his successors enjoying the confidence of the congregation, and that this should be permitted to the congregation, in spite of the whims and caprices of the landlords. The object was simply to rescue the congregation from the despotism of a landlord who would not consent to sell on religious grounds. The hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) spoke of this as an unexampled interference with the rights of property. The most land that could be taken under the Bill, for one of the purposes dealt with under it, was five acres; and the hon. and gallant Gentleman knew as well as any hon. Member that legislation had permitted railway companies to take 1,000 acres. The proposal of the Bill was not that land should be taken for nothing; but that land should be taken at a fair valuation, settled under Government auspices. The second proposition was that the land should be taken for what were practically public purposes. They were unable, in many parts of Ireland, to get a site for the house of a clergyman, in the only place where a site was possible, owing to the caprice and despotism of the landlord. The purpose of the Bill was just. The uses to which the Bill should be applied were public uses. There was no interference with the just rights of property, and the Bill was urgently demanded by a serious grievance which pressed very hardly on a large portion of the people.

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY, in supporting the Bill, said, he did not think it was material to its case, whether they wished to have Catholic schools built or not. The objects of the Bill were, at any rate, innocent and harmless. When any section of the public were willing to club together, and found some object of sufficient interest to them to make it desirable, they should subscribe money and erect buildings for the purpose of carrying out these innocent and harmless objects—it might be by a church, or a school, or a social or political club, representing the common want or desire of a considerable aggregation of people—they ought not to be shut out from giving effect to their wishes by the accumulation of the soil in the hands of a few individuals. The refusal of such claims, whether made by Catholics or others, struck at the root of property in land far more than the Socialistic theories of Mr. George or anyone else. He supported the Bill on wider grounds than the desirability of erecting Catholic schools and chapels. Whatever might be the views of men, it was unreasonable that a local magnate should be able to say—"Your opinion should be extinguished, and I will extinguish it so far as I have power to do it." The Bill was a step in the right direction. It asserted that the State would step in on behalf of the mass of the people and enable them to get some advantage from the land on which they lived. As regarded the question whether the area of land to be taken was to be five acres, that was a question of detail unaffected by the principle of the Bill, which was all that was affected by the second reading.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he would like to ask why it was that the Chief Secretary for Ireland drew a distinction between Catholic schools and churches? It might be that he recognized the utility of the school in Ireland, but could not recognize the utility of the Catholic Church in Ireland, even to a Catholic population. The right hon. Gentleman must be still under the influence of those views of Catholicity to which he gave expression in dealing with Catholics and Pagans in India, when he declared that the rites of Catholic Churches were as idolatrous, as degrading as any performance in the temples of Aboriginal Pagans. The right hon. Gentleman expressed his views now with a greater regard to appearances; but he (Mr. O'Donnell) could not see any reason, but the reason of unreasoning sectarianism, in the opposition of the Government. Its objects were of the greatest importance, and yet the Government proposed to veto a demand so moderate and so limited as that contained in its provisions. The reception given by the Government to this Bill also taught a wider lesson. It threw a strong light upon their attitude with regard to much larger questions of land reform; for if the Government would not permit or facilitate the acquisition of land for such public purposes as these on the fairest terms of purchase, how could Irish Members look forward with the slightest confidence to the fulfilment of certain electioneering declarations of theirs upon those questions? The omens visible on the Treasury Bench that day declared that if they put off attempts for the realization of their National aspirations till the Government helped them to a satisfactory settlement of the Land Question, even in the smallest degree, they should be putting off the agitation for the satisfaction of their National demands till the Greek Kalends at the very least, and they might be playing the game of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. SEXTON said, the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Lyulph Stanley) had taken a far juster view of this matter than the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold). He (Mr. Sexton) was surprised that the latter Member should have fallen into the gross error of considering an Irish question from the state of opinion and facts in England, where land was in the hands of members of various religious denominations, so that it was easy generally to find someone willing to sell. For the purposes of the Bill, it was only necessary to consider the case of the Roman Catholics, they being the vast majority of the three principal religious sects in Ireland—Catholics, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians. Out of the 5,000,000 of persons in Ireland, there were only 100,000 who did not belong to one or other of those three great communions. It was also perfectly notorious that the smaller communions of 100,000 souls were sufficiently provided with places of worship, and no such question as that apprehended by the hon. Member for Salford could possibly arise in Ireland. With regard to those three great communions, he did not believe any intelligent Member of any one of those three great Bodies in Ireland would have the least objection that the Local Government Board, in making inquiry under the Bill, should, as an element in that inquiry, consider whether, in the particular case, the congregation was so numerous as to have need of a place of worship erected under the Act. He was astonished that the hon. Member for Salford should have separated education from worship in this case. Freedom of worship was certainly quite as much a matter of State concern as education, and in the term "freedom of worship" he included the matter of facility for carrying on that worship, and if such facilities were denied there was practically an end to all freedom of worship. In that case a matter of public concern was interfered with, if chapels could not be built where they were required; and public interests were prejudiced, if schools could not be built where they were needed, and if teachers were compelled to weary themselves by walking miles between the schools and the houses they were compelled to occupy. The hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) might have spared his eloquence, and the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) his wisdom, in the opposition they had given to the Bill, because they need not have been under any concern that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would have shown any predilection for public feelings or interests. He (Mr. Sexton) had observed lately that whatever the demand made by Irish Members might be, the course of the right hon. Gentleman was always one and the same. The right hon. Gentleman admitted the grievance, but would do nothing to remedy it. Sometimes, even, he would go so far as to prove the case, and then, having wound in and out, he always concluded by declaring that no reform would proceed from him, and that he would take no steps as regarded it. It was new to him (Mr. Sexton) to learn that a Bill was to be condemned because it contained new proposals. That plea came with bad grace from the Minister of a Government which had carried the most novel measures of coercion that had ever been applied to Ireland. After paying very careful attention to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, he (Mr. Sexton) was reluctantly compelled to say that he could discover no principle whatever in it. The right hon. Gentleman declined to give what the people required, and offered them something which they did not want. He objected to give the Local Government Board power to order the compulsory sale, except in cases where there was no objection to the sale on the part of the landowner. The right hon. Gentleman did not seem to remember that, under any scheme of the nature which he had mentioned, it would be necessary to obtain the consent of Parliament. If the case for the schools was strong, the case for the school teachers was very much stronger. As to them, the right hon. Gentleman mentioned that he had before him 40 pages of Reports from Inspectors which were against the measure; but he seemed to have overlooked those which had been quoted by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan), which contained extracts from the Reports of Inspectors in Ireland, who had stated that the teachers in Ireland were living in hovels many miles distant from their schools, and were, therefore, obliged to walk to and fro daily long distances, which exhausted their energies. They were also under the necessity of living in dwellings which exposed them to the contempt of the parents of their pupils. They, therefore, from these causes, sustained a loss of health and sacrifice of energy which left them without spirit, and in a condition of lassitude which prevented them from being able to discharge their duties adequately. He thought it would be more consistent and more frank if the right hon. Gentleman had stated why he relied upon one set of Reports and rejected another equally trustworthy. It was true that an Act was passed some years ago, in 1875, to enable teachers' residences to be erected in suitable places; but there were 6,000 such teachers in Ireland, and up to the present the residences proposed to be provided under the provisions of the measure had only been erected at the rate of about 45 residences annually since 1875; so that, at that rate, it would take 150 years to procure accommodation for the Irish teachers under that arrangement. There was no difficulty as to funds, public money was available, and a house could be built for £200; in fact, a teacher could be accommodated with a suitable dwelling for the small sum of £5 a-year; but the body represented by the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin, the landlords, obstinately refused to assign suitable sites for the purpose required. About the most amusing, and, at the same time, the weakest, passage in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was that in which he referred to the claims of the clergy of Ireland. The fact was, he was not able to combat the evidence which had been advanced in favour of the Bill. He could not answer the claims which had been advanced by the eminent Bishop of the diocese of Loughrea, who had been for years vainly trying to get a suitable site for his church. For, although the people of that town had in other ways been very much attended to by the Government, as when they were under the *régime* of Mr. Clifford Lloyd they seemed likely to be forced to allow the grass to grow in their streets, it was strange that their other wants should be so entirely neglected. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had spoken in a manner of the clergy in his speech, which had both amused and surprised many Members of the House. He had shown very little sympathy with their request; indeed, he (Mr. Sexton) considered that the proverbial incapacity of Englishmen to understand the wants of Ireland had been more than usually exhibited in the remarks he made. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to consider clergymen in the light of public servants. He (Mr. Sexton) did not know whether, in England, people were in the habit of regarding the clergy as "public servants;" but all he could say was that, in Ireland, they were regarded in the light of public guides rather than public servants. He had placed them in the same category as public servants, taxpayers, and tax collectors.

MR. TREVELYAN explained that he had carefully distinguished the two cases, and considered them separately. He distinctly stated that the clergyman was not a public servant, and in that respect differed from the schoolmaster.

MR. SEXTON said, that if the right hon. Gentleman had not argued as he had stated, then there was no meaning in his words. It would be well for the priests in Ireland if they were on the same level with tax collectors. The Government were very scrupulous about laying hold of a piece of land for a site for a church, a school, or a teacher's residence; but they had very little scruple in regard to the obtaining of a site for a Coastguard station or a police barrack, each of which had a little plot of ground about it. The Government, also, were not so extremely chary about land in the Phœnix Park for the Viceregal Lodge, or for the residence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland himself, or for the heterogeneous collection of gamekeepers, who absorbed large portions of the Park, which was supposed to be the property of the people. The people were, moreover, shut out from some of the most desirous parts of it by the grants which had been made in this way. He felt sure that when the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was read in Ireland, it would be regarded as the most extraordinary effort of Parliamentary ingenuity which they had had in recent times. It was unworthy of a Minister of the Crown, and would be for ever regarded in Ireland as a proof of the right hon. Gentleman's incapacity to understand the feelings of the people of the country. His language amounted to a *doctrinaire* argument, that it was something horrible to propose that 5,000 clergymen in Ireland should possess about a quarter as much of the land of the country as was held by the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County, who opposed the second reading of the Bill. He could not help thinking that the land might be trusted with much more fearlessness to the clergy; for if the landlord in Ireland had been proved to be a bad popular master, the priest had always proved to be a faithful popular guide. Therefore, it would be looked upon in Ireland as the most extraordinary speech which had been made by a Liberal Gentleman representing a Liberal Administration during the last quarter of the 19th century. The right hon. Gentleman would never fail to be remembered, even when he himself and his Administration had long passed away, as the Gentleman who had admitted the justice of every effort to remove a grievance from the people, but had never made an effort to remedy one. The comparison between clergymen and tax collectors, drawn by the right hon. Gentleman, would be regarded as an affront by the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland and the majority of the people who worshipped in their churches.

MR. DILLWYN said, he felt it his duty to support the second reading of the Bill, although in some respects he thought it went too far. Those points, however, might be altered in Committee; but he supported the Bill on the ground that, as regards the schools, the quantity of land required should be obtained for them, as it was of the utmost public importance that there should be facilities afforded for the education of the people. He also thought that, where a parish required a piece of ground for the erection of a place for religious worship, they should have an absolute right to do so.

MR. FINDLATER said, that he was prepared to support the second reading of the Bill in its integrity, because such a measure was required in the present state of affairs in Ireland. He would, however, deprecate, in the strongest manner, the entirely unprovoked personal attack which had been made by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) upon the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. During the whole of the debate he (Mr. Findlater) had been in the House, and had listened with the closest attention to the observations made by the right hon. Gentleman; and he had not heard him utter a single word which could, by the greatest ingenuity, be tortured into an insult to Roman Catholic clergymen in Ireland. If he had done so, although he (Mr. Findlater) was a Protestant, he would have resented it as strongly as any Roman Catholic Gentleman in the House. He (Mr. Findlater) supported the Bill, because he believed it to be a most useful one. It was possible it might require to be amended in Committee in order to carry out the objects of its introducer; but that had nothing to do with the principle. That a measure of the kind was required there could be no doubt. Why, in the county he (Mr. Findlater) represented (Monaghan) it was known to many that a nobleman, a proprietor of land, refused the Commissioners of National Education a site for a school; and they had to erect a wooden structure of a temporary character for the purpose. The correspondence which took place on the subject appeared in the papers, and was matter of public notoriety. The same territorial magnate recently—he (Mr. Findlater) supposed to prove his consistency, having had a quarrel with the Monaghan Town Commissioners, because they succeeded in upsetting an election of the old Tory Commissioners made by his agent—had already ejected them from the Town Hall, in which they held their meetings. In effect, he had practically ruined the town, because he would not grant facilities to the local body to make improvements. The sooner, he (Mr. Findlater) thought, there was some modification of the extreme right of the owners of land required for reasonable public purposes obtained, the better would it be for the community at large. Where it was required, power should be given to take it. He should, therefore, support the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. PLUNKET said, he thought that nothing could be fairer or more moderate than the way in which the hon. and gallant Gentleman who had introduced the Bill (Colonel Nolan) had stated his case; and he (Mr. Plunket) would admit that he thought that there was a great deal in it. It was, no doubt, a considerable misfortune in Ireland that there was such a want of provision for school teachers, and everyone ought to desire to see the deficiency removed. But when the hon. and gallant Gentleman went on to speak of applying the compulsory provisions of the measure to obtaining sites for churches generally where they were wanted, and proceeded still further to speak of acquiring sites to enable clergymen who were to officiate both as regarded schools and churches, he (Mr. Plunket) thought there might arise great injustice and inconvenience to landowners. On that point he could not, therefore, hold with him as regarded the Bill. He could not see why a clergyman should be given a compulsory share of the land of somebody else. It had certainly been stated that there were not sufficient facilities for conveying land for these purposes; and, for his own part, he would heartily rejoice if such facilities could be increased, as he thought that their absence was a great disadvantage to the country. With regard to what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, he (Mr. Plunket) entirely concurred with him in his objections to the machinery of this Bill; and he would add that in Ireland the danger of injustice to the landowner under such a measure would be far greater than in England, since in Ireland any amount of evidence against the landowner could be brought forward of people who, no doubt, thought that they were stating the truth. As regarded the scheme shadowed forth by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, for the Government giving greater facilities for the erection of schoolhouses on a plan similar to that adopted in England, speaking as well as he could from the information he (Mr. Plunket) possessed, he could not see any objection. Of course, a great deal must depend upon the machinery, which at present appeared somewhat faulty; but, so far as he could see, he was inclined to accept and concur with it. He would remind the House that, in 1879, a Bill was brought in by the hon. and learned Gentleman the present Solicitor General, seeking to give similar powers with regard to sites for churches as those contained in the present Bill; but the measure of 1879 was opposed by the Liberals because of its compulsory character, and came to nothing. The ground upon which he objected to the Bill was not hostility to the main object—namely, that there should be proper sites for churches and schools and schoolmasters' residences. What he objected to was, that it was now proposed to adopt a system of giving some vague powers for public undertakings of this kind, and conferring more compulsory powers against the existing rights both of occupiers and owners of land. All that involved a principle which had never yet been adopted by the House, and therefore he must oppose the Bill.

Colonel NOLAN, in reply, said, that he most heartily thanked the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) for the support he had given to the Bill. He could only say further that, in Committee on the Bill, the Irish Party would be quite ready to accept any Amendment that might be considered necessary. He could not agree to withdraw the Bill, notwithstanding that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had promised to deal with the case of the teachers.

Mr. ARCHDALE said, that he rose merely for the purpose of repudiating the attack—the unwarrantable attack—which had been made on Irish landlords by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). As far as the County Fermanagh was concerned—and he (Mr. Archdale) knew the county well — the landlords acted most generously, and were always ready to give sites not only for schools, but for teachers' residences. He could also assure the House that those gentlemen, and himself included, not only took the very greatest interest in the educational establishments of the county, but many of them were school managers as well. He himself was a manager of two schools, and he had given residences to both of them. He quite agreed with the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, dealing with the sites for schools, and would support it when brought forward. As regarded the Bill under notice, he quite agreed with its principle; but he was bound to oppose it on account of its clauses. Some very dangerous courses of procedure were contained in them, and he should therefore give his vote against the Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 77; Noes 122: Majority 45.—(Div. List, No. 68.)

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*.

Second Reading *put off* for six months.

MOTIONS.

—o—

STRENSALL COMMON BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Brand, Bill to provide for ascertaining any rights of common or other rights in or over Strensall Common, in the North Riding of the county of York, and for the acquisition and compensation of such rights, and the use of the said Common and adjoining land for Military and other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Brand, The Marquess of Hartington, and Sir Arthur Hayter.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 177.]

MUNICIPAL RATES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Joseph Cowen, Bill to make better provision for the making, assessment, and collection of Municipal Rates, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Whitley, Mr. John Morley, and Mr. Dodds.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 178.]

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 24th April, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (The Labourers Act) (Enniscorthy, &c.) * (64).

Third Reading—Army (Annual) (59); Fresh-water Fisheries Act Amendment * (43-65), and *passed*.

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.—(No. 59.)

(*The Earl of Morley.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Earl of Morley.*)

The Earl of LONGFORD wished to know from the noble Earl whether there was any prospect of progress being made with the erection of a new War Office for which plans were exhibited two years ago? There could be no doubt that the Army administration suffered materially from the great inconvenience arising from the fact that the business of the Department was conducted in several buildings not near to each other.

The Earl of MORLEY said, he did not see what relation there would be between his Motion and the question of the noble and gallant Earl. He however, quite admitted the importance of it; but it was one which ought to be addressed to the Commissioner of Public Works rather than to himself. He could not say more than that measures had been taken for carrying into effect the proposals which had been made with regard to the erection of new offices, and he believed that a large number of designs for those offices had been sent in; but no designs had as yet been selected. He sympathized with the desire of the noble Earl that the administration of the Army should be under one roof.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 3^a accordingly, and *passed.*

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN ASSOCIATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF FIFE, in asking whether Her Majesty's Government had any intention of recognizing the International African Association, and whether they could give any information as to the *status* of this organization in S.W. Africa and its relation to the lives and trade of British subjects, disclaimed any intention of dealing with the question of the Congo Treaty, as he could not see what better arrangement could have been made unless we were prepared for wholesale annexation on the South-West Coast of Africa. He maintained that the Lower Congo, although possessing at present what little trade there was now in those regions, led practically nowhere, and that the recent labours of Mr. Stanley and Mr. Johnston abundantly proved that the real route in the future by which to reach Central Africa was the Kwilu River. The successful exploration of the Kwilu, the establishment of seven stations on the river, and the mapping out of the practical route to Stanley Pool, was accomplished last year in the name of the International African Association, a society formed eight years ago by the King of the Belgians, and which had now virtually assumed possession of a vast territory stretching from the shores of the Atlantic to the confines of the Soudan. It was the anomalous position and extraordinary constitution of that society that he was anxious to call attention to, and to inquire what official cognizance Her Majesty's Government had taken or were about to take of it. They had lately heard that the United States had decided to recognize it as a Government. Did the British Government contemplate any similar course? The founders of this peculiar organization disclaimed all national rivalries, and professed to carry on a purely philanthropic and non-commercial undertaking; but he found an intrepid American traveller extending his sway over 4,250 miles of waterway and 49,000,000 of population, supported by 13 steamers, 1,800 Natives, and some hundreds of Europeans. Was it possible that one man, aided by a few clever and adventurous spirits taken from all countries of Europe, could maintain order without some organized force, and keep up a semblance of justice over such limitless areas? On the coast it was ominously asserted that the White men considered there was no law. Could this state of things continue when the interior should have been opened to the markets of the world? What was, or what was to be, the *status* of that gigantic association flying its own flag over half a continent, and what powers for the defence of lives and property was it to have over British subjects whose number was likely to increase in those newly-discovered lands? It had been suggested by M. Emile de Laveleye that the Valley of the Congo should be neutralized, and an international control had also been spoken of to be established by the European Powers. It seemed to him that it was high time to secure for Great Britain some influence and share in the management of an association which, if recognized and developed, might be made to serve the ends of civilization. It would seem that the French had recently come into possession of Loango, and Black Point, south of the mouth of the Kwilu River, and considerably south of their old Possessions in the Gaboon—indeed, separated from them by the Kwilu Province, which Mr. Stanley was very anxious not to see in the hands of the French or Portuguese. In view, therefore, of the newly-acquired French Possessions, the altered Portuguese frontier, and the establishment of the International African Association as a great power covering 200 miles of the coast, it could not be denied that the position and *status* of that association was a matter of great importance, and on eon which it was not unreasonable to ask for some information from Her Majesty's Government.

EARL GRANVILLE said, the noble Earl had referred to a very large, important, and difficult matter, in regard to which he was not prepared to give a definite answer on the present occasion. The noble Earl had very accurately described the character of the International African Association. He understood that that Association was promoted by the King of the Belgians, not as a Sovereign, but as an individual who had carried out the scheme on philanthropic grounds with immense munificence. The Association was not altogether separated, he thought, from commercial objects, and under the energetic conduct of its leader (Mr. Stanley) very large and important results had been achieved. With regard to the recognition of the Society by Her Majesty's Government, he might say that the noble Earl had correctly referred to the recognition of it by the Government of the United States. He had himself to-day received a telegram showing that the Government of the United States had recognized the flag of the Association as that of a friendly Government. The whole question of the constitution of the Society was, of course, very important; but Her Majesty's Government had not under consideration at present the particular Question which the noble Earl had put, and they would have to go much further into detail as to the matter and the view which was held by the Government of the United States before giving any definite answer to the Question.

The Earl of FIFE said, he should again call attention to the question on an early day.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF BERBER AND GENERAL GORDON.—QUESTION.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE said, that, before the House rose, he would like to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, in view of the information which had been received in this country, it was the intention of the Government to take any steps for the relief of Berber or of General Gordon?

Earl GRANVILLE said, he must adhere to the line which he had always followed, and which was also the tradition of their Lordships' House, in declining to answer a Question of which Notice had not been given in the ordinary way, and of which the noble Earl had not taken the trouble to give him Notice in writing of his intention to put it.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDERS (THE LABOURERS ACT) (ENNISCORTHY, &c.) BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to confirm Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland under the Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883, relating to the Unions of Enniscorthy, Clonakilty, Gorey, Killadysert, and Shillelagh—Was *presented* by The Lord Monson; read 1ª. (No. 64.)

House adjourned at Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 24th April, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Ways and Means—*considered in Committee*—Financial Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Private Bill (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—North Metropolitan Tramways.

Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Bankruptcy Frauds and Disabilities (Scotland) * [179].

Second Reading—School, &c. Buildings (Ireland) [45]; Public Health (Members and Officers) [164].

Committee—Report—Public Health (Confirmation of Bye Laws) * [173].

Third Reading—Marriages Legalisation (Wood Green Congregational Church) * [174], and *passed*.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—

NORTH METROPOLITAN TRAMWAYS BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Mr. HICKS said, he was happy to say it was not necessary for him to detain the House beyond a few moments in regard to this Bill. Since he placed his Notice on the Paper he had had an interview with the Promoters of the Bill, who had undertaken to withdraw in Committee the clause to which most objection had been taken; and he, therefore, did not wish to proceed with his opposition to the second reading. He might also mention that some of the streets through which the proposed tramways were to pass were of a very narrow guage, and the particular attention of the Committee would be drawn to that fact; and they would be asked to decide whether, on that ground, it was desirable that some, at least, of the lines should be sanctioned. But this was a question for the Committee to decide, and he would not now enter upon it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

QUESTIONS.

SUMMARY JURISDICTION ACT, 1879—FLOGGING.

Mr. INDERWICK asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called by direction of any of the Metropolitan Police Magistrates, or by residents in Wimbledon or elsewhere, to the defects of the Law in regard to cases of wilful damage to property by boys under the age of sixteen years; whether boys under sixteen, who cause wilful damage to property with intent to steal, may, under "The Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879," be ordered by a magistrate to be privately whipped instead of being sent to prison, but when such boys cause wilful damage to property without intent to steal, the magistrate has no such alternative power unless the damage exceeds £5, and, in default of the offenders paying a fine and the value of the damage done, he is bound to send them to prison for a term not exceeding two calendar months; and, whether, under these circumstances, the Government will take steps to relieve magistrates from the obligation in such cases of sending boys to prison by extending "The Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879," to cases of wilful damage by boys under sixteen years of age, whether such damage does or does not exceed £5 in amount?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: As my hon. and learned Friend is aware, I have long had this subject under consideration, and am anxious to deal with it. But the question has been postponed until action has been taken upon the Report of the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Commission. All I can say is, that I entirely agree in the views taken by my hon. and learned Friend. I have also had communications with the Police Magistrates of London. I hope that effect will be given to the views of my hon. and learned Friend.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ATHY BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the vote of censure passed by the Athy Board of Guardians on the Local Government Board for useless expenditure of the public money in inserting the advertisement announcing the holding of an inquiry under the Labourers Act in *The General Advertiser*, a paper rarely or never seen in the district; if it be a fact that, at the same time, no advertisement was inserted in *The Kildare Observer* or *Leinster Leader*, the two local papers; and, if so, whether he, as President of the Irish Local Government Board, will see to a more judicious distribution of such advertisements in the future?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board in this case followed their usual practice with regard to advertisements relating to proceedings under the Labourers' Act—namely, to select those newspapers in which the Guardians published notices of their schemes under the Act, and also to publish in *The General Advertiser*, a paper which circulates gratuitously, and is easily accessible in all parts of the country. The Board do not think they could adopt a more judicious distribution of such advertisements. It does not appear reasonable on the part of the Guardians of Athy Union to object to the Local Government Board not having selected the two local newspapers mentioned in the Question, inasmuch as they had not done so themselves.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—POST OFFICE ARRANGEMENTS, DUBLIN.

Mr. ION HAMILTON asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will provide for an after collection of Letters on Sundays within the township of Rathmines (county Dublin), at a sufficiently early hour to enable Letters to catch the

English and Provincial Mails; and, whether he can arrange to have Telegrams delivered free of charge within the boundaries of the said township?

MR. FAWCETT: At the present time, in the town districts of Dublin, there is no collection of letters on Sunday afternoon, and, so far as I am aware, there has been no demand for such a collection. This being the case, I do not think it would be expedient to treat Rathmines in this respect exceptionally. With regard to the latter part of the hon. Member's Question, I may explain that under the regulations framed pursuant to the Telegraph Acts, telegrams, when they are delivered at a distance beyond one mile from any telegraph office other than a head post-office, are charged porterage. In these circumstances, I am sorry that it would not be possible to give a free delivery of telegrams in those portions of Rathmines which lie beyond a radius of one mile from the Rathmines post-office.

NAVY—H.M.S. "BENBOW."

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he will state, approximately, how much money is to be expended on the hull of Her Majesty's ship *Benbow*, and how much on the engines, this year, and when the *Benbow* will be handed over by the contractors; and, whether the armour-clads now building and to be built are to be partially armoured like the *Collingwood*, or completely armoured all round?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The amounts provided in this year's Estimates for the *Benbow* are, for hull £160,000, and for machinery £27,100. The contract date for her completion is July, 1886. All the armour-clads of the *Admiral* class have the water-line armour confined to the central part of the ship. In the *Hero*, as in her sister ship, the *Conqueror*, the water-line armour extends to the stem, but not to the stern.

INLAND REVENUE—WINE AND SPIRIT LICENCES.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether there are cases in the City of London of merchants who, having taken out licences for dealing in wines and spirits, have continued to deal in them after those licences have expired, until detected by the officers of the Inland Revenue; and, if so, why no prosecutions have been instituted?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes, Sir; I believe the right hon. Gentleman refers to the case of a foreigner who was detected selling wines and spirits without licence, although he had held a wine and spirit licence for other premises. He paid a fine of £50, with which the Board of Inland Revenue were satisfied. It has not been the rule to institute a public prosecution in all cases, and some discretion in this respect must be, I think, left to the Board.

MEXICO—RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND.

MR. SALT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in reference to the following passage in Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech:—

> "Arrangements are in progress for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Mexico, and special envoys have been despatched by each Government to promote that end,"

Whether he can furnish any more distinct information on the subject; and, whether diplomatic relations have been resumed?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There is no further information to give upon the subject. Permanent diplomatic relations with Mexico have not yet been resumed, but the negotiations with this end are being carried on. Meanwhile the two countries will continue to be represented by special Envoys.

FRANCE AND TONQUIN—STATE OF AFFAIRS.

MR. SALT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can supply any information as to the present position and claims of the French in Tonquin; and, whether British trade in the East is affected injuriously by the events that have recently occurred?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Some communications of a strictly confidential character have recently passed in regard to the claims of the French in Tonquin; but I am not in a position to make any communication to the House. No complaints have reached the Foreign Office as to British trade having been injuriously affected.

NORTH SEA FISHERIES CONVENTION —SPIRIT TRAFFIC.

Mr. BIRKBECK asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to the following paragraph in the Protocol dated 29th October 1881, and signed at the International Conference held at the Hague, relative to the police of the fisheries in the North Sea, viz.:—

> "The Conference is unanimous in declaring that it is exceedingly desirable to put an end to the abuses occasioned by the traffic in spirituous liquors carried on by the floating drink shops in the North Sea, but, having regard to the divergence of fiscal laws and regulations in the different Countries, it thinks that it ought to confine itself to expressing the hope that the Governments will endeavour to establish an International understanding for preventing these abuses, as well as the barter of fish, nets, &c. which results therefrom;"

and, whether any steps have been, or are being, taken in the matter; and, if not, whether, taking into consideration the loss of life at sea resulting from the injurious effects of the abuses referred to, and the serious losses incurred by owners on account of the bartering of nets, gear, and fish, for spirits, &c., Her Majesty's Government will, without further delay, communicate with the Governments of the other Countries who were parties to the North Sea Fisheries Convention?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: This matter has received the attention of Her Majesty's Government. When the Convention relative to the North Sea Fisheries was ratified last month, Her Majesty's Minister at the Hague was instructed to communicate with the Netherlands Government as being the Power which convoked the Conference referred to by the hon. Member on this subject. Her Majesty's Government await the answer of that Government to the representations made to them before taking any further steps.

INTERMEDIATE AND HIGHER EDUCATION (WALES)—ABERYSTWITH COLLEGE.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether an inquiry has yet been instituted into the financial condition of Aberystwith College with a view of deciding upon the expediency of continuing the present grant to the College; and, when he will be in a position to state to the House the decision of the Government?

Mr. MUNDELLA: We are in communication with the hon. Member for Montgomeryshire (Mr. Rendel), who so ably represents the Governing Body of Aberystwith College. He has undertaken to submit, as soon as possible, a further statement for the consideration of the Education Department and the Treasury as to the present and prospective position and claims of the College, and the probable increase of local contributions.

ARMY—DUBLIN DISTRICT PAY OFFICES—THE WOODMAN TRUST.

Colonel O'BEIRNE asked the Secretary of State for War, If, recently, a Circular has been forwarded to any of the Pay Offices in the Dublin District, to the effect that any applications from Irish Pensioners to obtain any of the money gratuities derivable from the Woodman Fund are at present not to be entertained; if such a Circular has been issued; and, is it with the sanction of the Commander in Chief of the Forces?

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER: In the absence of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, I regret to say through indisposition, perhaps I may be allowed to answer the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Leitrim. Assuming that the charity referred to is the Woodman's Trust, I have to say that the only Circular sent out has been a general statemen to the effect that from the low condition of the fund no applications for assistance can at present be received. This applied equally to Irish and all other pensioners. I may add that more than half of those relieved by this charity are Irish.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — OVER-PRESSURE IN BOARD SCHOOLS.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether his attention has been called to the case of J. Abbott, who was summoned, on the 11th of March, before the Bradford bench of magistrates, on the prosecution of the school attendance officer, for not sending his son to school whole time; whether the prisoner produced, in his defence, the following medical certificate:—

> "I have seen and examined Arthur Abbott. Last January twelve months he was trodden, by a horse, on the head, and sustained a severe injury, which compelled him to keep, for six weeks, in the infirmary. Since then the boy has been duller than he used to be, this being, I think, a remote effect of the injury. In my opinion it would be a mistake, and detrimental to his health, to send him to school for more than half-a-day, nor should he do any evening work with his head."
>
> (Signed) "A. Rabagliati, M.D.;"

whether the magistrates, without reading the medical certificate, inflicted a fine on the prisoner; and, if the above allegations are true, whether he will restrain the Bradford School Board from instituting, through their school attendance officer, such prosecutions in future?

Mr. MUNDELLA: I have inquired of the Bradford School Board and of the magistrates as to the conviction of the man Abbott for the non-attendance of his boy at school. It appears that the boy has only passed the First Standard, and, notwithstanding repeated warnings, the father continued to send him to work and to keep him from school. He was defiant to the School Board, said he had money, and could afford to pay fines. When at length he was brought before the magistrates he produced a note from Dr. Rabagliati, which was read by the clerk, and the Chairman of the Bench inquired whether this note had been submitted to the School Board. On finding it had not, and that the boy, who was said to be too delicate to attend school, was sent out to work and to sell newspapers in the streets till a late hour at night, they convicted Abbott, and inflicted a fine of 2*s.* 6*d.* Since the penalty was inflicted the man has applied to the Board for permission for the boy to work half time, stating that he had a certificate of the boy's inability to attend school full time. On asking him to produce this, he stated that it had been sent to London, as the matter was coming before the House of Commons. He admitted the boy was employed early and late in selling newspapers. In reply to the last Question of the hon. Member, it appears to me that the School Board and the magistrates have shown great forbearance in the discharge of a plain statutory duty, and I have neither the right nor the power to interfere with the action of the local authorities in such cases as this.

HARBOURS OF REFUGE.

Mr. MAC IVER asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether Her Majesty's Government have any present intention of constructing or improving harbours of refuge or ports of shelter round the coasts of these Islands to save the lives of our sailors and fishermen; whether they are aware that the French Nation is expending the sum of five and a half millions pounds sterling for a similar purpose over a district of only 250 miles; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have it in contemplation to expend, except at Dover, any considerable sum of money in providing similarly improved harbour accommodation on dangerous coasts in Great Britain and Ireland?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The Government has no present intention of constructing or improving, at the public expense, shelter or refuge harbours; a Select Committee on Harbour Accommodation is sitting upstairs, and until their final Report has been made and considered, it would be premature to express any decision on recommendations which that Committee has made or may make. Whatever sum the Government of France originally intended to contribute to harbour works in the commercial ports of the Channel, the amount has subsequently been considerably reduced; and it has been recently suggested to supply some of the deficiencies by a tax of one franc on every passenger landing in any of the French ports. Except at Dover, the Government do not contemplate any immediate expenditure.

SCIENCE AND ART — BUILDING EXTENSION OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

Mr. COOPE asked the First Commissioner of Works, What progress has been made in the buildings for the extension of the National Gallery, for which a vote was taken last year, and when is it probable that they may be completed and thrown open for the use of the public?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that tenders were invited two days ago for the first portion of these buildings. It was hoped the whole building would be completed in about three years from the present time.

Mr. COOPE: Will the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works inform the House why tenders were only sought for so recently, the Vote for this purpose having been passed 12 months ago?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: There have been unavoidable delays in making arrangements with the Trustees and the War Office, to whom the land belongs.

Mr. COOPE: Will the right hon. Gentleman assure the House that no further unnecessary delay will occur?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Certainly.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION IN LAMBETH.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether the Reports of the London School Board show that in Blocks E, F, H, I, J, K, Lambeth, there would be surplus school accommodation for about 200 scholars if every child known to the School Board visitors was to be present at school whenever its doors were open; whether he has granted permission to the School Board to erect a large additional school in these blocks; and, whether, since the School Board are not allowed by the Department to provide more school accommodation than is required by the number of children, he will explain to the House the reasons for such permission being granted?

Mr. MUNDELLA: The facts are not as stated in the Question of the hon. Member; on the contrary, the number of children known to the School Board Visitors according to the latest schedule is 11,009, while the number of school places provided is 8,083. The School Board have permission to erect a school for 1,200 children. The last Question of the hon. Member requires no answer.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION COURT (APPEALS)—CASE OF GEORGE M'CORD.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the case of George M'Cord, tenant, Sir Richard Wallace, landlord, If he will lay upon the Table a Copy of any available official records of the evidence taken and judgment given in the case by the Antrim Sub-Commission Court, and of the evidence taken and judgment given on the appeal of the tenant George M'Cord to the Court of the Irish Land Commission?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Land Commissioners inform me that there is no record of the evidence taken by the Sub-Commission Court, but that copies of the following documents can be furnished:—The order of the Sub-Commissioners; the evidence taken on the hearing of the appeal; the order of the Land Commissioners, and the Valuer's report made for the use of the Land Commissioners. There will be no objection to lay copies of these documents on the Table if the hon. Member wishes to move for them.

THE CROWN'S "NOMINEE" ACCOUNT —ESCHEATED ESTATES.

Mr. MONTAGU SCOTT asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What means the Treasury afford to give information to the public with respect to the estates of intestates escheated to the Crown; whether it is true that persons claiming to be interested have been and are refused information; and, if so, why; and, whether the Government has in anticipation the taking of any steps to afford facilities in future to claimants of such estates?

Mr. COURTNEY: When the Solicitor to the Treasury administers an estate to which an individual may possibly be entitled, the same advertisements are published as when a private person administers; and Crown administrations can be searched for in the same way as others among the records of the Probate Court. Escheats of real estate cannot be enjoyed by the Crown except after a public local inquiry; and if an heir-at-law is possible he is widely advertised for. It must be remembered that a majority of the estates dealt with by the Treasury Solicitor are cases of illegitimacy, in which there can be no legal claim. Any person claiming to be interested in an estate and giving *primâ facie* evidence of *bona fides* receives all information which can properly be given. It is in contemplation to append to the annual account of the Crown's nominee the names of the estates brought into administration within the year.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—POSTAL ADMINISTRATION — RURAL LETTER CARRIERS — THE GOOD-CONDUCT STRIPE.

MR. LYNCH asked the Postmaster General, What is the total number of parcels received and transmitted in Ireland since the introduction of the parcels post system on the 1st August last; what number passed through the hands of the rural letter carriers; what rule (if any) has been laid down for provincial postmasters in Ireland in order to secure for letter carriers the unfavoured allotment of the good conduct or long service stripes; and, whether the rural letter carriers have received any increase of pay to compensate them for the additional labour entailed upon them by the parcels post; and, if not, what steps are proposed to be taken to make an equitable improvement in their condition in this regard?

MR. FAWCETT: The number of parcels posted in Ireland since the introduction of the Parcels Post up to the 31st of March was about 757,000, and the number delivered about 908,000. Of these, about 208,000 passed through the hands of the rural postmen. It has not been thought necessary, in consequence of the introduction of the Parcels Post, to make any general revision of the postmen's wages, but an increase of wages is given in cases where the circumstances are considered to justify it; in many cases assistance is provided. In reply to the last part of the hon. Member's Question, I may explain that the Provincial postmasters have not the bestowal of the good-conduct stripes. I am responsible for their bestowal, and great care is taken to give them to the most deserving. About half the postmen in Ireland who are on the Establishment are at the present time wearers of good-conduct stripes.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—THE TRANSVAAL—GRAVES OF OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS KILLED AT BRONKHAUS SPRUIT.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the attention of Government has been called to the neglected state of the graves of the officers and soldiers killed at Bronkhaus Spruit; and, whether the British Resident at Pretoria has taken any steps in the matter?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: This subject has not been lost sight of. I would refer the hon. Member to Command Paper 3,419, pages 41 and 85, by which he will see that in 1882 steps were taken to enclose the burial place by a solid wall. I may add that the Resident at Pretoria paid another visit to the graves last December and directed some small necessary repairs.

SUEZ CANAL COMPANY—PROXIES.

MR. MONK asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether any and, if so, what facilities are afforded to the holders of Suez Canal shares in this Country to record their votes by proxy at the meetings of the Suez Canal Company, without incurring the risk and expense of sending their shares to be registered in Paris?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I am obliged to my hon. Friend for calling my attention to this subject. The Statutes of the Company contemplate the appointment of "representants" at the principal capitals, with whom shares may be deposited for this purpose. I have asked our official Directors to see that any necessary facilities in this matter are now given; but I understand that no complaint on this subject has yet reached the Company. Probably the contemplated London office will be the best place for this deposit.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY (IRELAND)—THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government are prepared to grant the Returns with regard to the Queen's Colleges (Ireland) and the Royal University (Ireland), which are specified in a Motion in the Order Book of the House?

MR. TREVELYAN: When I announced a few days ago the decision of the Government to appoint a small Commission to inquire into matters connected with the Queen's Colleges, I stated that the terms of Reference would cover all the points mentioned in the Notice to which the hon. Member refers, and I expressed a hope that the Returns would not be pressed for. I shall take care that all these notices shall be laid before the Commission, and I have given personal assurance in that respect to the hon. Members.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: Will the right hon. Gentleman give the Returns?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am afraid I shall be obliged to contest the Returns on the part of the Government.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Why?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have stated the reasons. You cannot expect that the College authorities will undergo at the same time an inquiry for the House of Commons and an inquiry by a Royal Commission. I can give other reasons showing that these Returns would be extremely difficult to collect in any other way than by means of a Commission. Some of the information could not be officially given, and could only be given in reply to a Question. I shall take care that every information asked for in these Returns shall be given by the Commission.

Mr. SEXTON: Who are to be the Members?

Mr. TREVELYAN: We are carefully endeavouring to select proper gentlemen for the purpose. Several gentlemen have been communicated with.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Will the right hon. Gentleman give an undertaking that the Commission will report before the Queen's Colleges Vote comes on?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I gave an undertaking some time ago that before the Vote is asked for I will inform the House of the progress made.

Mr. SEXTON: When will the names of the Commissioners be announced?

Mr. TREVELYAN: We are not in a position as yet to state. I hope to be able to state it on Tuesday or Wednesday, but it might be possible to state them to-morrow.

LAW AND JUSTICE—ARREST OF P. N. FITZGERALD.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that Mr. P. N. Fitzgerald, now detained in Sligo Gaol, was seized in the street in London, and forced into a cab without being shown a warrant for his arrest, and was refused permission, either while detained in London or in Dublin, to see any friend, or to consult a solicitor; whether, on arrival at Sligo, he was privately remanded by a magistrate, on the application of the police, in a room of the gaol; whether Mr. W. M. Stack, who waited upon Mr. Fitzgerald with an authorisation from Mr. M. J. Horgan, solicitor, to act as his deputy in taking instructions for his defence, was refused an interview with the prisoner by the governor of the gaol, the county inspector, and the resident magistrate; whether Mr. Fitzgerald has yet been shown the warrant for his arrest, or given any facilities for preparing his defence; and, whether the resident magistrate will be directed to hold any further investigations respecting the charge against Mr. Fitzgerald in open court, and in presence of the representatives of the press?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Fitzgerald was arrested in London, taken at once to Scotland Yard, and sent the same evening to Dublin on his way to Sligo. The warrant was not shown to him because police were out looking for him in different directions, and the men who arrested him did not happen to have it with them. Moreover, the charge being one of felony, I am advised that a warrant was not necessary to justify the arrest. In the public interests it was not advisable to permit him to see anyone in London or Dublin, and I am advised that prisoners are not entitled to see persons while in transit. The prisoner was privately remanded in Sligo Prison, the remand being merely a formal one. Mr. Stack was refused permission to see him because he was unknown, and could get no one to identify him. Mr. Horgan was telegraphed to; but when his answer was received identifying Mr. Stack, the police could not find him. Fitzgerald is fully aware of the grounds of his arrest, and he will, of course, be afforded ample opportunities of preparing his defence. The inquiry will be proceeded with as rapidly as possible; and if the interests of justice do not require otherwise, it will be in open Court, as I have no reason to doubt it will be.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I would wish to ask whether it is usual that a man should be arrested without a warrant, hustled away to Ireland, and remanded week after week since, and the police should be spreading false reports about him—[*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must put this statement in the form of a Question.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I wish to know whether there is any redress for this system of illegal arrest, secret remand, and official libelling practised on this man?

Mr. SEXTON: I also would wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary whether it is the case that 11 men, charged in Tubbercurry, in the County Sligo, have been remanded without evidence; and whether the Government will bring the case to a definite issue by having the men committed for trial if there is evidence against them, and if there is not such evidence, will have them discharged from custody?

Mr. O'BRIEN: As the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has not thought fit to answer my Question, I would like to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary whether there is any precedent in England, even in the case of the very worst of criminals, for hugger-mugger inquiries? [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member must couch his Question in proper terms.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I am trying to suit my language to the circumstances of the case —[*Cries of* "Order, order!"] I would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether it is usual in England, or whether there is any precedent for having men seized in the streets without a warrant and hustled away to a gaol, remanded from week to week in a secret room in the prison, and then stories spread that they have turned out to be informers after they had been remanded in this manner from week to week? Is there any precedent for a case of that sort in England?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I did not understand that this Question was addressed to me. As to the arrest without a warrant, I understand that it is the case in a charge of felony that a man can be arrested without a warrant. As for the other part of the proceedings, the question of remand is a question entirely for the magistrates upon circumstances stated to them. It is usual in England, and in all parts of the United Kingdom, that a remand should be granted until the evidence is complete. Whether that remand is asked for on sufficient grounds is a question entirely for the magistrates.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Do you remand from week to week without sufficient cause being shown?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: When the case is a proper one for further remand.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I will take the first opportunity of calling the attention of the House to this system of secret arrest and remand.

Mr. SEXTON: As the right hon. Gentleman has not answered the Question I put to him about the 11 men arrested in the county which I have the honour to represent, I beg to give Notice that I will repeat it.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I shall be very glad to answer the Question with Notice.

WESTERN PACIFIC—DEPORTATION OF FRENCH CONVICTS.

Mr. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can make any statement to the House as to the present position of the negotiations with the French Government in relation to the deportation of criminals to the Western Pacific; whether any communications have passed between Her Majesty's Government and the German Government upon the subject; and, whether any Papers on the subject will be laid upon the Table?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government is awaiting a communication from the French Government on this subject; but it would not be advisable at the present moment to make any statement or lay Papers upon the Table. No communications have passed between the German and English Governments on the subject.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement of the Paris correspondent of *The Standard* on Wednesday:—

> "I am assured that Her Majesty's Government has been officially informed, through the regular diplomatic channel, viâ M. Waddington and Lord Granville, that the right of transporting convicts to French colonies is a matter that concerns France alone, with which no Foreign Power has anything to do (une affaire d'ordre purement intérieur);"

and, whether he still adheres to the statement that no communication has been addressed by the French Government to Her Majesty's Ministers upon this subject?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have seen the paragraph. The answers I have already given to the hon. Member are quite correct.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—SLAVERY AT SUAKIN.

Mr. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any instructions have been sent to the British Consul at Suakin with respect to the treatment of slaves; and, if so, will those instructions be laid before Parliament?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No special instructions have been sent to Mr. Baker; but on March 20 last Lord Granville transmitted to Sir Evelyn Baring for his observations some suggestions connected with the question of slavery from Consul Baker, and the subject is still under consideration.

Mr. BOURKE: In these instructions is the Consul at Suakin authorized to send back runaway slaves to their masters?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I could not answer that Question offhand, because it involves matters of some difficulty. I shall be willing to inquire.

Mr. BOURKE: Will these general instructions be laid before Parliament?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I did not say they were general instructions. I said Consul Baker made some suggestions which have been referred to Sir Evelyn Baring, and no decision has been come to.

Mr. BOURKE: Will these suggestions be laid before Parliament?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not think it will be convenient to produce them separately.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GARRISON OF BERBER.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether a telegram has been received at Cairo from the Governor of Berber—

> "Asking if reinforcements are coming. If so, he will make the best resistance possible with his garrison of 700 men. If otherwise, he asks for instructions prior to making the best arrangements possible with the Mahdi;"

whether a telegram has been received by Sir Evelyn Baring from General Gordon, in which

> "General Gordon expresses his utmost indignation at the manner in which he has been abandoned by the English Government, and states his resolution henceforth to cut himself entirely adrift from those who have deserted him, on whom will rest the bloodguiltiness for all lives hereafter lost in the Soudan;"

and, whether it is true that Nubar Pacha declines to hold office longer unless help is sent to Berber, and that the Khedive proposes to send General Wood's Egyptian army to the relief of Berber?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The first and fourth parts of the hon. Member's Question will, I think, be more conveniently answered in connection with Question No. 36. In regard to the second part of the hon. Member's Question, full information will be given to the House in the Blue Book which I hope to lay on the Table of the House early next week; but I may state at once that the information contained in the hon. Members's Question is incorrect. No information to the effect that Nubar Pasha declines to hold office unless help is sent to Berber has been received at the Foreign Office.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—"THE TIMES" CORRESPONDENT AT KHARTOUM.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Mr. Power was in any way connected with Egypt or the Soudan before his appointment as Consular Agent at Khartoum; whether he is the same gentleman who accompanied the late Mr. O'Donovan there last year as his secretary; whether he receives any salary as Consular Agent; if so, what, and what are his duties and his functions; whether he is in possession of any exequatur either from the Egyptian Government or any other Government; and, whether it is contrary to the rules of the Foreign Office that any Consul, Vice Consul, or Consular Agent shall act as correspondent of a newspaper?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have no information with regard to the personal matters mentioned in the two first Questions of the hon. Member. Mr. Power receives no salary, but will be entitled as Acting Consul to draw an allowance of half the salary assigned to the post. His duties and functions are defined in the official Consular Instructions. He would require no *exequatur* as Acting Consul. There is no rule against the practice mentioned in the fifth head of the hon. Member's Question. It is, however, contrary to practice; but the circumstances of Mr. Power's appointment are altogether peculiar and exceptional. It would have been more correct if in the telegrams relating to the subject contained in Egypt, No. 1 and No. 5, 1884, Mr. Power had not been described as Consular Agent, which is a technical term given to gentlemen holding a permanent and not, as in Mr. Power's case, a purely temporary appointment.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Then, do I understand that Mr. Power is Acting Consul and retains that office at Khartoum?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No; it is entirely a temporary arrangement. His title is Acting Consul. He was called Consular Agent in Sir Evelyn Baring's telegram, but that was an error.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Has any intimation been sent to Mr. Power to withdraw from Khartoum?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: As I stated in the debate on the Vote of Censure, Mr. Power was informed he was at liberty, notwithstanding his having accepted this duty, to leave Khartoum at any time he chose. But, as I also added at the time, Mr. Power, in the most honourable manner, declined to take advantage of the offer so made to him, and he continued at his post, although, not being a regular member of the Consular Body, he was under no obligation to do so, and notwithstanding the very great peril to which he was exposed.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: Can we be told when Mr. Power was appointed, by whom, and how long he has been in office?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Papers relating to that subject are already before the House. They are "Egypt, 1 and 5, 1884."

MR. RITCHIE: Will the noble Lord say how long Her Majesty's Government have considered Mr. Power to be in peril?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot give the exact dates in the documents to which I refer; but the hon. Member will see from the Papers I mentioned the other evening that they are in the Blue Books.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The noble Lord has stated that Mr. Power is in very great peril. The Prime Minister has informed us that General Gordon is in no great peril. I wish the noble Lord or some other Member of the Government would inform us what peril it is to which Mr. Power is subjected, and from which General Gordon is free?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I quoted the statement I made in the debate on the Vote of Censure. I then said that Mr. Power had accepted duties which were undoubtedly of a perilous character, and, considering that he was not one of a regular staff, he was told that he might consider himself perfectly free to leave Khartoum at any moment. He was not bound to remain; but Mr. Power, in the most honourable manner, did remain, as I stated. I added nothing in the statement which I made just now to what I said in the debate on the Vote of Censure some time ago.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Will the noble Lord tell us what are the duties which Mr. Power has to perform?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: They are the duties of an Acting Consul.

MR. O'DONNELL: Will the noble Lord tell us what Government Mr. Power is accredited by?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I stated just now that it was not necessary that Acting Consuls should have an *exequatur*.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—NEW ORDER IN COUNCIL.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with reference to his intimation that an Order in Council had been prepared and would soon be issued, which would restrict the power of local authorities to exclude cattle coming into their districts, Whether he will delay issuing such Order until local authorities have an opportunity of expressing their opinions on the proposition; and, whether the Privy Council will receive a deputation on the subject?

Mr. DODSON, in reply, said, he had not stated that an Order was prepared, but that it was in contemplation to issue one which would restrict the power of local authorities to exclude cattle from their districts. The matter, however, was in abeyance, pending the result of an inquiry into the alleged importation to Bristol of Irish cattle affected with foot-and-mouth disease.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is now able to name a day for the Second Reading of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill?

Mr. O'SULLIVAN: I beg to ask if the right hon. Gentleman has seen by the papers of yesterday that the following was proved in public Court at Dundee on Saturday last:—

> "That on the previous Sunday the Artizans' Club in that town admitted 510 men and seven women, and sold 298 glasses of whisky, 1,200 bottles of beer, and 18 gallons of draught porter;"

and whether the right hon. Gentleman, as First Lord of the Treasury, thinks it fair that the sale of spirituous liquors should be transferred from those who pay licence duty to those who pay none?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The Question of my hon. Friend behind me has been supplemented by the Question of the hon. Member opposite. I will answer that Question first, and I will divide it into two parts. The first part refers to a statement in the Irish papers, which I have not seen, as to a considerable quantity of liquor dispensed on the Sunday in the place mentioned. That appears to me not to be so much a matter for Question to me as for the speech the hon. Member may be inclined to make on the Sunday Closing Bill. Then he went on to ask if I thought it was fair that liquor should be thus sold in clubs instead of being sold by publicans, who were bound to pay duty? I think that also is a topic well suited for any discussion that may take place on the Sunday Closing Bill. With regard to the Question of my hon. Friend behind me, we put the Bill on the Orders for to-night, with the hope of reaching it if the debate on the financial proposals of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer should not last a very long time. If it does not come on to-night, we should give it a place on the Orders for 2 o'clock to-morrow, after the Bills of my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General, in respect of which we have no reason to suppose the debate upon them will occupy any considerable time.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, as the supreme authority, whether he was aware that nine out of ten of the Irish Members preferred that preference should be given to the Education (Ireland) Bill and the Purchase of Estates (Ireland) Bill, upon which they were agreed, over this measure, which was one of an exceedingly contentious character, and one viewed with comparative indifference by the vast majority of the people of Ireland.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Considering that the measures to which the hon. Member for Galway refers are not yet before the House, I could hardly say that we would be justified in not availing ourselves of any opportunity that might offer for proceeding with the Sunday Closing Bill. I have agreed to take the Estates Bill soon after Easter, and I still hope to redeem that promise.

Mr. MAURICE BROOKS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the fact that the persons whom it is proposed to enfranchise are those who for the most part will be affected by Sunday closing, he would defer the consideration of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill until the new constituencies shall have had an opportunity of declaring their opinion regarding it?

Mr. SEXTON rose to a point of Order, and asked whether the hon. Member could put a Question which contained matter of an argumentative character? He considered that the statement—

> "Having regard to the fact that the persons whom it is proposed to enfranchise are those who for the most part will be affected by Sunday closing,"

came within the Standing Order dealing with the point.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he might tell the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) that he was accustomed, from day to day, to see what he might term, he hoped, without offence, an "insinuating preamble," intended to draw out information in the shape of admissions which could not be directly made, and it occurred to him that a very slight attempt of that character had been made in the Question of the hon. Member for Dublin (Mr. Maurice Brooks); but, answering the Question directly, he did not think it would be right on any ground to postpone the Irish Sunday Closing Bill till the Franchise Bill was disposed of.

ENGLAND AND EGYPT.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When the Papers will be presented purporting to show that "the covenants under which this country has been acting in Egypt were not made by the present Government?"

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have presented those Papers to-day.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—BERBER AND KHARTOUM.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the assurance given by Her Majesty's Government that there is no apprehension at all of danger to General Gordon and the other Englishmen at Khartoum, it is a fact that General Gordon has requested Her Majesty's Consular Agent and Colonel Stewart to leave Khartoum, that measure being essential for their safety, and has stated that the only means of doing so would be by Equatorial Africa and the Congo?

Mr. GLADSTONE: With regard to the particulars enumerated in this Question, none of them are accurately stated, although, no doubt, they are the result of the best information at the hon. Member's command. He asks whether it is a fact that General Gordon has requested Her Majesty's Consular Agent and Colonel Stewart to leave Khartoum. It is not a fact. Then he asks whether General Gordon gave as a reason that that measure was essential for their safety. That is not a fact; and it is not a fact that General Gordon stated that the only means of leaving Khartoum would be by Equatorial Africa and the Congo. This Question not being accurately framed, I would prefer to leave the matter there and refer the hon. Member to telegrams which will be faithfully given to the House in the course of a very few days, and from which he will be able to form a much better judgment than I can convey to him across this Table. The hon. Member should observe, and the House should observe, that while we have reason to believe, through Sir Evelyn Baring, that General Gordon is not in receipt of some of our papers, and, indeed, of important telegrams of ours, on the other hand we have no reason to know that we are in receipt of all the telegrams that he has sent. For that reason, perhaps, it is that certain telegrams, particularly the telegram which the hon. Member has in mind, have to the Government an isolated appearance, and do not carry with them the full and precise signification of the documents now in our hands. I would, therefore, prefer that the hon. Member should wait for a short time until he can form his own opinion of the purport of the telegram, in which General Gordon certainly left it quite open to Colonel Stewart and the Consular Agent to leave Khartoum.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked when the Papers would be produced, and whether they would contain the telegrams referred to.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have said that I hope to lay before the House the Papers containing the telegrams early next week.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: May I ask whether it is the intention of the Government to include in the Blue Book telegrams which have been sent to General Gordon, which they think he has not received?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We shall not exclude them. The hon. Member will understand we shall be obliged to present the Blue Book with a degree of uncertainty as to what telegrams General Gordon has received, and the same degree of uncertainty as to the telegrams sent to ourselves; but we certainly will not withhold them.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: The Prime Minister refers to a telegram as an isolated one. Would he lay it before the House at once?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That Question was answered the other day. It is impossible to lay isolated telegrams on the Table. They would only mislead the House. As the Papers will be ready next week, I think the House would prefer, when it has information, to have full information.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: May I ask who is responsible for the extreme delay in printing a few telegrams and a small number of despatches?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot admit that there is, or has been, any delay, or that the information to be supplied is likely to be very small. I cannot see how the hon. and gallant Member can know anything about it, as he has not seen the Papers.

Mr. BOURKE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that the inhabitants of Berber and Khartoum, under the impression that no relief is to be sent to them, may, in despair, submit themselves to the Mahdi, it is advisable to announce that a relief expedition will be sent as soon as the Military authorities think it feasible?

Mr. GLADSTONE: In answering this Question I must carefully divide the two cases with which it deals conjointly, the cases of Berber and Khartoum. They are not, in our view, similar in a material respect. With regard to the case of Berber, we have already stated to the House that that place is, to all appearance, in danger. We have received communications with respect to its condition from Egypt, and we have made our reply to those communications; but we do not think it would be conducive to any of the interests involved to make any statement either as to the communications received, or the communications sent in reply—that is, as regards Berber. With respect to Khartoum the case stands thus. We see no reason to modify, in any respect, the statements previously made, that there is no military or other danger now threatening Khartoum. I will not refer to the speech of my noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington), which was made almost immediately after the beginning of the Session, and which referred prospectively to the state of things before us. At the time it was quite natural to suppose that those who went to Khartoum might go into a position of peril; but I speak for my noble Friend and myself, according to the knowledge which we possess, and which the House will possess, I hope, in the course of three or four days, when we say that there is no military or other danger threatening Khartoum. The Question assumes that there is danger and apprehension respecting Khartoum at the present time, and the right hon. Gentleman asks me whether it is advisable to announce that a relief expedition will be sent as soon as the military authorities think it feasible. I do not complain of that Question, and before Notice of it had been given by the right hon. Gentleman the matter had had our careful consideration. What we conceive to be the case is this—that the country feels a profound interest, and likewise a strong sense of obligation dependent upon it, with regard to the safety of General Gordon. That feeling of interest and that strong sense of obligation with regard to the safety of that gallant and heroic officer Her Majesty's Government have fully shared from the very first, and they have been careful to put themselves in a position to fulfil this obligation in the sense in which they believe the country, in common with themselves, recognize it. Having made that statement, which I hope is sufficiently explicit and significant, it would not be possible, consistently with my public duty, to enter upon any further explanations.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I ask the Prime Minister if he can inform the House whether the garrison of Berber is in peril of being taken by the Arab tribes acting under the orders of the Mahdi, and subjected to the same fate as the garrison of Sinkat was subjected to? I wish also to ask whether the Government can say what information they have with regard to Berber? And further—and this, I admit, is rather a hypothetical Question—if the garrison of Berber were to fall, whether the position of General Gordon would not become one of imminent peril?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I understand the noble Lord to ask whether, if Berber were to fall into the hands of the tribes around it, the position of General Gordon would not then become one of peril. We believe, according to all the information we possess, that there would be no essential change in the position of Khartoum in consequence of that change in the position of Berber. With respect to the important matter in the first part of the Question, we have no reason to believe that there is any risk at Berber of any such catastrophe as unfortunately happened at Sinkat.

MR. BOURKE: With reference to the last part of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, may I ask him whether it is true that the Council of Ministers at Cairo yesterday decided that it was necessary to send an expedition, half English, I think it was, and half Egyptian, to Berber?

MR. GLADSTONE: I must make two replies to what has been said by the right hon. Gentleman. The statement which he has embodied in the form of a Question, as far as my knowledge goes—and I think my knowledge is pretty direct and accurate—is widely apart from the fact. Secondly, I must refer him to the answer I have already made—namely, that I think that for us to describe the communications made from Egypt, or the replies we have made to those communications, would be prejudicial to the interests involved.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, when the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs answered his Question with respect to Berber, he stated the Prime Minister would deal with it in his reply; but the Prime Minister had not answered one point in his Question. He wished to know whether it was true that a telegram had been received by Sir Evelyn Baring from General Gordon, in which General Gordon had expressed his utmost indignation at the manner in which he had been abandoned by the English Government. He would also ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he still adhered to the statement he made yesterday with regard to the comparatively valueless character of Mr. Power's information, based on the alleged fact that he was merely a Consular Agent at Khartoum?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he had answered the latter part of the hon. Member's Question by stating that full information would be given in the Blue Book, which would be laid on the Table early next week, while as to the former part he could say at once that the hon. Member's information was incorrect.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: I wish to ask the Prime Minister a Question, because I think in the answer he has given the country will hardly understand what the Government are going to do. I wish to ask the Prime Minister a plain Question—Whether the Government have made up their minds, while there is still time, to endeavour to relieve, not only the garrison of Berber, but the 2,000 women and children who had been sent from Khartoum, and are now in Berber?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am sorry the hon. and gallant Baronet should have put a Question which I have already answered in the most explicit terms by saying that we have received a communication with respect to the condition of Berber and have replied, but that it would not be conducive to the interests of those concerned that we should state the nature either of the communications or the reply.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked whether the noble Lord the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs could inform the House how many women and children who had left Shendy had been massacred?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No further information has come upon that subject. As I stated the other day, the only information we have was that sent by M. Cuzzi, General Gordon's agent at Berber, and his words were that they were believed to have been massacred.

MR. ONSLOW asked when it would not be detrimental to the public interest to give the information to which the right hon. Gentleman had alluded?

MR. GLADSTONE: When it will not be detrimental to the interests involved, it will be our duty to give the information.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I am afraid the question which is uppermost in everybody's mind has not been fully answered. It is this—Is it, or is it not, the intention of Her Majesty's Government to send an expedition or otherwise to protect and relieve General Gordon?

MR. GLADSTONE: That Question involves interests of a wider scope than perhaps the right hon. Gentleman intends, when he asks, Is it the intention of Her Majesty's Government to send an expedition to protect and relieve General Gordon—[*Cries of* "Or otherwise!"]

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I said "or otherwise to relieve" him.

MR. GLADSTONE: Well, what I have said is this distinctly. We believe the country recognizes an obligation with respect to the safety of General

Gordon, and we have ourselves fully recognized, and do recognize, that obligation, and, recognizing it, it is our duty and care to put ourselves in a condition to fulfil it should the occasion arise. Beyond that it would be contrary to my functions to go.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Mr. HICKS inquired of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether he was in a position to give the House any information as to the 101 bullocks which on the 14th of this month were brought from Liverpool to Wimpole in Cambridgeshire; and, further, whether they came from abroad, and whether he could inform the House as to what parts of the country the remainder of the cargo had been sent?

Mr. DODSON, in reply, said, the animals attacked with foot-and-mouth disease at Wimpole were part of the number of 101 animals to which the hon. Member referred. They were landed at Liverpool from the steamer *Quebec* on the 9th of April from Canada. They passed the Inspector of the Privy Council on the 10th as being free from disease. They were exposed for sale in the Liverpool Stanley Market on the 14th, and were again passed by the Market Inspector before they were sent into Cambridgeshire. The agent of the Canadian Government wrote to him calling attention to the fact that nine days elapsed after the arrival at Liverpool before the disease appeared, and 20 days, or thereabouts, after they were shipped from Canada. The Privy Council had sent an Inspector to Cambridge to inquire as to the rest of the 101 which were sent to Cambridge, and the Inspector at Harwich had been instructed to inspect the diseased animals at Wimpole, and the Privy Council Inspector at Liverpool had also been instructed to inquire as to the destination of the remainder of the cargo landed from Canada on the 9th instant.

Mr. HICKS wished further to draw the attention of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to the fact that when the cattle were reported to the Inspector in Cambridgeshire on the 18th, as suffering from foot-and-mouth disease, they were in a very advanced stage of the disease.

Mr. Gladstone

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD asked whether the Prime Minister contemplated such an alteration of the Business for to-morrow as would interfere with the discussion of the Notices of Motion of private Members?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We propose to have a Morning Sitting to-morrow.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD asked for the indulgence of the House for a few moments in order that he might draw attention to a matter intimately connected with the rights and privileges of private Members. ["Order, order!"] He was not in the habit of intruding unduly on the time of the House. [*Cries of* "Hear, hear!" "Oh!" *and* "Move the Adjournment!"] He could move the Adjournment, but he preferred to appeal to the indulgence of hon. Gentlemen. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and cheers.*] On a day near the end of last Session he had secured the first place on the Notice Paper, it being his intention to direct attention to a most important subject. The Government, however, asked— [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I rise to Order. I wish to know, Sir, whether the right hon. Gentleman is in Order? [*Cries of* "Move the Adjournment!"]

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD: Then I shall ask leave to move the Adjournment.

Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is not in Order in the course which he is now pursuing—in raising a question of debate at this stage of this evening's proceedings. The right hon. Gentleman is, however, entitled to ask a Question with reference to the Morning Sitting to-morrow.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I may be permitted to say that the House will, of course, meet at 9 in the evening, when the right hon. Gentleman will have the opportunity which he desires.

Mr. GORST asked whether the Prime Minister would consent that in future a Morning Sitting should only be proposed by a substantive Motion. The present practice was to say simply, when the Orders were read over, just before the adjournment of the House, that such or such a Bill would be brought forward at 2 in the afternoon.

Mr. GLADSTONE: If the hon. and learned Member wishes to propose an alteration in the established practice it is quite open for him to do so.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Are we to understand that the Government have definitively decided to hold a Morning Sitting to-morrow, or is it to be contingent, as was stated yesterday by the President of the Local Government Board, on the progress made with Business to-night? The two statements are quite distinct.

Mr. GLADSTONE: If we are able to dispose of the Orders in question to-night, the Attorney General's Bill, and the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, we shall be able to dispense with the Morning Sitting.

PARLIAMENT—MORNING SITTING.

NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE (RULE 2).

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD, Member for the City of London, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., the intention of Her Majesty's Government to propose a Morning Sitting To-morrow.

The pleasure of the House not having been signified—

Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman proposes to call attention to a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, the intention of the Government to take a Morning Sitting to-morrow. The House will judge of the importance of the matter. It is my duty to ask the House that leave be given to the right hon. Gentleman. Is the right hon. Gentleman supported by 40 Members?

And not less than 40 Members having risen in their places—

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD rose to move the Adjournment of the House. He said that nothing would induce him to take such a course except the conviction that the rights and privileges of independent Members had been very gravely interfered with, and were, in fact, in very great danger. There were but three days in the week upon which private Members could call attention to matters of importance, and by the action of the Government these were practically taken away. On more than one occasion last Session he had been fortunate enough to gain an opportunity for proposing a Resolution on a very important subject—namely, the re-adjustment of our fiscal system; but the Government had stepped in on each occasion and prevented him from carrying out his purpose, and now they intended again to frustrate his object by taking a Morning Sitting to-morrow. What was the use of Members of experience, charged with the interests of important constituencies, coming down to that House when they were not given an opportunity of making their voices heard? Members might as well pair off at once, and leave the administration of the country to a Dictator. He trusted that the Government would see that the course which they were pursuing interfered with the independence and dignity of the House.

Mr. GORST seconded the Motion. The Government might well pause to consider whether they were not going a little too far when so quiet and Constitutional a Member as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London was driven into such a course as that which he had been compelled to take on that occasion. There was no desire to intervene between the House and the Financial Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Had it not been for the impatience of some Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite — had they but shown the right hon. Gentleman a little indulgence, it would not have been necessary to move the Adjournment. The Government, he held, ought to show more consideration for the rights and privileges of private Members. In the present Session four Morning Sittings had been taken before Easter; and since the re-assembling of the House every private Members' day had been taken up. To show the extraordinary inconvenience of the course which was taken, it was not only private Members' crotchets that were interfered with, but even so important a measure as the Metropolitan Board of Works (Further Powers) Bill was postponed three times before Easter in consequence of the Morning Sittings which were held. The Prime Minister knew that no previous intimation of a Morning Sitting had been given; it had been quite sprung upon the House, and hon. Members had been taken by surprise; and as no formal Motion was now made in order to fix a Morning Sitting, Members had little or no opportunity of protesting against such Sittings.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Hubbard.*)

CAPTAIN PRICE said, that he had a Motion on the Paper for to-morrow of a very important character on the form of Government in Jamaica. On three separate occasions he had obtained an opportunity of making that Motion, and on three separate occasions the Government had induced him to withdraw it. It was an important matter, for the reason that absolutely the only way in which the people of Jamaica could make known their grievances in that House was by getting some private Member to ballot at the Table for an opportunity of bringing the matter before the House. There were at the present time on the Table of the House some very important Papers having reference to Jamaica; and he hoped that if he were obliged to withdraw his Motion again to-morrow, Her Majesty's Government would give him another opportunity of bringing it forward.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): It is not my business to discuss the question whether any change has ever taken place in the practice of the House. All I can say is, that what has been done in this case has been the course which has been adopted for many years past. Besides, Notice was given on Wednesday that there would be a Morning Sitting on Friday. ["No!"] Well, the circumstances under which a Friday Sitting would be taken were stated; and judging from the cheers of the Opposition it was clear that the contingency anticipated would arise. What I want now to do is, to suggest to my right hon. Friend opposite a course which he can take, and which I think he will see will give him a full opportunity of discussing the question he is desirous of bringing forward. To-morrow the first Motion is a Motion by the right hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for Wigtonshire (Sir John Hay) regarding Portpatrick Harbour. Therefore, the subject in which my right hon. Friend is interested can only be brought forward for discussion, and not as a Motion; and I take it for granted that my right hon. Friend would then make an interesting speech at about 10 o'clock to-morrow night, when he would have abundance of time to inform us of his view. He will not, however, then have an opportunity of taking a Division upon his Motion. What I would suggest is this. I will undertake at the end of my Budget Statement this evening to move the Income Tax Resolution. My right hon. Friend will then, at the end of my Financial Statement, have an opportunity of making the precise Motion he proposes to make, but cannot actually make, to-morrow. That, I think, is a fair offer; for my right hon. Friend will, in fact, be in a better position by adopting the course I have suggested than he would be in if he brought forward his Motion to-morrow.

MR. J. LOWTHER: The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has omitted to notice the true position of affairs. I must remind the right hon. Gentleman that on Tuesday last I distinctly asked a Question with regard to the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, whether the promise made by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster of a Ministerial statement respecting that Bill would be made at a Morning Sitting, and the answer was in the negative. ["Hear, hear!" *and* "No, no!"] The answer was certainly understood on this side of the House to be in the negative, and the House was then left under the impression that no Morning Sitting would be held. What happened yesterday? Why, Sir, an announcement was undoubtedly made that, under certain circumstances, a Morning Sitting might be held. It was then said that in the event of the House not advancing to-day a certain Bill—[Mr. WARTON: Three Bills.] Yes; three Bills were mentioned, two of which were mentioned as Bills waiting for one of the Grand Committees, and it was said that it was important that one of these Bills should be advanced a stage for that purpose. I am not going to make any remarks on the so-called Grand Committees; for if I denied that they were what have so properly been called the grand failures, I should be guilty of two acts of indiscretion—one of stating what is not the fact, and the other of tempting hon. Gentlemen to follow me into an irregular discussion. Then, again, the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill is a measure which is likely to be the subject of prolonged controversy, and one which is likely to create a good deal of feeling in Ireland, and yet the House is left in the dark as to that. Without wishing to continue this discussion, I would venture to point out that there could be no surer way of retarding Public Business than by allowing hon. Members to come down to the House in absolute uncertainty as to the Business to be transacted and of the hour at which it is to meet.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON said, he, as well as the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite, had endeavoured in vain for two Sessions to obtain a day for the discussion of the question of the Government of Jamaica. There had been Papers of great importance referring to Jamaica laid upon the Table, and no opportunity for discussing them had been given. It was only fair that a loyal and important Colony should be allowed the opportunity of having its grievances stated, as this was the only means it had of having the redress to which it was entitled. In the circumstances, he would make an appeal to Her Majesty's Government to give the hon. and gallant Gentleman or himself an opportunity of bringing on the Motion.

Mr. W. H. SMITH wished to point out that the course which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed was one which, instead of facilitating Public Business, would decidedly impede it. It was always understood that the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a Statement upon the finance of the country. But if a side issue were raised, it would result in a red herring being drawn across the scent, and an entirely new method of advancing Public Business being introduced. The proper course was to proceed with the discussion of the Budget that evening. [Mr. Gladstone: No.] Then it seemed they were not to discuss the Budget that evening. If, however, the Budget were discussed, there would be more time for the discussion of the other matter to-morrow.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman, if he will kindly reflect upon previous history, will see that he has fallen into an error of fact. The Budget is never discussed, for a practical purpose, on the day on which it is introduced. ["Oh!"] Never. I think I have heard 50 Budgets brought forward in this House; and it is a matter of the most elementary practice of the House that the Budget is never discussed on the day on which it is brought forward. Therefore, the right hon Gentleman will see that he has fallen into an egregious error. The old practice was until, I think, 10 or 15 years ago, that only a few questions followed the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a day was then fixed for the discussion, if there was to be a practical discussion. Now, there is no doubt a practice under which hon. Gentlemen, without raising a positive issue to be decided by a Division, can give their opinions and set forward their views with regard to the finance of the country after the introduction of the Budget; and that is the very thing my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has proposed to the House, and he has proposed that it should be done on Thursday night with a practical issue, instead of on Friday night without a practical issue. I wish, therefore, simply to say that this is a perfectly regular proceeding; and if the right hon. Gentleman will ask any of his Friends sitting on the Bench with him, they will tell him it is regular. I wish to say one word with regard to Jamaica. I agree with my hon. and learned Friend behind me (Mr. Serjeant Simon) that it is very desirable that it should be discussed, and my right hon. Friend near me has pointed out a way in which it may be done. If the Motion about Jamaica stands second to-morrow, it would come on about 9 o'clock, in the middle of the dinner hour. But after the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. G. Hubbard), which can only take a very short time, there will be an excellent opportunity for discussing it.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: It is quite true that no practical issue is discussed on the night of the Budget, as the right hon. Gentleman says; but I do not think that my right hon. Friend contemplates raising any issue upon which we should come to a vote. Undoubtedly, there is always a fair latitude after the Financial Statement for obtaining certain explanations. I think the course proposed is not altogether fair to my right hon. Friend. This is very early in the Session to be taking so many Morning Sittings; but it is for my right hon. Friend to consider whether he can come to any arrangement with the Government as to the time at which he can bring on his Motion—for instance, whether they will undertake to make a House and keep a House for him to-morrow evening?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes; we will.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked whether the arrangement suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer would prevent his Motion coming on?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): No, Sir.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR begged to renew his appeal to the Prime Minister with regard to the Irish Education Bill and the Purchase of Estates (Ireland) Bill. He wished to say there was a very strong feeling indeed among the Irish Members that the right hon. Gentleman was making a mistake in giving preference to the Sunday Closing measure. He spoke with impartiality in this matter, for he never gave a vote for or against the Sunday Closing Bill, and he did not intend to do so; but he thought the right hon. Gentleman might in this matter interpose his authority, as the Gentlemen responsible for Irish affairs both inside and outside the House seemed to go against the prevalent Irish feeling in small things as well as large. Several times in the course of the present Session representations had been made over and over again to the Chief Secretary and other Members of the Government in vain. He thought they were acting most unwisely and most injudiciously, and contrary to the feelings of the vast majority of the Irish Members, in giving preference to this Bill, which was an exceedingly contentious one. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the Education Bill and the Purchase of Estates (Ireland) Bill were not yet before the House. That was quite true; but there was a general consensus of opinion among the Irish Members that those Bills transcended far and away in importance the Sunday Closing Bill, and they would not be likely to give rise to any considerable opposition or difference of opinion; whereas the debate on the Sunday Closing Bill would be met with very strong and very obstinate opposition. He made this appeal to the Prime Minister because he believed there was no use in appealing to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and he said that in no discourteous sense. The right hon. Gentleman's mind with regard to Irish matters seemed to be acting under some outside influences which he was unable to resist.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD said, that upon the undertaking of the Government to keep a House to-morrow he would ask leave to withdraw his Motion.

Mr. MAC IVER said, he thought the Government arrangements were most objectionable.

Mr. WARTON said, he must protest against the practice of taking Morning Sittings so early in the Session without giving the House an opportunity of deciding whether there should be such Sittings or not.

Captain PRICE asked whether the Government would undertake to bring on the Colonial Vote at a convenient time for him to raise the question of Jamaica?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT invited the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to explain his statement made on Tuesday that there would be no Morning Sitting on Friday.

Mr. DODSON was not aware that he had used the words "Morning Sitting" at all. He had said that the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill would be put down for Friday, not with the intention of proceeding with it, but in order to enable him to make a statement as to the intention of the Government with regard to it.

Mr. LEAMY inquired whether the Chief Secretary would inform the House if the Education Bill was ready, and when it would be introduced?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Education (Ireland) Bill is ready; and, as I have already stated, I shall be prepared to introduce it to the House when the Sunday Closing Bill for Ireland has made practical progress.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not agree with the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) in the opinion he entertained of that Bill. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) did not regard it with indifference; on the contrary, he was strenuously in favour of it, and would endeavour to be in attendance to support it; but, at the same time, he could not shut his eyes to the fact that, as it at present stood on the Ministerial programme, it was practically blocking all the other Irish measures; and he appealed to the Prime Minister whether he ought not to make some modification in the programme—at any rate with regard to that Bill?

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

WAYS AND MEANS.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—ARREST OF P. M. FITZGERALD.

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, that as he was not able to get any satisfactory answer from the Chief Secretary for Ireland this afternoon, in reference to the case of Mr. Fitzgerald, he was under the necessity of stating the facts perhaps a little more fully. Mr. Fitzgerald's own account was that on Thursday he was proceeding across London Bridge to make a business visit, when a man rushed at him and, seizing him, called out—"You are Fitzgerald; I arrest you for treason felony." Mr. Fitzgerald asked to see his warrant. He replied that he had none. The Home Secretary declared that a warrant was unnecessary; but if a warrant had to be drawn up, as the Chief Secretary admitted, surely it was necessary that it should be shown to the person arrested. Fitzgerald said he was forced into a cab and taken to Scotland Yard. He asked to see some friends, or, at least, a lawyer, but was refused. He was taken to Dublin, and again he requested to see several persons, one of them a doctor. Again he was refused, and was driven away upon a long journey to Sligo, and there taken into a room in the gaol, and even then no copy of the warrant was shown him. In Sligo he was refused legal assistance. His legal adviser, Mr. Stack, from the office of Mr. Horgan, travelled all night from Tralee to see him, and presented himself at the gaol, where he was informed that he could not be permitted to see his client. He applied to the Resident Magistrate, and could get no satisfactory answer from him. There could be no possible motive for treating this man as he had been treated, except, what he believed was at the bottom of the whole matter, the desire to create an impression that he had turned informer. Other persons, also, had been arrested on a charge of treason felony, and kept in separate cells, subjected to secret visits from men like George Bolton, broken down, ill-treated, and told that such and such a man had turned approver, in the hope that they themselves would follow the same course, and invent some story. Fitzgerald was a respectable man, a commercial traveller, a man against whom he believed no charge of sedition could be established, and he was seized in London, carted away to Ireland, and then the public were told, through the Press Association, that he had turned informer. Such indignities were not possible in England, even in its worst moments of panic and alarm. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would have something to tell them in the way of justification for treatment of that sort. What was there in the state of Ireland which made it necessary that the man should be treated in that infamous manner? He could not suppose, though he wished it, that the English rule was in such desperate straits in Ireland that, in order to preserve it a little while longer, it was necessary to go to lengths of this kind. He wanted to know why it was necessary for the Government to do those things? In the cases of the prisoners charged with organizing explosions in England, these men were refused for a time permission to see their friends; yet the Home Secretary, after thinking over the matter, withdrew his objection, and allowed them to see their friends. Why was not the same thing done in Ireland, in cases where there was much less ground for apprehension? He had asked the right hon. Gentleman, also, for some undertaking that in the future proceedings against Mr. Fitzgerald he should be produced in open Court, and that the proceedings should take place in the presence of the representatives of the Press. That was but a very small guarantee of the proper administration of justice in Ireland. It was the only guarantee they had, and he thought it should be remembered that proceedings in open Court were now somewhat guarded in Ireland; but the proceedings conducted in private in prison cells in Ireland were worse today than they were a century ago in England. He wanted to know what was the objection which was brought up against having reporters present, so that, at all events, the man's friends might know what the charge was against him, what was the evidence against him, and what was the position he held. If that was not done, he should strongly object to the whole proceedings as simply vile and miserable, and a libel against this man, in order to ruin him with his friends, and drive him to despair, and as an attempt to make him give testimony against guiltless men, or to make him the victim for someone else.

Mr. SEXTON said, that before the Speaker left the Chair he wished to support the hon. Member for Mallow in his efforts with regard to this gentleman, Mr. Fitzgerald. He did not dwell so much upon his arrest in London, nor even so much upon the proceedings in Dublin; but he did dwell, with the utmost earnestness and indignation, upon the treatment which he had received in the gaol in Sligo. He complained, first, that he had been refused the assistance of an ordinary legal adviser, a refusal which would never have been made in England; secondly, that the proceedings against him were taken in private; and, thirdly, that the police and Press had circulated false rumours about him for the purpose of inducing him to turn informer. Well, this, he said, was a most vile and scandalous system, and one which, in effect, would give rise to the most corrupt and dangerous form of perjury in Ireland. With regard to the men of Tubbercurry, they had been several weeks in prison without trial. All of them were persons who occupied a respectable position, and yet they were taken out of their beds in the dead of the night. They were hustled into gaol, and had not been allowed to obtain adequate legal assistance. The proceedings against them he regarded as having been conducted in a manner which was highly improper. They then found from day to day vile rumours against one or other of them of the nature of which his hon. Friend (Mr. O'Brien) had complained in the case of Mr. Fitzgerald. There was nothing whatever in the condition of Ireland at present which would warrant such a course of procedure. As regarded crime they were in a most favourable position; and therefore he would ask why the Government resorted to proceedings which were mediæval and barbarous in their nature? He would wish to receive from the right hon. Gentleman an assurance that this would be discontinued, and that the prisoners would be treated fairly and justly. He would ask him to communicate to-night with the magistrates in Sligo and direct them to proceed with the cases. He would also ask him to specially direct Mr. Moloney, R.M., to bring forward any adequate and material evidence which he had. The magistrates should then be directed to proceed with the case to a Constitutional and definite issue. He did not want to ask what the evidence was; but he would ask them to bring it forward if they had had it, and if not he would ask for the prompt acquittal and release of the men if there was no evidence against them. If there was evidence, why could it not be produced; or did the Government want to wait until they were able to manufacture evidence by continuing this system of private examinations, and at the same time spreading false malicious statements in the public Press. He would ask that the very next examinations after the present remand expired should be conducted in open Court, and that whatever evidence they had against these 11 prisoners should be produced; for he might inform them that it was the universal belief in Sligo that there was no evidence against them at all. If there was sufficient evidence to justify any intelligent, rational magistrate, they should be committed for trial; but if not they should be discharged at once. If they did not do this, they would find it very hard to convince the Irish Members that the whole case was not an attempt to obtain manufactured evidence. He observed that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) smiled. He was a witness in his time as Chief Secretary of facts and proceedings of this nature; and he would like to ask him how much he thought they contributed to the success of his administration? The Irish Members could not tolerate prisoners being pursued and treated in this manner in Ireland at a time when the country was free from any serious crime.

Mr. TREVELYAN: In reply to the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), I can only repeat the substance of what I stated in answer to his Question, for that answer proved at once the whole case.

Mr. O'BRIEN: It admitted the whole case.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, Order!

Mr. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member has made several charges against the action of the authorities in England and in Ireland; but I cannot perceive that he mentioned anything out of the usual course that had been done in this case. I was advised, as I told you, by our legal adviser in Ireland; and I have since seen that the Home Secretary confirms that advice, in substance, in the few remarks which he addressed to the House. I am also advised by several other hon. and learned Gentlemen that there is no doubt about there being a law to the effect that where a felony has been committed, or is suspected to have been committed, a policeman may arrest without a warrant, or any other person may arrest and commit prisoner to the custody of the police. In this case the warrant was made out, but it could not be in the hands of every officer, and it was necessary, in order to arrest this person, that several parties should be on his track. It happened that the party that arrested him at the moment had not the warrant in his possession; but I am advised that everything that was done was perfectly legal. The hon. Member then refers to what was the case about the prisoner's solicitor, and the hon. Member referred to what had been done by the Home Secretary in the cases of the English conspirators, who were eventually punished for a conspiracy to produce dangerous explosions, and said that in that case he eventually allowed these prisoners to see their solicitor. I am surprised after the explanation I gave that the hon. Member for Mallow should have retorted with such extreme warmth of language that Fitzgerald had been forbidden to see his solicitor. What passed was this. As soon as the prisoner had arrived at Sligo a gentleman presented himself at the prison who was not known to anyone there. He might have been a solicitor, or might have been anybody else; and, accordingly, the authorities telegraphed to the solicitor whom he said he came from in order to see if this person was the person whom he represented himself to be. As soon as the telegram arrived from Mr. Horgan stating that this gentleman had come as his emissary or agent, the police looked for this gentleman but could not find him, and consequently for a time Mr. Fitzgerald was without legal assistance.

Mr. LEAMY: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the police informed Mr. Stack that they had telegraphed to Mr. Horgan, and would admit him if they got a reply in the affirmative?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I can quite understand the hon. Gentleman asking that question; but, at the same time, he must allow that not having any information on the subject I am unable to answer whether or not that was the case. The precaution by the police was a precaution which was perfectly legitimate under the circumstances; but there was no intention whatever to deprive Mr. Fitzgerald of legal assistance. The next question was that of the remand, which was private, and entirely a formal one. It was simply a policeman who stated that the evidence was not yet ready to be produced, and the remand was perfectly right and legal under the statute. As regards the former point, the next inquiry will be public; and I may state that the Attorney General is now at the present moment at the Irish Office in London, and will communicate with the authorities in Ireland, and I am informed that, in all probability, at the next inquiry the evidence will be given in public. As regards the Tubbercurry prisoners, the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) has complained that they were unable to obtain adequate legal assistance. Well, as to that point I will inquire into it, and will give the hon. Member all the information which I can obtain upon the subject. With regard to the remands, it was necessary in grave cases to have remands given, and it was not exceptional to Ireland. I am informed that in the case of the English prisoners—I mean Dr. Gallagher and his accomplices—the remands were very frequent, in all as many as 11.

Mr. LEAMY: What about the inquiries?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, Order!

Mr. TREVELYAN: As regards the private inquiries, it is quite impossible for me to instruct magistrates; such a course would be irregular, and, I believe, in fact absolutely unconstitutional. The

Government will be able, however, to consult their own counsel as to the cases; and on the point of remands they would see that the cases would be brought on for trial with the greatest possible despatch. He hoped that this answer would satisfy the hon. Member.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATHS IN WATERFORD GAOL—CASE OF JAMES COMMINS.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. LEAMY said, he wished to obtain some information as to a case which he had brought under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. It was a case to which the Irish Members believed they were entitled to have an answer. He alluded to the death of a man named James Commins, in Waterford Gaol. The facts of the case were as enumerated in a Question put to the right hon. Gentleman. He asked the right hon. Gentleman whether it was a fact that this man was arrested on the 17th of April, and sent to gaol in default of paying a small fine; whether a day after his imprisonment he was found talking in his cell to himself, and thereupon the Governor of the gaol ordered the man to be put into a strait waistcoat; whether he burst the straps a day or so afterwards, and that he was then strapped down on the bed in the cell in which he was eventually killed; whether during that time he was not allowed to be visited by his friends; whether two similar cases had not occurred in the same gaol? He also asked the right hon. Gentleman whether it was a fact that at the inquest held upon this poor man, the prison doctor swore he died from disease of the heart, whilst two other doctors swore he died from inflammation of the lungs; whether evidence was not given by the chaplain of the gaol to the effect that he saw the man in his cell with his hands tied, and no clothing on him except a night-shirt? The right hon. Gentleman's answer was that it was quite customary to treat prisoners in that manner. Then, again, he was asked why the man was held down in such a way, and his answer was that he was insane. Now, there was a rule that the moment a man got insane in goal he should be at once removed to a lunatic asylum. Why was not that done in this case? Instead of that, he was left practically naked, and tied down in a cold cell for a fortnight, until he died from the brutal treatment he had received. He asked the Chief Secretary the day before yesterday whether this case would be publicly investigated; and his answer was that the Local Government Board had sent down an officer to hold an inquiry. But under what circumstances was it held? The Visiting Justices were not informed of it, and none of the relatives of the deceased were given an opportunity to be present at it. And the result of the inquiry the right hon. Gentleman had not communicated to the House. Now, he wanted to know was that House going to sanction such brutal and inhuman treatment of a prisoner whose only offence was that he refused to pay a fine for the trespass of some of his cattle on a neighbour's land. If a man was guilty of a grave offence, if he was suffering penal servitude for murder, such treatment would be shocking and abominable. But what was worse was, that that was the second instance in that gaol in which a poor man strapped to his bed, and believed to be insane, had been found dead. He wanted to know if that was the system which was to be carried out in Irish prisons? Why did the right hon. Gentleman refuse to grant an inquiry into it? If he was not afraid of an inquiry, why refuse it in such a glaring case? [*Laughter.*] This was a matter which might well excite hilarity on the Opposition Benches; but he would tell the House that they would not cease from discussing this case until an opportunity was given for a public inquiry into it. The Chief Secretary had told him that an inquiry was held, and that a Report was made. But why was not the Report produced and laid upon the Table of the House—one-sided Report though it was—for no one was examined by the Inspector who went down but the doctor of the gaol, the Governor, and the warders. What was the good of a Report if it was only to be kept in a pigeon-hole in Dublin Castle? The chaplain of the gaol said at the inquest that it was usual to have prisoners stripped in this way, and strapped down on their beds. Would the Chief Secretary tell them what necessity there was for all this brutality, and why it was that he refused them a public inquiry? No doubt the officials of the Waterford Gaol were persons who were friends of people with great influence in high places, and Commins was poor and friendless, and with no one to speak for him; but he would tell the House, and he would tell the Government, that this sort of treatment of prisoners would stir up a bad feeling, not only in Waterford but all through Ireland, and that they on the Irish Benches would not rest until they had got satisfaction in this matter; even although the Chief Secretary had evidently made up his mind that a prison official was to be upheld, whether his conduct was right or wrong.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that as his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary could not, by the Rules of the House, speak again, he might perhaps be allowed to make a few remarks, especially as that was one of a class of cases of a painful character with which he was very familiar, having constantly to deal with them. In that particular instance, an allegation having been made that a prisoner had been ill-used and improperly treated, his right hon. Friend took the very natural course of directing that an inquiry should be instituted by the Prison Board in the first instance, in order to ascertain the facts. That was precisely the course which he himself would have taken under the like circumstances in England. He would have called for a Report from the Prison Commissioners in the first instance; and if he thought the case one that required further investigation he would have gone into the matter himself, and have obtained further information. That was precisely what his right hon. Friend had done. ["Oh, oh!"] He thought he might be allowed to proceed without interruption. He was not stating anything offensive. After receiving the Report of the Prison Board, thinking the case to be a serious one, his right hon. Friend directed that it should be referred to the Royal Commission, which had been appointed with great care, for the purpose of inquiring into the discipline of prisons in Ireland, and into any abuses which might exist in them. The Commission, he believed, had the confidence of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and those who sat with him. What fairer course could his right hon. Friend have adopted? The hon. Member opposite was right in calling attention to that case; but he had no right to impute to his right hon. Friend inhumanity or brutality.

Mr. LEAMY: I beg your pardon. I did not say that the Chief Secretary was either inhuman or brutal. I referred to the treatment Commins received in gaol.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the hon. Member had used towards his right hon. Friend language which seemed to him most offensive and entirely uncalled for. He hoped, however, that it would now be admitted that his right hon. Friend had acted in a just and impartial manner, and that he was not obnoxious to the reproaches that had been cast upon him.

Mr. LEAMY said, he wished to explain. When he made his speech he was not aware that this case was referred to the Prisons Commission. It was only yesterday that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary refused to produce the Report dealing with the matter, on the ground that it was a confidential document; but he had said nothing about referring it to the Commission.

Mr. TREVELYAN asked to be allowed to say a few words by way of personal explanation. He could not, of course, keep himself fully informed of all the details of the Irish administration; and the first he heard of this matter was when it was brought under his notice the day before yesterday by the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Leamy). He thought the matter very serious, and had since been in correspondence with Dublin about it; and it was only in the course of that morning he found that referring it to the Prisons Commission was the only way of having it properly inquired into. He had at once communicated his determination to that effect to the Irish Executive.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON said that, as a Member of the Royal Commission now sitting on Irish Prisons, he had listened with deep interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Waterford. He promised the hon. Member that they would have this case fully investigated, and would have the officials over from Ireland with regard to it.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

WAYS AND MEANS—FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Ways and Means—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): Sir Arthur Otway, I shall commence my Statement, in accordance with custom, by a review of the Finance of the year which closed at the end of last month—the year 1883-4.

With respect to the Revenue, the original Estimate, made in my Financial Statement last year, was that it would amount to £86,029,000, and that the Expenditure would amount to £85,789,000, the surplus being £240,000. But I stated in that speech that the Revenue did not include what was expected to come from the Parcel Post system, which would be established later in the year; and in the course of the Session we made this alteration, that, instead of deducting from the Revenue—as I proposed in my Financial Statement—£170,000 on account of the establishment of cheap telegrams, we added £200,000 to the Expenditure, part of £500,000 required to prepare for that establishment. The Parcel Post Revenue and Expenditure, according to the Estimate laid on the Table of the House later in the Session, were expected to reach £340,000 each. There were also one or two minor changes arising out of the Supplementary Estimates of the Session of 1883. When the Appropriation Act passed, the Revenue was estimated at £86,549,000, and the estimated Expenditure was £86,436,000, giving a surplus of £113,000. These figures have appeared since in the weekly statements of Revenue and Expenditure published every Wednesday. I may add that, during the present Session, Supplementary Estimates have been passed for £371,000 on account of the Army, and £147,000 on account of the Navy. We voted £500,000 on account of the contribution towards the expenses of the Afghan War, in anticipation of the payment this year; and other Supplementary Estimates in connection with the Civil Service and Revenue Departments amounted to £367,000, making total Supplementary Estimates of £1,385,000. Of course, against the Supplementary Estimates of the present Session savings are always expected on other Votes; and any comparison between the original Estimates of Revenue and those of Expenditure, if the latter include the Supplementary Estimates of the second Session, would be delusive.

Now, Sir, I will take, first, the Revenue of 1883-4, and I will compare the actual Revenue received both with the Estimate of it which we made and with the actual Revenue of 1882-3. I will take, first, the two great heads of Customs and Excise. It will be remembered that, in my Statement last year, I explained that it was practically impossible to divide the receipt of Spirit Duty between the Customs and the Excise, it being a matter of the greatest doubt whether the receipts on account of Spirits would be for foreign Spirits or British made Spirits. Following the line I then took, I will give the Committee, first, the receipt on account of Spirits under both heads; secondly, the Customs receipts, excluding Spirits; and, thirdly, the revenue of Excise, excluding Spirits. In 1882-3, Spirits had produced, according to my Statement last year, £18,540,000; and I estimated that we should receive, in 1883-4, £18,700,000. The actual receipt on account of Spirits was £18,435,000, being less than the actual receipt of 1882-3 by £105,000, and less than my Estimate of 1883-4 by £265,000. Therefore, Sir, we see that the slight increase of the previous year in the Spirit Duty stopped last year. If I am asked to give any special reason for that diminution, irrespective of the general reasons with which the Committee is well acquainted, I think I may say that the very open weather of last winter, undoubtedly, had a direct effect in the reduction of the amount received from the Spirit Duty during the winter months. This was especially felt in the Duty on Rum. Excluding the item of Spirits, the receipt in 1882-3, under the head of Customs, was £15,280,000. I estimated the receipt for 1883-4, in the Financial Statement of last year, at £15,350,000; and the actual receipt was £15,488,000. Treating the Excise in the same way, the receipt of 1882-3 was £12,765,000. I estimated it last year, for 1883-4, at £12,600,000, and the actual receipt was

£12,730,000. It is necessary, however, as a matter of form, to compare the total receipts on account of Customs and Excise with the Estimate; and I find that, whereas I took £19,750,000 for Customs and £26,765,000 for Excise, giving a total of £46,515,000, the Revenue actually received was £19,701,000 for Customs and £26,952,000 for Excise, being a total of £46,653,000, or £138,000 over my Estimate. Under the head of Customs, there is nothing which calls for special remark in the Revenue of last year; but there are one or two items in the Excise Revenue as to which I may give an explanation to the Committee. In my Statement last year, I referred to the Hop Famine in 1882 as having led me to be cautious in framing the Estimate of the Beer receipt, that of 1882-3 having fallen short of that of 1881-2 by £131,000. But when I spoke we had no indication of the hop crop of 1883. That crop, however, was a very fair one. The price of hops, which had been in March, 1882, £7 *5s.* a cwt., rose in March, 1883, to no less than £26 a cwt. The price, however, fell in the autumn, and last month hops were about £9 *10s.* a cwt. The result was that the Beer Revenue greatly improved, the receipt being £238,000 more than my Estimate, and, in fact, within £50,000 of the receipt of 1881-2. The total receipt for beer was £8,531,000 in 1881-2; it fell to £8,400,000 in 1882-3; and in 1883-4 it was £8,488,000; whereas I had only estimated it at £8,250,000. So much for the item of beer.

The second item to which I ought to draw the attention of the Committee is the Railway Duty. The Railway Duty, if no change had been made in it last year, would have been estimated at £800,000; and I expected that, in consequence of the change, we should lose in the receipt of the year £135,000, bringing the net Estimate to £665,000. But, in point of fact, we have received £747,000, the excess being mainly, though not exclusively, due to a large payment by a particular Railway Company of arrears spread over several years.

The third item to which I wish to draw the attention of the Committee is the receipt from the Game Licences. One of the minor changes made in the Budget of last year was the introduction of a third rate of Game Licence in addition to the £3 and the £2 licences for a whole, or a half season. I proposed to Parliament, and the House approved, a licence of £1, which would be available for 14 days. I am happy to say that this small change has turned out most satisfactorily. The £3 licences were not affected by it. About 4,000 £1 licences have been taken out, and they more than covered the diminution of the £2 licences. The Revenue gained in all £2,600. The number of licences was 3,300 more than in the season of the year before; and I am happy to congratulate some hon. Friends of mine, whom I see sitting opposite, on having availed themselves of this provision, granted for the first time last year.

I now pass to the receipt from Stamps. The Revenue of 1882-3 represented a payment into the Exchequer on account of Stamps of £11,841,000. I estimated last year that the Stamp Revenue would be £11,510,000; and the actual Revenue was £11,620,000. I mentioned last year, in explaining to the House the basis of my Estimate, that what are properly called the Death Duties for 1882-3 had exceeded the Death Duties of the previous year by £300,000, and had exceeded the Estimates made by my Predecessor by £600,000. Keeping in view this great excess, and apprehending that it might be due to temporary causes, I felt bound to act with great caution in framing any Estimate for 1883-4 on the basis of the previous year's receipts. But to a great extent the special circumstances of 1882-3, which were given in explanation of that high receipt, recurred in 1883-4,—that is to say, there was a large number of estates the duty on which came into the account of the year. It may interest the Committee to know that, on 10 estates alone in the year 1883-4, no less a sum than £283,000 was received on account of Probate Duty—an amount which I believe is almost without parallel. The Death Duties, in fact, in 1883-4 reached as nearly as possible the same amount as in 1882-3; while the other Stamp Duties fell below the receipt of that year.

The Land Tax in 1882-3 produced £1,045,000. I estimated it at £1,040,000. The actual amount produced has been £1,070,000. The House Duty in 1882-3 was £1,755,000. I estimated it at £1,785,000. It has actually produced

£1,805,000. On these two heads of Revenue, no remark occurs which I need make to the Committee.

I next pass to the Income Tax. In 1882-3, the actual receipt on account of the Income Tax, at the rate, nominally, of 6½*d.*, but not a full year's receipt, for some of it passed on to 1883-4, was £11,900,000. I estimated that the receipt for 1883-4, on the basis of 5*d.* in the pound, with the balance of the 6½*d.*, would be £10,265,000. The actual receipt was £10,718,000, or £453,000 beyond the Estimate. I shall allude later in my Statement to this remarkable rise in the receipt from Income Tax; but, under the circumstances, I think no one can question the wisdom of the caution which we exercised last year. Now, these items constitute the whole of the Tax Revenue of last year. The Estimate was £71,114,000. The actual receipt was £71,866,000, as compared with the actual receipt in 1882-3 of £73,128,000. That higher receipt, as I have said, was mainly due to the additional 1½*d.* Income Tax.

I now pass to what is called the Non-Tax Revenue. The Post Office collected in 1882-3 £7,300,000, and I estimated that we should receive from it in 1883-4 £7,740,000, £340,000 of that sum being on account of the Parcel Post. We actually received £7,730,000. The Telegraphs in 1882-3 gave £1,710,000. I estimated for 1883-4 £1,750,000, and the actual amount received was £1,745,000. Crown Lands produced last year precisely what they produced the year before, and what I estimated —namely, £380,000. The Interest on Advances, which had been in 1882-3 £1,219,000, I estimated at £1,185,000, and it amounted to £1,196,000; and the Miscellaneous Revenue, which in 1882-3 had been £5,268,000, I estimated at £4,380,000, and it amounted to £4,288,000. Thus, altogether, the Non-Tax Revenue, as against £15,876,000 in 1882-3, and an Estimate for 1883-4 of £15,435,000, produced £15,339,000. To some points in reference to this Revenue I shall not refer now, but I shall deal with them when we come to the estimated Revenue for the present year 1884-5. The total Revenue, therefore, of last year, compared with the actual Revenue of 1882-3, which was £89,004,000, was estimated by me at £86,549,000, and was actually £87,205,000, or £656,000 more than the Estimate.

I now proceed, Sir, to the Expenditure of last year. The permanent charge for the Debt was estimated at £28,954,000, and it actually came to £28,974,000. The Interest on Local Loans, which I estimated at £525,000, came to £478,000. The interest on the Suez Exchequer Bonds came to just what was estimated—namely, £200,000, and the other charges on the Consolidated Fund, which I estimated at £1,640,000, came to £1,590,000, so that the total charges on the Consolidated Fund, which I estimated at £31,319,000, were £31,241,000.

And now, Sir, I will go to what are called the "Voted Services," and it is necessary to make some comparison both with the original and the final Estimates, including the Supplementary Estimates. The original Army Estimate was £15,607,000, and including the Supplementary Estimate, mainly for the expedition to Suakin, it was £15,975,000. The actual expenditure was £15,910,000, as compared with £15,502,000 spent on the Army in 1882-3. On the Army Indian Home Charges the expenditure was originally estimated at £1,230,000, and the amount expended was exactly that sum. The charge for the previous year was £1,110,000. The original Navy Estimate was £10,757,000, and including the Supplementary Estimate, also for the expedition to Suakin, the total was £10,899,000. The actual expenditure was £10,729,000, as compared with an expenditure in 1882-3 of £10,409,000. We estimated last Session for a Vote in repayment to India on account of the Afghan War of £500,000. This Session I felt justified in asking the House to pay an additional £500,000 during the last financial year, and the whole of that £1,000,000 has been paid. The actual expenditure for 1882-3 under this head was, of course, only £500,000. We paid nothing last year on account of the original Egyptian Expedition, or on account of the small balances for the Transvaal Wars, which appeared in the Estimates for 1882-3. The amount of that expenditure in 1882-3 was £3,909,000. On account of the Civil Services, our original Estimates were £17,253,000, and including the Supplementary Estimates, they were £17,593,000, the expenditure in 1882-3 having been £17,336,000.

The actual expenditure, however, was only £17,181,000 in 1883-4; and I think that the Committee will not fail to notice the successful struggle for economy which these figures exhibit. For the Customs and Inland Revenue Departments the original Estimate was £2,775,000, the actual expenditure was £2,772,000, and the expenditure for the previous year had been £2,870,000. The original Estimate for the Post Office was £4,124,000, and including the Supplementary Estimates, the main part of which had reference to the Parcel Post, it was £4,565,000. The actual expenditure was £4,507,000, against an actual expenditure in 1882-3 of £3,828,000. The original Estimate for the Telegraphs was £1,518,000, and including the Supplementary Estimates, it was £1,718,000. The actual expenditure was £1,707,000, against an actual expenditure in 1882-3 of £1,510,000. For the Packet Service, the original Estimate was £706,000, and with the Supplementary Estimate it amounted to £724,000. The actual expenditure was £721,000, against an actual expenditure in the preceding year of £720,000.

And now I will compare the totals. The total Expenditure had been in 1882-3 £88,906,000. I estimated it originally at £85,789,000, and including the Supplementary Estimates, it stood at £87,819,000; but the actual Expenditure was only £86,999,000, and the Revenue having been £87,205,000, we have a surplus on the year 1883-4 of £206,000.

I will defer some remarks which I have to make on the Expenditure of last year until I deal with the Expenditure of the present year; but before passing from 1883-4, I think I ought to explain to the Committee the effect of the Debt operations of that year. The Committee will remember that last year we passed a very important Act dealing with the National Debt for 20 years. That Act provided that £70,000,000 of Funded Debt should be at once cancelled, and that Annuities amounting to £5,130,000 falling in in 1885 should also be cancelled, and that there should be substituted for them fresh Annuities. This operation has been carried out in its integrity. The result on the Debt, including the normal reduction in the year, is as follows. The Funded Debt, on the 31st of March, 1883, was £712,699,000. On the 31st of March last it was £640,631,000; so that the diminution in the Funded Debt has been £72,068,000. That has brought the total Funded Debt to a lower amount than it has ever been since 1811, and the interest on it is less than it has been since 1805. The Funded Debt now consists of the following denominations of Stock:—Consols, £345,302,000; Reduced Three-per-Cents, £83,491,000; New Three-per-Cents, £183,968,000; Two-and-a-Half-per-Cent Stock, £13,580,000; and all other denominations of the Debt, including the Debt to the Banks of England and Ireland, £14,290,000; in all, as I have just said, £640,631,000. The Unfunded Debt at the end of March, 1883, was £14,185,000, and it stood at the end of last March at £14,110,000. The value of Terminable Annuities at the end of 1882-3 was £27,571,000, and on March 31, 1884, it stood at £91,666,000. So that the total amount of Debt, which was at the end of March, 1883, £754,455,000, was on March 31, 1884, £746,407,000, making a net diminution of £8,048,000. This diminution is exclusive of £1,000,000 paid off in the year of the remaining liability to India for our contribution towards the cost of the Afghan War. Against this I must place the reduction of the balances, which were at the end of 1882-3 £6,973,000, and were at the end of 1883-4 £5,633,000. The reduction of the Debt in the four years from April, 1880, to the end of March, 1884, has been £25,198,000, besides the £4,500,000 paid off in respect of the Debt of £5,000,000 to India, and with balances increased by £2,349,000, making a total reduction, as nearly as possible, of £32,000,000 sterling.

And now, Sir Arthur Otway, I have finished my task of reviewing the finance of the year 1883-4, and I will proceed to the estimated Expenditure and Revenue of the financial year 1884-5, in which we now are. I ought, perhaps, to say, in connection with the Debt, that I have taken the occasion of the creation of a new series of Terminable Annuities to carry out still further a very valuable suggestion made by my right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard), and that is to value them, not as they have hitherto been valued, as if Stock stood at 92·3, but as if Stock were at par.

It is upon that assumption that all the figures I give are based, both in regard to past years and to those of 1883-4. I think it will also be interesting to the Committee to know, in the same connection, that of the War Debt of £7,850,000, which we took over from our Predecessors in 1880, and of the promised contribution of £5,000,000 to India, making altogether £12,850,000, £11,000,000 have been paid off in four years, so that only £1,850,000 remain to be provided. We have also paid £6,860,000 out of our income for the whole of the Transvaal, the Egyptian, and the Suakin war expenditure. I have no other matter relating to the reduction of the National Debt to mention to the Committee.

I will now pass to the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the current year, 1884-5. In the first place, I will deal with the estimated Expenditure. Before, however, giving the figures in detail, I must explain that, as the Committee will perhaps have observed from the Army Estimates, there no longer appears as a separate Estimate that for Indian Home Charges which was devised some years ago. For myself, I may say that I never quite understood why that Estimate, separate from the Army Estimates, was framed. But, however that may be, it was balanced by corresponding items of Miscellaneous Revenue, and in our view the time has now come for its disappearance, and for the preparation of the Army Estimates in such a way as to show the actual net expenditure; the gross expenditure being given in one column, and credits of this character in another, the difference being the net amount the Committee is asked to vote. I shall have to refer to this again later, when I come to the Army Estimates; but I ought here to say that, in the comparisons I shall have to make, this item will be omitted from previous years, so that the comparisons will be in all respects fair. I will now take the Expenditure of the year under the different heads. The Permanent Charge of the Debt we take at £28,884,000, as against an actual expenditure last year of £28,974,000, being a reduction of £90,000. That is due to our having been able to pay, last year, out of our balances, the whole of the £2,000,000 which was first a loan, and then a grant to India on account of the Afghan War. The Interest on Loans for Local Purposes we take at £525,000, as against £478,000 in the previous year. The charge for the Suez Loan is the same—namely, £200,000, and the other Consolidated Fund charges amount to £1,495,000, as against £1,590,000 last year. I will not weary the Committee with the details of this reduction; but the last year's charge contained the grants to Lord Wolseley and Lord Alcester, of £30,000 and £25,000 respectively. The total Consolidated Fund charges are, therefore, this year £31,104,000, as against £31,241,000 last year. Passing to Voted Services, the charge for the Army is £15,931,000, against an actual charge for 1883-4, adjusted, as I have explained, with reference to the Indian Home expenditure, of £16,095,000. I will now explain to the Committee the augmentation which is necessitated by the new arrangement made for the receipt from India on account of the Non-Effective Services. I should weary the Committee were I to endeavour to explain, on the present occasion, the details of this most complicated matter. Speaking shortly, however, I may say that amended arrangements were made with India, first in 1861, and secondly in 1870, under the latter of which the charge becoming payable in each year for the first time on account of soldiers taking their pensions was capitalized on the basis of 4 per cent interest, and the amount of the capital sum received from India was paid into the Exchequer and appeared among the Miscellaneous Receipts. But the result of this arrangement was somewhat remarkable. The arrangement was eminently favourable to India, because it—I know not why—omitted all the charge for previous pensioners, and unfavourable to us, because it assumed that we could invest at 4 per cent, whereas we can only invest at 3 per cent. But, in point of fact, India has been for some time considerably in arrear to us on account of these payments. On the other hand, the Exchequer also gained unduly, the capitalized value of any one year's first-granted pensions not really representing the pension charge for that year. It was a rough-and-ready method; but it turned out in the end to produce very different results from those which had been anticipated. For instance, in 1873-4, the sum paid into the Exchequer exceeded the real charge on the year by £92,000, and in 1879-80 by £186,000. We are now making fresh arrangements, under which, in the first place, India will pay up the arrears, and the overpayment to the Exchequer in past years will be gradually wiped out, at a cost to present and future years. Of course, this is unfortunate for us at the present time; but it would be impossible to allow past over-payments to the Exchequer to be left unadjusted, however much we have to suffer for the undue gains of former years. I shall lay upon the Table a Treasury Minute, in which we explain exactly the details of this change. Next I come to the Navy Estimate, which is £10,812,000, against £10,729,000 in 1883-4. The Estimate for the grant to India in respect of the Afghan War is £250,000, against £1,000,000 which we paid last year—1883-4—and this leaves only £250,000 payable next year, instead of £500,000, which would have been payable but for the prepayment I have described. When that is paid, the whole amount of the contribution to India will, I am happy to say, have been wiped out. The Civil Service expenditure is estimated at £17,244,000, against £17,182,000 last year; the Customs and Inland Revenue charges at £2,734,000, against £2,772,000; the Post Office expenditure at £4,753,000, against £4,507,000; the Telegraph Service at £1,735,000, against £1,707,000; and the Packet Service at £731,000, against £721,000. The total Voted Services will thus be £54,188,000, against £54,713,000 last year; and the total Expenditure, omitting for both years the Indian Home Charges, is estimated at £85,292,000, against £85,954,000 last year.

Here I think I ought to pause, to make a few remarks upon the present condition of our Expenditure. Last year, I promised my hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) that I would carefully inquire, during the Recess, not only into the present rate of Expenditure, but also into the movements of Expenditure for some years past. My inquiry is not yet completed, but it has gone a long way. With the assistance of my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney), and the heads of the principal Departments, I have gone through the greater part of the Civil Expenditure; and in Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates some results of what we have done will be explained in detail, and our future prospects of economy will also be discussed. But I have made a comparison, which will interest the Committee, between the actual Expenditure of 1873-4—a year which can provoke no political feeling, as it was the last year of the former Administration of the present Prime Minister—and the Estimates which we are now submitting; and the figures, I think, may be studied with advantage. The net Expenditure on account of the Civil Service and Revenue Departments, after deducting the Extra Receipts, Fee Stamps, &c., was, in 1873-4, £16,442,000; and the net Expenditure proposed in these Estimates is £24,675,000, showing an increase of £8,233,000, or rather more than 50 per cent upon the former Expenditure. Now, I have analyzed this Expenditure as to its main, or, I may say, as to all its sources and branches, and I find this to be the result. Local Subventions, including the charge for the Police, have increased by £2,950,000; Public Education has increased by £2,367,000; the charge for the Post Office and the Telegraphs, including Post Office Buildings, has increased by £2,665,000; and these, together, give a total of £7,982,000. There remains, then, a balance of £251,000 to be accounted for. But there are some charges which, I think, stand out from the normal Expenditure when dealing with its increase. For instance, the collection of £5,700,000 additional Revenue has involved an additional charge of £83,000, after all only 1½ per cent on the Revenue collected. Parliament determined that the Surveys of the United Kingdom should be expedited, and this accounts for £112,000. The additional charge for the British Museum and Art Galleries this year amounts to £43,000; the recent arrangement as to the Friendly Societies' deficiency involves a charge of £48,000; Cyprus costs us £30,000; and the Irish Land Commission, although much heavier last year, is estimated to cost this year £87,000. If you add these figures together, you will find that they come to £8,385,000, against a total increase of £8,233,000; so that all the other Civil Services, in spite of large demands in some directions, show an aggregate saving of £152,000. This is no argument whatever against economy. On the contrary, I hope, and with some foundation, that we may be able to make even further savings than those we have succeeded in effecting by our investigations this year; but I think that the figures I have given shows a greater anxiety for economy on the part of the Public Departments than is commonly allowed. Even in the presence of my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury, I ought to say that in this matter to no one is more gratitude due than to him. He has worked hard and successfully; for the last year's Civil Expenditure, as I said before, in spite of large Supplementary Estimates, fell short of the original Estimates by £75,000, and my hon. Friend has shown the greatest zeal for the public in preparing the Civil Estimates of the present year.

I now pass to the Estimates of Revenue, and I must make, in the first place, a general remark. The present condition of the country is such that it is most difficult to forecast the Revenue with accuracy. We have to deal in this matter with very conflicting considerations. On the one hand, in many branches trade is still depressed, and, perhaps, may be still more depressed; profits generally are low, and incomes derived from land, whether by owners or farmers, are still in an unsatisfactory state. When I look to such indications as railway receipts, they do not give evidence of increase of prosperity, but possibly the reverse. On the other hand, I am bound to say that I think a careful study of the information we possess shows that the artizans and labourers of the country are doing well. Bread and the common articles of consumption are at a very low price, which tells much in their favour. The result, which is almost an infallible test, is that pauperism is steadily decreasing. I also notice as remarkable that, although there is much complaint among persons in easy circumstances, as well as among the recipients of still higher rates of income, there is a steady increase in the accumulations of the country, which is best evidenced by the growth of the Income Tax and of the House Duty. Putting these two considerations against each other, my Estimates of Revenue, although they cannot be called very sanguine, will not err on the side of undue caution; they will be fair Estimates, I hope neither timid nor exaggerated. I will now take each head of Revenue. The Customs produced in 1883-4 £19,701,000, and my Estimate for 1884-5 is £19,850,000; the Excise produced £26,952,000, and my Estimate is £26,800,000, this diminution being due to the loss of the rest of the £400,000 of Railway Duty. Stamps produced £11,620,000, and my Estimate now is £11,490,000; the Land Tax produced £1,070,000, and my Estimate is now £1,055,000; the House Duty produced £1,805,000, and my Estimate is £1,880,000; the Income Tax produced £10,718,000, and the Estimate at 5*d.*, with nothing left of the additional 1½*d.*, is £10,050,000. It will be seen that 1*d.* of Income Tax is estimated now to produce over £2,000,000. A penny of Income Tax produced, in 1880-1, £1,850,000; in 1881-2, £1,900,000; in 1882-3, £1,950,000; in 1883-4, £1,970,000; and this steady increase justifies our present Estimate. The total Tax Estimate this year is £71,125,000, against a receipt last year of £71,866,000. I now come to the Non-Tax Revenue. Crown Lands we estimate at £380,000, the same as last year. The Interest on Advances produced last year £1,196,000, and the Estimate for the present year is £1,180,000. Miscellaneous sources (excluding Indian Home Charges) produced £3,243,000, and the Estimate is £3,170,000. The Committee will notice that I have omitted the Post Office and Telegraphs from their proper place. I mention the Revenue from those sources last, because matters of much interest are connected with it. The Committee will remember that, in 1883-4, two great operations were commenced by the Post Office. One was the introduction of the Parcel Post from the 1st of August; and the other consisted of preparations for cheap telegrams, the cost of which, irrespective altogether of the annual loss arising from the lower rate, according to a Treasury Minute laid upon the Table, was estimated at £500,000, which we intended to spread over the financial year 1883-4 and the first six months of 1884-5. We estimated that the expense of the Parcel Post during the eight months of the year in which the service was in operation would be covered by the receipts, then taken at £340,000. But I am sorry to say that this expectation has not been entirely fulfilled. The Parcel Post receipts for the eight months of 1883-4 were only £155,000, as against the Estimate of £340,000. Now, when it was clear that the receipts would be so seriously deficient, my right hon. Friend the Postmaster General (Mr. Fawcett), without delay, undertook a vigorous attack upon the expenditure in connection with the Parcel Post, which had been based upon the original Estimates. In criticizing that expenditure, it must be remembered that the cost of the Parcel Post for the past year included about £150,000, which was initial or capital expenditure, and which will not recur in future years. Many economies are being proved by experience to be practicable which could not be effected in initiating a new service. We have every hope, therefore, that in due time the equilibrium between receipts and expenditure will be reached. We cannot hope, however, that it will be reached in the year 1884-5, in which, instead of £500,000 or more, as we had originally hoped to receive, the Parcel Post is only estimated to produce £240,000. It therefore becomes necessary for us to consider whether, under these circumstances, the reduction in the price of telegrams, which will also be very expensive. should commence as soon as the 1st of next October. If it is carried out then, further diminutions in the Post Office Revenue will of course take place, and the taxpayer will have to make them good. I may, perhaps, be allowed to remind the Committee, as a personal matter, that in the debate last year on the Motion to reduce immediately the price of telegrams, which I think was made by my hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), I urged that it would be wise for the House to pause, and not to insist on this costly reform until the result of the Parcel Post experiment was known. My warning, however, was not effectual; but I think I was justified by the events. The cost in this year's Budget, if the cheap telegrams commence on the 1st of October next, would be between £250,000 and £300,000; and this, as the Committee will soon see, I cannot afford. We propose, therefore, that the reduction in the price of telegrams shall take place on the 1st of August, 1885, and that the sum devoted to preparations shall be divided between this year and the beginning of the next financial year. The receipts for 1884-5 are therefore estimated as follows: — For the Post Office proper, with 12 months' Parcel Post, £7,900,000; and for the Telegraph Service, £1,800,000; making a total of £9,700,000, against the actual receipts for 1883-4 of £7,730,000 for the Post Office proper, including eight months' Parcel Post income, and of £1,745,000 for Telegraphs, or a total of £9,475,000. The improvement in the receipts will thus be £225,000. On the other side of the account the Committee will remember that there is an increase of charge, according to the figures already given, amounting to £284,000. Adding Post Office receipts to the other items of Non-Tax Revenue, the whole will be £14,430,000; and as the Tax Revenue is estimated at £71,125,000, the total Receipt of the year 1884-5 will be £85,555,000. The Expenditure, as I have already stated, is £85,292,000, and my surplus, therefore, is £263,000. Now, Sir Arthur Otway, it will be evident that I have nothing to give away in the shape of important remissions of taxation. I have received lately a good many proposals of this character, and there are, or were lately, on the Notice Paper about 11 others formulated by hon. Members. There are also proposals, I need not say, for more expenditure. All these are very interesting questions in themselves; but, clearly, the present is not the time to discuss them. I ought, however, perhaps, to refer to one proposal in another direction which I have carefully studied since last Session—I mean the final settlement of what are popularly called the Death Duties. A final settlement in that matter ought to have two characteristics. It ought to give us some additional Revenue, and it ought, undoubtedly, to give us great additional simplicity. The present is not the time to indicate how much additional Revenue we might receive; but I have no doubt whatever as to the second point—I mean that the final adjustment must impose a heavier proportional charge than now on real compared with personal property, and must include property in mortmain. Now, I am bound to say that I do not think the time has come for this. The time is approaching, however, when, under a general Local Government Bill, relief will have to be given to the payers of local burdens; and this relief, whatever its amount may be, will accrue mainly to owners of land and houses—

that is to say, to real property. It seems to me that that should be the occasion for adjusting and finally settling the Death Duties. I have given considerable attention to this matter, and the problem, to my mind, is not one very difficult to solve. While dismissing for the present this large question, I have one or two minor changes to propose, both being reliefs to the payers of the Carriage Tax. We have received a great many complaints to the effect that the sum of £2 2*s.* a-year charged on licensed hackney carriages with four wheels is excessive. The complaints have come not only from London, but also from watering-places, from Scotland, and elsewhere, especially where the season is exceedingly short. I have taken some pains to examine those complaints, and I think that they are not without foundation. We propose, therefore, that where the fares of carriages for hire paying £2 2*s.* are fixed by law, or by local regulation, the duty shall be the same as that for two-wheel carriages—that is to say, 15*s.* And we also propose that the owners of all carriages which are used for the first time during the later months of the year—after September 30—shall be treated as "beginners" are in some other licensed trades, and shall only pay half duty. The loss from these two changes will be £22,000. Deducting this from my original surplus of £263,000, I am left with a final surplus of £241,000. I am bound to say that, considering the possibility of other claims arising, this is not too large a surplus.

Well, Sir, this concludes my review of the past and my anticipations of the present year. But before concluding my Statement, I must explain to the Committee two important financial operations which we propose to undertake during the present year. The first relates to the Gold Coinage, and the second to the Interest on the National Debt. The first question in regard to the Gold Coinage is one of great importance. Since the late Mr. Jevons's paper on the subject in 1868 was published, the condition of our Gold Coinage has more and more occupied the attention of bankers, of the Press, and, indeed, of the general public. As I shall show, more than half of our existing gold coins have ceased to be even a legal tender. Nor is this wonderful, for nothing has been done for more than 40 years to correct the gradually declining condition of the coinage. I will explain in a few words the actual law. A sovereign, which is supposed to weigh 123⅓ grains, becomes light, and is no longer a coin of the Realm, when it weighs less than 122½ grains. If I go into a shop and tender such coin for a purchase, the shopkeeper may either refuse it before he takes it in his hand under the 4th section of the Act of 1870; or, if he takes it in his hand, then, under the 7th section of that Act, he is bound then and there to break it up, and charge me the loss. For this purpose, both he and I are supposed to have—I carrying them with me in my pocket—scales with proper gold weights, and instruments for breaking up coin; and if we either tender light coin or fail to break it up, then we are both guilty of a misdemeanour punishable by fine and imprisonment. Similarly, at a railway station, suppose I take a ticket and get gold in exchange for a note, the law presumes that both the railway clerk and I have scales, and a coin-breaking instrument, and the same penalties attach for either tendering or receiving light coin or refusing to break it up. That is the principle of the law under the 4th and 7th sections of the Act of 1870. I said just now that more than half the present Gold Coinage was light. Of this the testimony is so concurrent that there can be little doubt about it. But the quantity of gold coin current in this country is much more uncertain. Apparently, since the restoration of the Gold Coinage in 1817 more than £300,000,000 worth of sovereigns and half-sovereigns have been put in circulation here and at the branch Mints, while not more than £50,000,000 are known to have been withdrawn. But by the best computation of bankers, and others who have paid attention to this extremely difficult subject, there remain at the present time in the United Kingdom about £90,000,000 in whole sovereigns, and £20,000,000 in half-sovereigns, of which 55 per cent are light, and are therefore not a legal tender. Of the sovereigns about 50,000,000 are, on the average, 2½*d.* light, and of the half-sovereigns 11,000,000 are 2¼*d.* light. The deficiency in the case of the sovereigns is £510,000, and in the case of the half-sovereigns £200,000, or, in all, £710,000; besides the wear down to the point of legal currency—namely, the difference between 123⅓ grains and 122½ grains. This appeared to me so serious that for some months I have given the subject my most careful consideration, and I have been consulting the best authorities as to remedies; and I am bound to say that though there is not any great difference of opinion as to the evil, there is a great difference in the suggestions for remedying it. The first recommendation is to leave matters alone. But that is evidently impossible, as the evil would only get worse; and the result would be, in the end, to bring serious discredit on our coin as an instrument of exchange. Then it has been proposed to put the law into operation, as in 1842—that everyone should be obliged to weigh his gold coins, and that the Mint, through the Bank of England, should give the fixed price of £3 17*s.* 10½*d.* an ounce for light gold, instead of for bullion only. I think that, if weighing gold were to become universal, there would be a great inconvenience to the public, and that it would produce far greater discontent than it did in 1842. It was found to be very inconvenient then; it would be tenfold more inconvenient now. Then it has been proposed to charge this £710,000 immediate loss and the cost of re-coinage on the taxpayers to all time; and this, I may say, would probably at first involve an addition to the Income Tax. I am not prepared to adopt this course. It has also been proposed, practically, to remove the sovereign from circulation by issuing £1 notes, charging the cost of renewing the half-sovereign on the profits of issue. This is a serious question. I think the issue of £1 notes should depend on other considerations, and I am not prepared to mix up the two questions together. My noble Friend and Predecessor (Viscount Sherbrooke) had a proposal for diminishing the weight of the sovereign; but, to my mind, that would be open to grave objections. Then it has been proposed by competent authority to keep up the weight, but to impose a mintage charge sufficient to maintain the coinage in a sound condition. This question was very carefully examined by Mr. Graham, the late Master of the Mint, and Colonel Smith, the Master of the Calcutta Mint, some years ago, and their Report shows that this mintage charge must be 1⅔ per cent, or 1*s.* 4*d.* an ounce. But in that case it would be impossible to maintain the price of £3 17*s.* 9*d.* an ounce, at which, under the provisions of the Bank Act, the Bank of England is bound to purchase all gold brought to it. I am not, therefore, prepared to propose a mintage charge of 1*s.* 4*d.* an ounce. Finally, I have considered a proposal which has great authority for it—namely, to enforce the present law, sharing the loss between the taxpayer and the last holder. But that would have all the inconveniences of the present law, without relieving the public from charge, and I am not able to adopt it. None of these plans I think will commend themselves to the Committee. There is, however, another remedy, which has not been recently very prominently before the public, but which finds favour with high financial authorities, both present and past. I have laid great stress on the importance of making no change as to the sovereign. Its currency should be always preserved in a sound condition, and its weight should not be altered; and I attach some, but not paramount, importance to its being minted without charge. The sovereign is really an international coin, largely used in Exchange operations, and known to the greater part of the civilized world. But there is another gold coin, governed apparently by the same law, but of an entirely different character—I mean the half-sovereign. This is not an international, but a purely domestic coin. I have made careful inquiries during the last few months, and I can find no instance of half-sovereigns being sent from this country in any considerable quantities as remittances or for Exchange purposes. On the other hand, while it is a domestic coin, it is a very expensive coin to maintain. From the figures I have obtained as to the average deficiency in sovereigns and half-sovereigns, I find that its wear and tear is double that of the sovereign, and that it becomes light in half the time of the latter. It is with this coin that we propose to maintain the condition of the sovereign. My plan, therefore, is to issue, instead of half-sovereigns, as now, 10-shilling pieces of gold, containing only nine-tenths of the present amount of gold. Thus, the 10-shilling pieces would have the same relation to the sovereign as the crown and half-crown, and would be a token coin, as they are. Just as the crown is worth a quarter of a sovereign, so the 10-shilling piece would be worth half-a-sovereign, neither the one nor the other having, with respect to the metal contained, the full intrinsic value attributed to it. Of course, it would be necessary to restrict the extent to which the new 10-shilling piece would be a legal tender. Silver coin is only a legal tender up to 40*s.*; 10-shilling pieces should probably be a legal tender for payments up to £5. Arrangements will, however, be made with the Bank of England for the receipt from bankers of redundant 10-shilling pieces, just as redundant silver is received now. The change in the half-sovereign will enable us to withdraw, by degrees, from circulation the whole of the present light coinage, substituting coins of full weight, without either inconvenience to the public or charge to the taxpayer. In other words, we shall be able to rehabilitate the sovereign, the character of which, both as an instrument of exchange and circulation, should be most jealously preserved. Not only this, but we shall be able to maintain its integrity for the future without any cost to the taxpayer. I will now explain the mode of operation. In the first place, we shall take steps gradually to withdraw, by arrangement with the Bank of England and the private banks, the whole of the half-sovereigns now in circulation, the Mint issuing as they come in the new 10-shilling pieces. Similarly we shall withdraw, and finally call in by proclamation, sovereigns of Reigns prior to that of the Queen. When these two operations are approaching completion, towards the end of 1885, we shall commence withdrawing the light sovereigns of the present Reign, issuing as rapidly as possible new sovereigns in exchange. The Committee will observe that this operation, if carried out without any qualification, might operate as an incentive to sweating or some similar fraud; and we therefore propose that no sovereign of any date which has obviously been tampered with, or which shall be light by as much as 6*d.*, shall be received except as bullion, and that no sovereign of less than 10 years' currency shall be exchanged at all. All the half-sovereigns will be exchanged, except such as have been tampered with or are light by as much as 4*d.* When the whole of the present light coins have been got in, and the coinage has become normal, the same process will be continued with the sovereign. Under this plan, bankers would have no temptation to retain or re-issue coin which has become light by fair wear and tear. This coin would, in the ordinary case, find its way to the Mint through the Bank of England. I may mention here that we do not propose to give Gold Coinage circulating abroad this privilege of exchange. All such coin passing through the Custom House would be sent, as the great majority of it is now sent, to the Bank of England to be weighed and dealt with according to the present law.

The Committee will like now to know something of the financial result of this operation. I must repeat what I said before, that we have a very imperfect knowledge of the amount of gold coin in circulation. Taking, however, the calculations of the best authorities, which I have already explained, we estimate that £20,000,000 in half-sovereigns, now in circulation, will be withdrawn and replaced by the new 10-shilling pieces, and that for the next 20 years £250,000 worth will be issued annually. On the re-issue the gross profit would be £2,500,000. Against this have to be set, first, £200,000, the deficiency on the existing half-sovereigns which are below legal tender, and which would have to be withdrawn; and, secondly, perhaps, £20,000, the deficiency on those within legal tender weight, which will also be withdrawn. The loss on the sovereigns which are now light I have already estimated at £510,000. The loss on other sovereigns withdrawn during the next 20 years I take at £320,000. The cost of re-coinage I take at £70,000. Adding £50,000 for contingencies, the total charges will be £1,170,000, leaving a balance of £1,330,000, besides accumulated interest. This, in our judgment, will be sufficient to keep the Gold Coinage for the future in a satisfactory condition at a cost of above £40,000 a-year. We propose that these operations should be altogether outside the Consolidated Fund, and that the receipts should be paid into, and the charges defrayed from, a fund to be called the Gold

Coinage Fund in the hands of the National Debt Commissioners.

Having explained the first part of my proposals, I now pass to the second important financial operation we propose to undertake—that is to say, in connection with the Interest on the National Debt. The Committee will remember the Act passed last year, in furtherance of the Act of 1876, under which arrangements were made for reducing a very large amount of Debt in the next 20 years by the method of Terminable Annuities. In asking Parliament to sanction that proposal, we not only had in view the mere reduction of the capital of the Debt upon a self-acting system, but we contemplated also that it would render more easy, at an early date, the reduction of interest on the three categories of Three per Cents, the aggregate amount of which is over £600,000,000. The time has now, in our opinion, arrived for taking the first steps in this most important operation. The Money Market seems to be prepared for it; for I notice that the Two-and-a-half per Cent Stock, which stood at 86 two years ago, with Consols at 101⅝, is now nearly at 91, with only a fractional increase in the latter, a rise of 5 per cent; and I am aware that there is a steady increase in the investments by large Companies in Two-and-a-half per Cent Stock, indicating their belief that it will become the Stock of the future. I will now explain to the Committee what we propose to do. In the first place, let me refer the Committee to the conditions under which the Three per Cent Stocks may be paid off. There are three classes—Consols, New Three per Cents, and Reduced Three per Cents—all of which are now liable to be redeemed; but the conditions are not the same. In the case of Consols and Reduced, the terms of the Act of 1870 are that, at one year's notice, they may be paid off, in quantities or parcels of not less than £500,000. In the case of the New Three per Cents no notice is necessary; but though the matter is not beyond doubt, it may be contended that the whole must be paid off at one time. Omitting, therefore, for the moment the New Three per Cents, we are enabled gradually to pay off the rest of the Three per Cent Debt (exceeding £400,000,000), however unwilling the holders may be, by giving, from time to time, a year's notice to the possessors of manageable amounts, that they will then receive £100 in cash for £100 Stock, unless they agree to accept at once some offer in a Stock of lower denomination; and as both Stocks are now, and have been for some time, at a premium, and, but for the apprehension of their being paid off would probably be at a higher premium, this compulsory process might be safely commenced. I am, however, desirous to make our first step in this matter one of agreement rather than of compulsion; and what we now propose is to constitute a Two-and-three-quarter per Cent Stock, with quarterly dividends, not liable to redemption before 1905, and to ask Parliament to authorize the offer to the holders of any of the three denominations of the Three per Cent Stocks, such amount of that Stock not exceeding £102 for each £100, as the Treasury may determine; or, at the option of the fundholder, such amount of Two-and-a-half per Cent Stock not exceeding £108 for each £100, as the Treasury may similarly fix. A reasonable period would be named by the Treasury, within which the holders would have to elect to exercise either of these options. The Committee will observe that, by conversion into Stocks on which the Dividends are payable quarterly, all the holders will get the benefit of a quarter's payment for ever in advance.

It is necessary that I should now explain what would be the effect of any reduction of interest under this scheme, on the permanent charge of £28,000,000 a-year now appropriated to the service of the Debt. In our opinion, the net benefit of this reduction ought to go to the taxpayer—that is to say, the charge for the Debt should be reduced to that extent. I ought, however, to explain what I mean by net benefit. If the conversion either into Two-and-three-quarter per Cents or Two-and-a-half per Cents should lead to an increase in the nominal capital of the Debt, provision for the extinction of that increase should be made, out of the saving in interest, before the benefit is gained by the taxpayer. I will illustrate this by assuming that £1,000,000 of Three per Cents are converted into £1,020,000 of Two-and-three-quarter per Cents. I do not exclude obtaining a better price; but I base my illustrations on the extreme prices to which I am asking the Committee to go. The gross saving then, in interest, would be £1,950 a-year. But from that would have to be deducted £200 a-year as a Sinking Fund, to extinguish, in 50 years, the premium of £20,000; so that the net reduction in the charge for the Debt would be £1,750 a-year. Similarly, conversion into Two-and-a-half per Cents, at the extreme price of 108, would result in a saving, on the interest of each £1,000,000 converted, of £2,200 a-year. The Committee will observe that the offer in Two-and-a-half per Cents will be apparently not so good for the fundholder as that in the Two-and-three-quarter per Cents; but, on the other hand, the latter will be liable to be again redeemed in 1905, and, besides, it is not, as yet, a Stock known to the Market. It is impossible to estimate the extent to which either of these offers may be accepted; but the Committee will remember that there is behind them the compulsory process which we are satisfied that we could, without practical difficulty, apply gradually to Consols and Reduced Three per Cents, whatever the case of the New Three per Cents may be. But I repeat that we are not desirous to apply our compulsory powers if we can obtain the same ends by voluntary agreement.

I have now, Sir, concluded my explanation of the second of the two proposals which we make to the Committee in connection with the financial operations of this year, and it only remains to me to thank the Committee for having listened so patiently to an inordinately long Statement, containing a great number of figures. I trust that Statement has been as clear as I desired to make it, and that the kind attention accorded to it may be taken as a good augury for the success of the proposals which I have laid before the Committee.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged, collected, and paid for the year commencing on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of Five Pence;

And for every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,—

In England, the Duty of Two Pence Halfpenny;

In Scotland and Ireland respectively, the Duty of One Penny Three Farthings;

Subject to the provisions contained in section one hundred and sixty-three of the Act of the fifth and sixth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-five, for the exemption of persons whose income is less than One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, and in section eight of 'The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1876,' for the relief of persons whose income is less than Four Hundred Pounds."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. WILLS said, hon. Members knew that every Chancellor of the Exchequer had a task of great difficulty in distributing the surplus at the end of the financial year, for which there were always many applications. The right hon. Gentleman had, no doubt, on the present occasion, done his best, and, in his (Mr. Wills's) opinion, done it with success; nevertheless, he must not be surprised that there should exist a feeling, he would not say of dissatisfaction, but of disappointment, with regard to the matter of distribution. He was aware that the generosity of the right hon. Gentleman was largely in excess of the means at his disposal; and there were various interests which he was sure he would have conciliated and relieved if it had been in his power to do so. But there was one interest which particularly felt the difficulty of the right hon. Gentleman's position, and that was the tobacco trade. Now, on more than one occasion the Committee had permitted him to point out the conditions of that interest, which was of great value to him in the matter of Revenue, and of importance to the country, on account of the large consumption of tobacco. An injury was done to the trade in 1878, when the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) was Chancellor of the Exchequer, by the imposition of 4*d.* per lb. additional duty upon tobacco, from which he was sorry to say the trade had never recovered. It was not the upper classes so much as the lower who were affected by this; it was essentially a poor man's question, and a poor man's tax. It was all very well to speak of tobacco as a luxury of the poor man; but it was no less true that it was for him an absolute necessary of life. If he spent 3*d.* on tobacco, 2¼*d.* of that went to the Revenue. If he might be permitted to point out to the Committee how unfairly the tax affected the different qualities of tobacco, he believed it would be seen that a strong case was made out for future consideration. On the kinds of tobacco used by the working classes of the country the duty was about 700 per cent *ad valorem* on the price; on the finer growths of Virginia the duty was only about 300 per cent. On the higher classes, which included the tobaccos of Havannah and Turkey, the duty was from 100 down to 30 per cent; while upon the highest class cigars it was only 10 per cent. The result of this was that out of nearly £9,000,000 of duty, more than £6,500,000 were paid by the working classes of this country. He was quite sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have given relief to this interest had it been in his power to do so; and he need hardly say he regretted that it was not at present possible to give that relief. The right hon. Gentleman could not be surprised if a trade of such large importance, and suffering so cruelly, did year by year, on occasions like the present, take the opportunity of making its voice heard, in order to bring its claims before the Government and the country. He hoped that on some future occasion, when the elasticity of the Revenue had been to some extent restored—when, instead of the slow progress pointed out this year, they should have a brighter future of better seasons and restored trade, it might be in the power of the right hon. Gentleman to confer a boon upon the poorer classes in the country by reducing the duty upon this article of necessity.

Mr. MAC IVER said, he had felt very much in sympathy with the hon. Member who had just spoken, until he concluded his remarks rather unexpectedly after having only half stated his case, and leaving it to the Committee after arriving at what appeared to him to be a somewhat lame and impotent conclusion. He agreed entirely, and he believed all who heard it would agree, with what the hon. Member had said as to the grievous burden which the Tobacco Duty constituted on that class of the community which most used tobacco; but the hon. Member had suggested to the Committee no means whereby that burden might be removed; and he had, moreover, entirely omitted to point out that which was a very serious part of the question—namely, that about one-fourth of all the tobaccos used in the country was grown in their own Colonies and Dependencies. To tax the productions of their own Colonies and Dependencies, and particularly that portion of them which was most used by the working classes of the country, seemed to him to be a crying shame and injustice; and he thought the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken would have done well if he had made some suggestion as to the mode in which that injustice might be removed. To tax the productions of their Colonies was bad enough; but to tax the poorer classes of consumers at home for what was almost a necessity of life was even a greater injustice. That being his view of the matter, he would endeavour to supplement the statement of the hon. Member, and to suggest to the Committee that which, in his opinion, the Government ought to do in respect of the burden which fell upon the poorer classes of the community. It was quite true that, as matters then stood, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had no surplus Revenue to give away; but it by no means followed that he might not have some means hereafter, which he could apply to the reduction of the duty on tobacco, and for the removal of the duty on Colonial tobacco entirely. But how could the Chancellor of the Exchequer raise the Revenue which would be required before he could make those remissions? He had no hesitation in saying that a considerable Revenue, quite enough to enable the right hon. Gentleman to abolish the duties on tobacco, tea, cocoa, and coffee produced in their own Colonies, and much more might be raised without disadvantage, but with great advantage to the country, by taxing foreign-manufactured goods imported into the country, which at present contributed nothing to the Revenue. Again, he thought that Revenue might be raised to a larger extent than at present upon foreign wines and spirits; and an additional reason for taxing them was that they came into competition with the liquors and spirits consumed in the United Kingdom. This question appeared to him to be even of more importance to Ireland than it was to England.

The CHAIRMAN said, he would point out to the hon. Member that he should restrict his observations to the Resolution before the Committee. At present he was giving them a development beyond that Question, which was that a certain amount of Income Tax should be levied in the financial year.

Mr. MAC IVER said, he had, of course, no intention to extend his observations beyond the scope of the Resolution. Not only had he followed precisely the line of the remarks of the hon. Member opposite, but his own remarks were made in special connection with the Income Tax; and, therefore, he thought that, from every point of view, he was perfectly in Order. His contention was that not only the duty on Colonial tobacco, tea, cocoa, and coffee should be abolished, but that the Income Tax might also be reduced to a considerable extent if those duties were replaced upon foreign imports.

The CHAIRMAN said, the argument of the hon. Member was entirely beyond the Resolution before the Committee. The observations with regard to tobacco had been very much to the point; but the hon. Member was now entering on a large question of Colonial policy, which was clearly irrelevant to the Question.

Mr. MAC IVER said, he thought his observations followed naturally upon the question with regard to tobacco raised by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Wills). He would, however, now put that aside, and address himself to the question of Income Tax, which he understood to be the specific subject before the Committee. He would, of course, follow the ruling of the Chairman, and he believed he should be in Order in showing that his proposals with reference to the substitution of taxation upon foreign-manufactured goods imported into this country ought to be adopted, rather than those of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was frequently stated in the Press—and *The Times* was supposed to have advantages in speaking on this question, because it was known that Mr. Giffen was on the staff of that newspaper—that the importation of foreign-manufactured goods was very small indeed. That was declared by *The Times* four days ago; and if it were really the truth, any scheme which he desired to present in the way of taxing those imports would, of course, fall to the ground. He believed the Committee would perceive at once that the whole force of his argument depended on the question as to whether the importation of foreign-manufactured goods was large or small.

The CHAIRMAN said, the observations of the hon. Member with regard to manufactured goods were clearly not within the scope of the Resolution before the Committee.

Mr. MAC IVER said, he bowed to the decision of the Chairman. At the same time, he would, in concluding his remarks, respectfully protest that his wish was to show that foreign-manufactured goods should be taxed to provide to some extent a substitute for the Income Tax. [An hon. Member below the Gangway: The Clôture.]

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the able manner in which he had laid his Statement before the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman had marked out what were, undoubtedly, two very bold plans. One of these had relation to the National Debt; and he had no doubt that having taken every means in his power to obtain information upon the subject, the right hon. Gentleman would be able to carry out the reduction of the Debt in the manner proposed. He believed, also, that the proposal would be a relief to the Money Market, because everyone would feel that at the present price Consols were not a secure investment.

Mr. WARTON rose to Order. He wished to know whether Consols were included with the subjects permitted to be referred to in connection with the Resolution before the Committee?

The CHAIRMAN said, he was waiting to hear the conclusion of the hon. Member's sentence.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE said, he presumed the Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was before the Committee at that moment. It was always usual that questions brought forward in the Budget should be subject to comment in that House when the 1st Resolution was before it. It would be satisfactory to everyone to learn the extent to which the reduction of the National Debt had taken place up to the present time; but there was another question which, to his mind, was of as great importance, and that was the question relating to the coinage. On that question he could not coincide with the opinions expressed by the right hon. Gentleman. When Mr. Lowe was Chancellor of the Exchequer the question was brought forward of taking 3*d*. out of each sovereign, and it was said that no one would find it out. The reduction was to be made as a mintage charge, which was defended on the ground that the sovereign was a manufactured article, and there was to be some arrangement by which the Bank of England on demand was to give bullion in exchange for notes, which might be sent abroad, while the gold coin was to remain at home. But when that scheme was examined it was found that there would be a loss on every transaction. It was, of course, an impossibility that 3*d*. should be taken out of every sovereign, and no one would lose by it. Again, the second proposal with regard to the coinage, although it only related to the half-sovereign, was open to the same objection. It appeared that the whole of the Gold Coinage of the country, from long use and frequent passing from hand to hand, had become more or less light, a fact which, in his opinion, was largely due to the considerably higher wages paid to the labouring classes since this question was last taken in hand 40 years ago. During the period which had elapsed, artizans especially had received a much larger proportion of wages in gold than was the case formerly; and that had, no doubt, caused much greater wear and tear of the Gold Coinage than took place when it circulated almost entirely amongst the higher classes of society. It was calculated that the total quantity of sovereigns and half-sovereigns in existence were worth at that moment £710,000 less than the value which they represented as current coin of the Realm. They had not been troubled for 40 years with the weighing of sovereigns and half-sovereigns. The custom had ceased amongst traders, at the Post Office, the Savings' Banks, all Joint Stock and Private Banks, Railway Stations, and in other public Establishments, with the exception of the Bank of England and Somerset House, where the custom still obtains of cutting each light sovereign or half-sovereign into two pieces. He believed that had the custom continued of cutting or refusing the light gold, the loss and inconvenience to the public would have been far greater than was represented by the sum of £710,000, the amount to which the gold coin had depreciated during the last 40 years. Well, that money, although it had slipped away and had gone no one knew where, was as much lost to the country as if the Government had put 710,000 sovereigns on board a vessel which had gone down in the ocean. And if that had actually taken place, what would be said if the Government attempted to lessen their responsibility with regard to it? Therefore, he said that the simplest, the cheapest, and only satisfactory way of dealing with the question of coinage was for the State to pay the money lost by wear and tear. It was the cheapest way, because to do otherwise would be to shake faith in the half-sovereign at home and abroad. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that these coins were well known in every part of the world, and that they were taken in exchange for goods according to their current value; but under the plan proposed two half-sovereigns would not be worth a sovereign. The half-sovereign would only be a token. Their silver coins were tokens; but no person was bound to take more than 40*s*. in silver. It appeared that there were in circulation £11,000,000 in half-sovereigns. He presumed that these were to be called in, and that 10*s*. token gold pieces of the intrinsic value of 9*s*. only were to be issued to represent that sum of £11,000,000. But the result would be that, although these might pass current throughout this country, they could only be calculated at the Bank as so much weight of gold. After all, this depreciation of £710,000 which had taken place in 40 years was little more than £17,000 a-year, a comparatively small sum when it was remembered that they had got rid of all the inconvenience and dissatisfaction caused by having to use scales and weights to ascertain whether a sovereign was light or not. But this amount of £710,000 need not be paid by a tax placed upon the country at once. The simplest plan, he thought, would be to call in the light gold, and spread the cost of making good the deficiency over a number of years, he cared not how many, by way of Annuity. He was satisfied that the greatest difficulty would arise from dealing with the matter in the way indicated by the right hon. Gentleman. Put it in any form they pleased, they could not take 1*s.* of gold out of a half-sovereign without inflicting a loss upon the community. It was said that by the process proposed a gain would be made out of the community for the benefit of the State amounting to £2,500,000 in 20 years. If this scheme were correct in principle, why not take 2*s.* out of the half-sovereign and realize £5,000,000? In the same breath it was said that no one was to lose; but how could that possibly be the case? They were aware that Foreign Governments had endeavoured to grapple with the state of things present to the mind of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer by means of paper money; they were aware that in consequence of the large issue of paper money in Russia at the present moment the paper rouble had considerably decreased in value. Unquestionably, if 1*s.* worth of gold was taken out of the half-sovereign, the half-sovereign would be so much decreased in value. It must be remembered that what was so proposed would not affect some classes of the community to any very large extent. Those classes, for instance, who paid and received money by means of cheques rarely had much coin in their pockets. The retail traders of the country received half-sovereigns in large numbers; and it was well known that the working classes were very frequently possessed of half-sovereigns, so that it was upon those people that the loss which must inevitably accrue would fall. And then it was said that the Bank of England were quite prepared to take any number of the new 10*s.* pieces; but he could hardly credit that such was the case.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Any amount of them.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE, continuing, said, that that would considerably aid the matter; but, nevertheless, he could not help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in this matter proceeding upon a very wrong principle, and that he was setting a very bad example to other countries. As he (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence) opposed the proposal to take 3*d.* out of each sovereign, which was ingeniously and elaborately placed before the House by Mr. Lowe when that right hon. Gentleman was Chancellor of the Exchequer, he felt bound now to oppose the proposal to reduce the intrinsic value of the half-sovereigns—to reduce them, in fact, to tokens; and he believed that that was the first time that any country whatever had attempted to substitute gold tokens for gold coins. He was quite sure that it was the first time that any Chancellor of the Exchequer had ventured to present such a scheme to a British House of Commons. Now, when the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward the question of the Death Duties, he (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence) thought that the right hon. Gentleman was about to propose some final settlement of those duties; and he waited most anxiously to hear upon what basis the right hon. Gentleman was going to propose that those duties should be placed. It was most unfair and unjust that personal property should have to pay Probate Duty and Legacy Duty, while real property should be allowed to change hands without paying any Probate Duty, and only paying Succession Duty. Leasehold property was said to be personal property; so that if a man who had two houses, one freehold and the other leasehold, died, leaving the leasehold house to one son and the freehold house to another son, what would be the result? Why, that the one would have to pay Probate Duty as well as Succession Duty; while the other would pay Succession Duty, but no Probate Duty. The question of the Death Duties might be met, and he thought satisfactorily settled, without any great difficulty being encountered. Unfortunately, the alterations which had been made up to the present time in Probate and Legacy Duties had had the effect of making the duties payable in respect of freehold property lighter, while the duties paid in regard to leasehold property had been made heavier. He was pleased the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had resolved to carry out what had long been desired—namely, a reduction of the tax upon locomotion represented by four-wheel cabs. When he (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence) brought the question of the Hackney Carriage Duties, the Mileage Duties, and the Post Horse Duties, before the House, in 1866 and 1867, there was an annual tax of something like £19 10*s.* upon every cab in London. Mr. Lowe, however, brought it down to its present figure. But it was quite clear that a tax of £2 2*s.* upon four-wheel cabs, and 15*s.* upon hansoms, was quite sufficient to cause a scarcity of the one and an abundance of the other. He was glad the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had decided that, in future, 15*s.* should be the charge upon four-wheel as well as upon two-wheel conveyances. He did not desire to detain the Committee long; but as the House had so few opportunities of considering financial matters, there were one or two other questions which he wished to bring under the notice of hon. Members. There was, for instance, the question of the Land Tax. He thought that when they were dealing with other questions with respect to Consols the Land Tax ought to be looked into. There were 2,000 parishes in which the quota was under £10; of these 214 in which it was £1 but under £2; 122 above 10*s.* but under £1; 87 under 10*s.*; and 10 under 1*s.* In all these cases there were meetings of Commissioners and Clerks, Assessors and Collectors appointed. In the case of a redemption of the Land Tax, it was necessary, under present circumstances, to make a most elaborate calculation. The calculation was based upon the average price of Consols at the date of the contract, to which sum 10 per cent was added, and then 17½ per cent deducted, so that one could readily see that the process was no easy one. He was of opinion that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to decide upon a certain number of years' purchase upon which the tax might be redeemed. He was not prepared to say how many years ought to be fixed upon; but he was satisfied that the method he suggested would be found the simplest and the best. In the case of land which was taken compulsorily by Railway Companies, by Corporations and other parties, he was of opinion that they ought to be compelled to redeem the tax in a certain time. He had so often brought that question of the House Tax before the House that it was not his intention to go into that question at any length now. He had hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have seen his way to have proposed some reduction of the tax. There were many people paying 9*d.* when, in reality, they ought not to be called upon to pay more than 6*d.* Hotels, for instance, were only required to pay 6*d.* But it must be remembered that there were a large number of private hotels and lodging-houses; and he could not understand for a moment why the keepers of the latter establishments should be required to pay more than 6*d.* if an hotel only paid 6*d.* Then, again, professional men—doctors, for instance, who had a small surgery adjoining their house—were called upon to pay 9*d.*, while the shopkeeper only paid 6*d.* Artists' studios and schools were charged 9*d.* It appeared to him that the keeping of a school was a business; and, therefore, the tax in respect of a school ought not to be larger than that paid by an ordinary shopkeeper. He was pleased that, on a former occasion, it was stated that when the question of the housing of the working classes came to be dealt with it would, no doubt, be found possible to propose some relief. There was a very important question, however, with respect to the House Tax which ought to be seriously taken into account. By a recent decision of the House of Lords, the Water Companies were only permitted to charge their rates upon the annual value of property. Now, he was unable to conceive why the principle of charging in respect to annual value should not apply to the House Tax. Of late years the House Tax had been worked up not upon the annual value, but upon the gross rental. This was a matter which ought to engage the serious attention of the Treasury; and he hoped that before long the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary to the Treasury would turn their attention to it.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had presented the Committee with a very interesting and a very clearly stated Budget, and he had shown how accurately and carefully the Estimates of the Revenue had been made. Indeed, he (Mr. Hubbard) could hardly say that he found, in the course of the Budget proper, anything upon which he need comment except in way of approval, unless he were to express regret that the authorities of the Treasury had not yet seen their way to announce a re-adjustment of the operation of the

Income Tax. He would pass, however, to the new features which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had promulgated that day with regard to the coinage and the reduction of the National Debt. As far as his memory served him, he believed the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was perfectly correct in his statement of the amount of coinage in circulation, and the proportion which might be lighter than the law allowed. The present condition of the Gold Coinage of the country arose from the effect of wear through a great series of years. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the state of the coinage had been almost neglected. Now, the law required that all Her Majesty's subjects should not only not re-issue gold coins which were light, but that they should deface by cutting them, so that they could not pass again. The right hon. Gentleman had explained that the requirements of the Act were impracticable; that no one could be supposed to carry about scissors to cut and scales to weigh any gold coins that he might receive. But all the coinage of the country within a not very long period passed through the hands of a very powerful and influential community called Bankers. There was the Bank of England at the head of banking affairs, and in the country there were established a very large number of Joint Stock Banks and Private Banks. Well, what had been the action of the different banking communities upon the gold which came into their hands? Both Mr. Martin and Mr. Palgrave, who were admitted authorities upon matters of currency, had stated that for a long time bankers had refrained from sending gold coins into the Bank of England, because they would be clipped and the bankers would be charged with the deficit. Now, the operation of that action upon the part of the bankers had, undoubtedly and inevitably, led to the result that they were overladen with light gold coin; and, being so, they now asked the Government to take it off their hands. The Committee would see that if every bank in the country had done what the Bank of England had done there would be now no accumulation of light gold at all. And he might remark, for the information of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that if all Her Majesty's officials had pursued the same course there would be less light gold coin in circulation than there was at the present time. The Postmasters in some very important towns in the North of England had absolutely removed their banking accounts from the Bank of England because the Bank of England was in the habit of clipping their gold; while country banks, to which those officials had removed their accounts, received the coin without debasement. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, must assume some portion of the blame for the consequences of the general neglect or disobedience of Her Majesty's Proclamation. He insisted upon this—that if Her Majesty's Proclamation had been carried out, not by every individual, but by those powerful and influential communities whose business it was to receive and issue coin, none of the difficulty which was now complained of would exist at all. That being the case, then came the question who was to bear the loss which accrued from light gold coin? In the first place, hon. Gentlemen must recollect that no one complained at the present moment except the bankers. There was no external difficulty or complaint at all. The difficulty was simply in the tills of the bankers, who had got more light gold coin than they knew what to do with. Let hon. Members consider what was to be done with light gold coin. He did not deny that it should be called in; but then, said the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer—"There are so many ways of dealing with it—who is to bear the loss?" and he (Mr. Hubbard) thought he heard the right hon. Gentleman say that he would not accept the entire loss upon the part of the Treasury.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I said on the part of the taxpayer.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, that the taxpayer and the Treasury were one and the same thing; they all knew perfectly well that the Treasury, in matters of that kind, represented the taxpayer. He was very glad that the right hon. Gentleman disclaimed, on the part of the taxpayer or the Treasury, any intention to bear the entire loss which had accrued from the light gold coin in circulation. Then it came to be a question of degree. If the right hon. Gentleman would not bear the entire loss, how was it to be divided? The right hon. Gentleman had enumerated several plans. He enumerated one which he said was inadmissible, and that was that the loss should be divided between the taxpayer or the Exchequer and the last holder, who, in most cases, would inevitably be the banker, because it was the banker who sent the coin in. He would like to know why the right hon. Gentleman considered that it would be inequitable to share the loss with the bankers? He (Mr. Hubbard) believed that it would be equitable and practicable, and he did so for this reason. If the right hon. Gentleman proposed to take upon himself a certain portion of loss he would exclude from his own acceptance the extremely light pieces; the very light pieces would not come in at all. The bankers would send in all coin which was just under legal weight; but they would not send in the very light pieces; these they would put again into circulation. Therefore, he (Mr. Hubbard) considered that the plan, which, he understood, the right hon. Gentleman would not adopt, was one which would clear the commercial regions of the light gold coin. He objected to the plan of throwing the loss wholly upon the last holder; but he thought that the plan of dividing the loss would be the best and most equitable. If the Exchequer were to say they would share the loss with the last holder of the light coin, then there would be no motive for keeping it back, particularly if the Exchequer attached to their Proclamation the condition that they would only receive the light coin up to a certain date, and that after that light coin would be treated as bullion. Now, as to the particular means which the right hon. Gentleman proposed, and which he (Mr. Hubbard) confessed filled his mind with apprehension. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to debase the currency. He had said that a gold sovereign was an international coin. Well, two half-sovereigns now made one sovereign; but under the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer two half-sovereigns would make a whole sovereign no longer. A half-sovereign would be a half-sovereign no longer, but would be degraded into the position of a token. As a matter of fact, there was a point of interest in this matter of a Constitutional character. At the present moment all gold coin was a legal tender, and the Bank of England were bound to accept gold coin. Let this proposition be carried out, and they would destroy the properties of the gold coin. He should be charmed and delighted to find he was mistaken. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shook his head in dissent; but he (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) ventured to say that hitherto the half-sovereign had been regarded as an integral part of the Gold Coinage of this country; but now it was proposed to depose it from its position, and to make it a mere token. They could not pay their debts in tokens. It was indispensable that the integrity of the Gold Coinage of the country, half-sovereigns as well as sovereigns, should be maintained. The proposal of the right hon. Gentleman was not an original one; it was proposed by Mr. Lowe, a highly inventive and imaginative person, so far as financial matters were concerned. Mr. Lowe proposed to take a grain of gold out of the sovereign, and to turn the half-sovereign into a mere token. He (Mr. Hubbard) would very much like the right hon. Gentleman to lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence which passed on that occasion between the Bank of England and Mr. Lowe. He (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) was at that time a Director of the Bank; and if his memory served him, a decided disapproval was expressed on the part of the Bank of the proposal to turn the half-sovereign into a token. Only that morning he was looking over the Report and Evidence of the International Coinage Commission, and he happened to open the book at the evidence given by Sir John Herschell, who was then Master of the Mint. Sir John Herschell was asked—"Would you approve of converting the half-sovereign into a token?" to which he replied—"Certainly not; it would make the coinage a totally different thing." In fact, Sir John Herschell expressed the strongest disapproval of any attempt such as that which was now being proposed by the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman might by this action be able to realize £1,000,000 or £2,000,000; but it must be remembered that when they once began to tamper with the coinage there was no knowing where they would end. As he had said previously, it was merely a matter of degree; and he asked if they took 1*s*. out of 10*s*. now, why should they not, on some future occasion, take 2*s*. out? It must also be borne in mind that they would very likely create a new industry; for there was very little doubt that many men would be found, say in places like Birmingham, who would seek to obtain a living by the making of illegal half-sovereigns. On the different grounds which had been stated, he trusted that the Committee would be dissuaded from sanctioning the proposal made by the right hon. Gentleman. Why should this degradation of the coinage take place for the sake of £1,000,000 profit at once, and for the sake of the interest on that profit in future years paying the expenses of the deficiency in the coinage? He knew of no precedent in the world for debasing the Gold Coinage in the way suggested. He would pass from the gold currency to another very important subject, and that was the interest on the National Debt. The right hon. Gentleman had applied himself, with very great energy and success, to insuring a rapid redemption of the National Debt. He (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) thought the arrangement which the right hon. Gentleman proposed last year for the redemption of £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 of Debt went quite far enough. It must be remembered that when they had redeemed £10,000,000 of Debt they had also diminished the charge of the Debt by way of interest; and the operation adopted last year was one thoroughly sound in principle, for it involved a sacrifice on the part of the taxpayer. It was by economy in management, and by self-denial, that they ought to obtain a reduction of the national obligations; that was the legitimate way of reducing the interest on the National Debt. But as to the proposal which the right hon. Gentleman had made that day, he (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) was ashamed of it; and although the right hon. Gentleman said it would save this, and that, and the other, it would save nothing at all, and he trusted it would never pass. His right hon. Friend the Prime Minister tried a similar process in the year 1853; but with what result? The amount of the National Debt was something like £800,000,000; and his right hon. Friend made a proposal which would have given a quarter per cent less interest to those who accepted the Two-and-a-half per Cent Stock in exchange for Three per Cents. The loss was so obvious that no wonder the scheme, in its result, fell far short of what the Prime Minister had anticipated. As a matter of fact, out of £350,000,000 of Consols only £1,000,000 was exchanged for Two-and-a-half per Cents, and the whole amount of 2½ per cent thus created only reached £3,000,000. He wondered so much was sent in. Who could have sent it in? Why, there were just three classes of people who could have done so. In the first place, trustees, who always seemed to consider themselves bound to save themselves from risk by complying with any demands of the Government. In the next place stood patriots, who did not mind throwing away their property, and lastly there were idiots, who did not know what they were doing. The £3,000,000 of Two-and-a-Half per Cents made by his right hon. Friend had increased, under different operations of the Treasury itself, to £10,000,000; and it was true that they stood at a comparatively high price. Now, then, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer took the rise in value as evidence of success. At the time he did that, however, he played upon two strings. He told the Committee he had compulsory power to enforce it; and then, fearing that that might appear too despotic and harsh, he said—"Oh! I am going to give them what will be a full equivalent." He (Mr. Hubbard) asked, in common honesty and honour, that the Government would not couple with their proposition the threat that they had compulsory power. It would be, in his opinion, a most unbecoming thing to do; and he did not think that the threat was one which was consistent with the rights of property, and certainly it was one which ought not to proceed from the Finance Minister of this country. Either the exchange proposed was one which would leave the Stockholders in as good a position as they were now, or it would not. If the former was the case, then the Exchequer could gain nothing; if the Stockholders were left in a worse position, then the Exchequer would gain at the expense of the public. The right hon. Gentleman alluded to the conditions under which the different Stock was raised. It was quite true that there were three main Stocks. There were

£395,000,000 of Consols, £140,000,000 of New Three per Cents, and £90,000,000 of Reduced. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would not meddle with the New Three per Cents, as they could only be dealt with in their entirety; but he proposed to deal with Consols and Reduced, and to pay them off in quarterly parcels of not less than £500,000. But the Act of Parliament, with regard to Consolidated Stock, distinctly stated that it should be subject to discharge upon 12 months notice, and that repayment of them should take place in sums of £500,000. He should be exceedingly surprised if the Chancellor of the Exchequer could find upon the Statute Book of this country any Act of Parliament under which he could make an individual take Two-and-a-half per Cent Stock for Three per Cent, or be obliged to receive cash in payment for the Stock which he owned, unless the Exchequer was prepared to give notice of redemption of the entire Joint Stock of Annuities of which he held a share. Such was the position in which the Committee were placed; and he ventured to believe that they would find that the offer which did not succeed when proposed by the Prime Minister would not succeed now, however ingenious the present Chancellor of the Exchequer might be. He (Mr. Hubbard) was sorry to have to express his disapproval of the propositions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because he was sure they were dictated by a desire to serve the best interests of the country. He believed that both of them were discreditable to the country; and he hoped, therefore, they would be rejected.

Mr. FRANCIS BUXTON congratulated his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the clearness of his Financial Statement, and upon the marvellous accuracy with which the receipts of the year had met the Estimates of last year. His special object, however, in rising was to comment upon the remarks made by his right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard) on the proposed alterations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with respect to the Gold Goinage. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Hubbard) had prophesied what the result would be of the proposed alteration, and he had depicted the evils which would result from what he called a debased coinage. But what was it but a very debased coinage that they had now? The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them that there were in circulation in the country 90,000,000 sovereigns and 20,000,000 half-sovereigns, and that of those 55 per cent were light in weight, and, therefore, not a legal tender. If by any alteration that could be counteracted, and the 90,000,000 sovereigns could be issued full weight, and the 20,000,000 half-sovereigns could be issued at a known value from the Treasury, it must be of the greatest benefit to the country. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Hubbard) had said that bankers, or the last holders, should be made to bear, at least, part of the loss which would accrue; and he spoke of the dislike of bankers, under present conditions, to pay into the Bank of England light gold. The result of this dislike was that light coin was reissued constantly, and was thereby constantly losing in weight. Now, under the proposed alterations, bankers would be able to go at any time to the Bank of England; and, of course, they would not hesitate to go, and pay in their light coin and receive the full weight of gold. Gold coin was very soon reduced in value. He (Mr. Francis Buxton) had the honour of being a partner in a bank in the City, situate not more than 80 yards from the Bank of England. His firm had got gold from the Bank of England, and carried it to their own bank, where they had kept it some months undisturbed; they had then taken it back to the Bank of England, and had been charged a certain amount for light gold. Now, there had only been one movement, yet the friction had caused the loss in weight. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be enabled to carry out the proposals he had made, because he believed they would be of the greatest advantage to the country. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Hubbard) thought the bankers were those who were chiefly to blame in having broken through the letter of the law up to this time. He (Mr. Francis Buxton) thought everyone would admit that the present law was impracticable and quite impossible to carry out in practice. The 7th clause of the Coinage Act provided that where any gold coin was below the current weight a person should cut or deface any such coin tendered to him in payment, and the person tendering the same should bear the loss. Now, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had shown that night, such a system, if carried into practice, would altogether put an end to transactions of any kind in money. It would be quite impossible for everyone to carry with him a pair of scales to weigh any gold coin tendered to him. To begin with, a person would never find a gold coin of full weight, so that it would be easily seen that a complete stop would be put to the financial transactions of the country if the 7th clause were to be carried out in every instance. It was clear that bankers were not the only persons subject to blame. Every man in the country was equally blameable. After all, what the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to do with the half-sovereign was nothing more than was done already with other coins. The silver coinage of the country already contained very much less silver than it was supposed to contain. Sovereigns themselves had a certain amount of alloy in them. Indeed, every coin must contain a certain amount of alloy. As a matter of fact, silver coins were issued as tokens, and not as coins. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed that half-sovereigns should, in future, be taken as tokens; that they should be conveyed from hand to hand as of the value of 10*s.*; but that they should only be a legal tender up to the amount of £5. Silver was now a legal tender to the amount of 40*s.*, and bronze coins to the amount of 1*s.* He would like to know from the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether any difficulty would occur as to gold coined in the Mint of Calcutta or in any of the Colonies? A good deal of Australian gold was now in this country, and he was very anxious to know whether any difficulty would result on this account? As to the issue of Two-and-a-half per Cents, he very much hoped that the right hon. Gentleman might succeed in any step which would lead to so grand a result as the reduction of the interest of the National Debt of this country. He believed the credit of this country stood so high at that moment that no better moment could be chosen for such a step. He understood his right hon. Friend (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) to mention the amount of Two-and-a-half per Cents now in the Market as £10,000,000; but he was under the impression that the Chancellor of the Exchequer said they stood at £13,300,000. Possibly the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he replied, would inform the Committee how the present amount compared with the amount which was in the Market in 1878 and in 1881, in order to show how the Two-and-a-half per Cents had increased in the last five years. He (Mr. Francis Buxton) believed they would be found to have been largely increased, and that the present amount would show how very much the Market appreciated the value of that Stock. The Chancellor of the Exchequer referred to one item in his Revenue side as to which he would like to ask him one question. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that the amount estimated to be received from the Railway Passenger Duty before the alteration of last year was £800,000 in round figures. The actual amount estimated to be received last year after the proposed alteration was £665,000; but the right hon. Gentleman had actually £745,000. There was thus a very decided increase over the Estimate. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that this was partly caused by some one large sum; but perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would inform the Committee whether the increase had occurred from any diminution in the proposed alteration of last year—he meant any diminution of the number of exemptions claimed by the various Railway Companies? He believed that one of the proposals of last year was that fares of 1*d.* a-mile and less should be exempted altogether from the Passenger Duty; but that railway fares in what might be called urban districts should be subject to a tax of 2 per cent, instead of 5 per cent as hitherto. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would say whether the urban districts had been extended, or whether it was on account of such urban districts not having been defined that this large increase over the Estimate had occurred? He repeated his congratulations to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the result of the year; and he hoped that the Estimates of this year would prove as satisfactory as those of the financial year which had just closed.

Mr. GORST said, he rose to make complaint about another part of the Budget, and to express disappointment and dissatisfaction, which he was sure everyone would feel, at the announcement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the boon of 6*d.* telegrams, which it was promised last year should be given this year, was not to be given to the public until 1885. This was another instance of the great regard Her Majesty's Government paid to the opinion of the House of Commons. They had had two or three instances that Session. Some people imagined that this peculiar idiosyncracy of the Government had only been exhibited that Session; but, as a matter of fact, it began last year. As long ago as the 29th of March last year the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) gave expression to the feeling of the majority of the House in a Resolution which he succeeded in inducing the House to adopt, against the advice of Her Majesty's Government, upon the subject of 6*d.* telegrams. At first the Chancellor of the Exchequer was disposed to bow to the views of the House. He exhibited some kind of deference towards the feeling of the House, because, in the course of the Budget Speech which he made on the 5th of April last year, less than one week after the Resolution of the House, the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "After the Resolution of the 29th of March, I do not think it would be respectful on my part to put out of question the reduction in the minimum price of telegrams. As I promised, I have already commenced a careful inquiry into the estimates made by the Post Office as to the cost under several plans of the reduction to the minimum charge of 6*d.* I cannot, at this moment, anticipate the result of that inquiry; but I propose to set aside £170,000 out of my balance to enable me, if possible, to carry out the change in the course of the present year."—(3 *Hansard*, [277] 1533.)

Towards the end of last year, however, the anticipations of the House of Commons were very much damped by an answer given by the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General (Mr. Fawcett) to the effect that the reduction in the minimum charge for telegrams would come into operation in October, 1884. The public was far more interested in the reduction in the charge for telegrams than even in the reduction of the National Debt; and they had been confidentally expecting that the reduction would take place in the course of the present year, in accordance with the promise of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Now, the right hon. Gentleman threw a damper upon all their anticipations by coolly announcing to the House of Commons that the Government would not make the promised reduction. It was not because the Post Office could not afford to meet the reduction, but simply because the anticipations with respect to the Parcel Post had not been fully realized; to make the loss on the institution of the Parcel Post less than it otherwise would be, the Government were going to confiscate the money set aside for the reduction in the price of telegrams. He was sure that when the announcement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was read to-morrow by the people of the Three Kingdoms, they would feel a bitter disappointment and a considerable amount of indignation at the cool manner in which they had been treated by the Government. If the institution of the Parcel Post had not been as profitable an affair as it was expected, let the Government admit they made a miscalculation. Why the unfortunate people had to be robbed of 6*d.* telegrams in order to make good the deficiency in the Government calculations he could not imagine. The people would receive the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with great disappointment. He (Mr. Gorst) could not help feeling that by the way the right hon. Gentleman had dealt with this matter he was guilty of trifling with the House of Commons.

Mr. ANDERSON said, that after the admirable and clear statement they had had that night from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he only wished to make a very few remarks upon the Budget proposals. It was unfortunate that the right hon. Gentleman could not do more for them than he expected to do; but with a surplus of £253,000 it was not possible to do a great deal. The right hon. Gentleman proposed a small relief in the shape of a reduction of the Carriage Duty. Unfortunately, the reduction was not large enough to do much good. The objection to the Carriage Duty was that it acted as a restraint of trade. There were a large number of artizans engaged in the making of carriages, and in making articles connected with carriages. There was, therefore, a large number of the industrial classes to whom the reduction of the duty would act as a very great boon. However, they must be content with what they had got. He regretted the right hon. Gentleman did not see his way to do away with the duty on Marine Insurance, to which he had several times called attention. That also was a tax which acted in restraint of trade, and therefore they ought to get quit of it. He understood that in some kinds of insurance, such as bullion to and from the Continent, where the value was very high and the premium low, this tax threw the business entirely into the hands of foreign underwriters; and Lloyds had often vainly appealed for its abolition. The proposals with regard to the gold coinage were the distinguishing features of the Budget, and no doubt they would be most generally attacked. Many years ago they were told there was an estimated loss of £500,000 upon light gold coins, and now it turned out the loss was not less than £710,000. The question was, who was to pay for the loss? One of the courses which the right hon. Gentleman said was inadmissible was to put the loss on the taxpayer. In that opinion he entirely agreed, because the taxpayers included Scotland, and as Scotland did not contribute to the wearing of the gold in the pockets of the people it would be most unfair to take taxation from Scotland for such a purpose. On that ground he was very glad that the right hon Gentleman did not propose to throw the loss on the taxpayers of the country. The right hon. Gentleman had also said that he would not institute an issue of £1 notes, and in that he thought the right hon. Gentleman was quite wrong, because that would be the easiest and simplest way of paying for it. He was not alone in England in advocating £1 notes, for there had been at least two London bankers in that House who admitted that it would be expedient to have £1 notes. The hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) had, on one occasion, said he thought it might be expedient to go to the length of £30,000,000 of notes to supersede gold. Supposing they took even 2 per cent of £30,000,000, that would give £600,000 a-year saved, and the loss on gold would be quickly paid for. Even half of that would be enough. All they advocated was that people should have the option of getting £1 notes if they wanted them. Nobody thought of forcing them; but for 60 years past the people of England had not had an opportunity of getting these notes. Was it to be believed that the people of England would not take them if they could get them, when the people of Scotland and Ireland preferred them? It was only necessary to lay the offer before them, and before long they would take to the idea, and the system would become very remunerative. With regard to what the hon. Member for Andover (Mr. Francis Buxton) had said about the way in which gold coins were weighed, in Scotland the bankers generally obtained boxes of gold ready for issue at harvest time, that being the time when gold was expected to be wanted in Scotland. The bankers got the boxes of gold from the Bank of England, and kept it unpacked in their cellars. Then, perhaps, the need never came, and they were sent back to London, and though the boxes had never been opened at all, still a charge was made for light weight. Nobody supposed that the Bank of England was guilty of fraud in charging for that light gold; it simply meant that this article, gold, was so soft that it wore away in such a manner that it was not suitable for circulation at all. Now, the right hon. Gentleman, referring to the suggestion of a mintage charge on the gold, said he would not make a charge for mintage, but he thought a small charge for mintage would be proper and appropriate; and one reason he had was that their sovereigns were exported. Some authorities had spoken of that as a great advantage; but he thought they should put some check on this exportation, and that all such transactions ought to be in bullion. Why should they be at the expense of coining their gold for exportation? Why should they be put to that expense to export their sovereigns for foreign manufacturers to melt them down for manufacturing purposes? It was the same in this country. When their manufacturers wanted gold they took their sovereigns, and the Mint not only charged nothing for mintage, but gave them the alloy into the bargain. In his opinion, there should be more alloy used than 1-12th, so as to reduce the liability to friction; and there should also be a charge for mintage, to prevent the export of their gold, and in order that the Mint should not have so much needless work to do.

Then with regard to the reduction of the half-sovereign, that was a most important matter, for the half-sovereign was almost the only coin of gold used in Scotland. A considerable amount of half-sovereigns were used in Scotland as change; and he should not like to see them discredited, as they might be if it was supposed that they were only worth 9*s.* He would rather have an issue of a 10*s.* note, which should be entirely a symbolical currency to take the place of change, than a coin which pretended to be worth 10*s.* when it was only worth 9*s.* If it was to become a mere token, he did not see why it should not be just as well reduced to 8*s.*, or 7*s.*, or 6*s.*, or 5*s.*, or any other amount, as to 9*s.* Besides, the reduction would offer an immense premium to manufacturers, now that they knew it only cost 4*d.* a pound to coin gold; and there would be a profit of nearly 10 per cent on turning sovereigns into half-sovereigns. A new industry would spring up—he would not say in Birmingham, but abroad—of melting sovereigns down to half-sovereigns, and making a profit on the operation. That would be a very tempting trade, and he did not know of any trade in these hard times in which so much profit could be made; and unless the Chancellor of the Exchequer could see some mode by which he could check this recoinage of their sovereigns into half-sovereigns, with a profit of perhaps 1*s.* 6*d.* on each, he did not think this scheme would answer. As to the Death Duties, they could not say anything as to that subject until they saw what the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plan was; but he was very glad to see that the right hon. Gentleman looked forward to proposing a scheme in the direction at least of bringing up the Succession Duty to the Legacy Duty. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of a "final" scheme; but he did not think there would be a settlement of that matter till the one was put absolutely on a level with the other. He was also pleased with the proposal to put a tax on lands in mortmain, for he was strongly of opinion, as he had been always, and had advocated in that House for 10 years past, that it should be impossible for anyone to put property into a Trust or a Corporation in such a way that it should be beyond the reach of being made to pay its fair share of taxation. That principle he was glad to see acknowledged by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He very much approved also of the proposed issue of new Stocks, but he would have been content with increasing the Two-and-a-Half per Cent Stock, without being bothered by a Two-and-Three-Quarters per Cent Stock; for he did not think it was necessary to have the intermediate one at all. He thought the Two-and-a-Half per Cent Stock would become very attractive to Trustees and others who wished to invest; and the fact that so large an amount was now held by the country in deposits with the Post Office Savings Banks, which only gave 2½ per cent, ought to be very encouraging in the direction of having a conversion of Three per Cents into Two-and-a-Half per Cent Stock.

Mr. PELL said, he had listened with great attention to the debate; but the question of the debasement of the coinage was one upon which he did not feel himself competent to speak. But he knew that having one half-sovereign in his pocket when he entered the House he had disposed of that in the course of the evening, and had so had an opportunity of giving practical effect to the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He got his change in silver, he admitted; but what he was going to say was that it was marvellous how much strict attention was given on nights when Financial Statements were made—which, after all, were of small importance—and how little opportunity during the remainder of the year Members had of discussing matters which, to his mind, were of far greater importance. He referred, he need hardly say, to the question of Local Taxation. He and others had not expected that much would come from the Budget in relief of local taxpayers; but there appeared to have been a passage interpolated in the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer which bore on the subject, and it was that particular passage in the speech to which he wished to draw the attention of the Committee, and which justified him in making some remarks. He understood the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that he had in his mind an idea that at some future time—how far distant no man could tell—there might be an opportunity afforded of giving some relief to local charges by a rearrangement of the Death Duties? [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER dissented.] He saw that the Chancellor of the Exchequer shook his head; but that was what he understood the right hon. Gentleman to mean—of course, the right hon. Gentleman took care not to be very precise—namely, that there would be some re-arrangement, such as had long been suggested, by which they would be imposed—and very properly he thought—on lands in mortmain; and that out of the increased fund at the disposal of the Exchequer some relief might be afforded to local taxpayers. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER dissented.] The Chancellor of the Exchequer still shook his head at that interpretation of his statement.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): What I said was that I did not think the change I described in the Death Duties ought to be made until we had settled the question of the relief of local burdens; but I said nothing about the question of that relief being postponed for a long time, or at all.

MR. PELL said, he thought the mention of the subject in that way meant a postponement for an indefinite period. The first postponement of relief was to be until the Local Government Bill was brought in; and now that Bill itself was to be postponed and complicated.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am trying to put the hon. Member right. I said just the opposite.

MR. PELL accepted the correction; but now the two things were to be brought forward at the same time; and if they were to be made dependent on each other, then he thought the whole scheme became more complicated, and the Government measure would be further postponed. He was obliged to take what little opportunity he could get of calling the attention of the Committee to this matter. Then the Chancellor of the Exchequer had referred to an increased charge on the Exchequer by way of subventions, and he stated that within 10 years there had been an increase of £2,950,000, or something of that kind; and when he gave utterance to his proposition it was received with murmurs from the other side of the House, as if hon. Gentlemen thought these subventions a terrible thing. Nobody had ever argued out boldly the question whether these subventions were extravagant or not; and he must say that, for his own part, he did not approve of that bye-way of casting a censure on a system which, after all, had not been proved to be productive of extravagance; and he should have been better pleased if, instead of hearing hon. Members expressing dissatisfaction, they had expressed satisfaction at the postponement of the reduction in the charge for telegrams. He agreed with hon. Members in expressing dissatisfaction with the Government for not keeping their promise; but nothing had gratified him more than the assurance that that torment, the 6*d.* telegram, would be kept off for some time. It was all very well for hon. Members in town communities; but a countryman who had indolent friends richer than himself would be continually getting 6*d.* telegrams which might cost him 3*s.* 6*d.* He was very glad, indeed, that that scheme was postponed. He would not now raise a debate on local taxation; but he should do so at some future time that Session, because he did not think the House of Commons had been fairly treated on that subject. But as they were now debating the Financial Statement, and as he had been systematically deprived of the promised Local Budget which was expected to be presented about the same time as the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Statement, he must take this opportunity of saying that, however unpalateable it might have been to the right hon. Gentleman to do it, he ought to have made some proposition which would have relieved the owners and occupiers of real property in towns even more than in the country from the injustice which admittedly was done to them. Whether that might be done by means of subventions he could not say; he did not think it could; but he should have been very pleased to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer say he would accept the whole charge of the police and pauper lunatics, because he was perfectly certain that that would result in absolute economy.

MR. MONK said, the Committee had received a most interesting and able Financial Statement from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, some of the features of which had commended themselves to the acceptance of the Committee. He referred especially to the Death

Duties being extended to property in mortmain, and to the proposal to reduce the interest on the National Debt; though he must say, with regard to the latter, that it seemed to him a debatable question whether the Two-and-Three-Quarters per Cent Stock, which it was proposed to issue, should be liable to redemption so soon as 1905. That, however, was a question which would be discussed at a future stage, when the Bill for that purpose was brought forward; but he rose principally to put a question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He must express his regret and surprise that the right hon. Gentleman, in his Financial Statement, had not alluded in any way to a probable prospective reduction of the Wine Duties. He was astonished at that omission, because, a few months ago, he and other hon. Members were led to congratulate themselves on an Agreement or Protocol having been entered into between our Minister at Madrid and the Spanish Government, to the effect that Her Majesty's Government would propose to the House of Commons a reduction of the Wine Duties on certain conditions—namely, that a Treaty of Commerce granting the most-favoured-nation treatment to this country should be also proposed for the acceptance of the Córtes. He was aware that since that time there had been a change of the Government in Spain; and we could not, perhaps, now tell whether the present Government would propose the adoption of such a measure to the Córtes when it met in June next; but the question he wished to put to his right hon. Friend was this. The right hon. Gentleman was perfectly well aware that in 1880 the Prime Minister, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed that the Crown should have power, by Order in Council, to propose a reduction in the Wine Duties, contingent upon certain conditions being acceded to by the wine-growing countries. Certainly, the present state of the Wine Duties did cause great disturbance in that trade, and caused certain material loss to wine merchants; and he wished to put it to the right hon. Gentleman whether it was not desirable that he should take some such step as that which was taken by the Prime Minister in 1880? He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that this was a matter upon which the whole commercial community felt very strongly; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give some assurance that the matter was under consideration, and would not be neglected during the present financial year.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I hope I may be allowed to express my strong sense of the extreme fairness and clearness of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was entirely free from Party spirit; and it is always pleasant to be able to reciprocate that spirit. The right hon. Gentleman referred to the present condition of the country, and said the increase in the accumulations of the country was the ground upon which his Estimates of the Revenue of the year were founded. He remarked that the condition of trade in many parts of the country was, undoubtedly, unsatisfactory; that profits were small; and that the Railway Returns, which are very accurate as an indication of the condition of the manufactures and productions of the country, had shown symptoms of weakness in the last few months, and certainly had indicated a lessened volume of trade; while, at the same time, there was a considerable diminution of profits. I should be extremely sorry to express any very grave doubts as to the realization of the Estimates which the right hon. Gentleman has made; but it does appear to me that both in Customs and in Excise he has gone at least as far as the conditions of trade, which certainly influence Customs and Excise, would warrant or justify. The right hon. Gentleman, in his allusions to the burden which is imposed on the country by the Budget, referred to the Expenditure in the year 1873-4, as compared with the present Expenditure. I do not wish to go back as far as 1873-4, but I will go back to 1880-1; and I wish to place before the Committee some figures which show, at least, that the condition of taxation in this country is very serious—it may be necessary taxation—having regard to the stagnation, to say no less, in the trade of the country at large. In 1880 the Imperial charge was, roughly speaking, £82,000,000, and the local charge was £26,000,000. I prefer to put the two things together, because if the local charge falls upon property it falls on the individuals who are concerned in the trade of the country to a large extent, and who also pay the Imperial taxes; and it is a charge on the resources of the country. That would give a total, in 1880, of £108,000,000. In 1883 that had grown to £115,000,000, being an Imperial charge of £86,000,000, and a local charge of £29,000,000. This year, according to the best estimate I can make, the Imperial charge is £85,250,000; and you have to add to that £2,000,000 of Exchequer receipts, which are now taken in reduction of Expenditure, and which were Revenue in 1880, and that makes the total £87,250,000. You have also a local expenditure, if it has gone on increasing since 1882—when the last Return was laid on the Table—at the same rate as it increased during the preceding five years, of £30,000,000. Thus, then, you find that in four years the Expenditure of the country for the purposes of Government—and you cannot separate the local expenditure from the Imperial—has increased £9,250,000. I think that is a very serious condition of things indeed, and one requiring from the Government—from any Government, because I do not say this in any Party spirit—the most grave consideration. I say that an Expenditure which is growing year by year at the rate of £2,000,000 annually requires the gravest consideration from any Government, I do not care what Government it is. But I have not said all that I have to say with respect to our financial condition. If we are paying off the Imperial Debt we are piling up the local debt. It would be a delusion on our part to suppose that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been able to reduce the total indebtedness of the country by £8,000,000 during the past year. He has done nothing of the sort. If the rates have gone up the debt has increased in even greater proportion—that is to say, the local debt of the country. In 1879-80 the local rates were £26,000,000; but the new loans were £14,000,000, and the total expenditure for local taxation was £52,750,000. In 1882 the rates had gone up, as I have said, to £28,000,000; and the debt had increased from £137,000,000, in 1880, to £151,750,000. In two years we had put on £14,750,000 of debt. I have no doubt that that debt has been increasing in the same proportion, and that instead of being £151,750,000, it is now £165,000,000. That is a condition of affairs which I commend to the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. What is our ability to bear this taxation? The Chancellor of the Exchequer told us that the accumulations of the country were going on, and based that statement upon the Income Tax. He went on to show that the Income Tax now yields something more than £2,000,000 on the 1*d.*, whilst a year or two ago it only yielded £1,950,000, and a year or two before that only £1,900,000. That may be due, probably, to the increased efficiency of the officers engaged in the collection. I have no doubt that those acquainted with the state of affairs in the City will bear out the statement to which I have referred, and have no personal knowledge of—namely, that there is a great deal more energy and care exercised in the collection of the Income Tax, and in tracing its sources, than was formerly the case. With reference to this assumption, that the accumulations of the country are going on rapidly, I think, some years ago, they were estimated to be something like £235,000,000 a-year. I have had a calculation made for me under the direction of an extremely intelligent officer, Mr. Burdett, the Secretary of the Share and Loan Department of the Stock Exchange, of the value of the securities quoted in *The London Daily Stock and Share List* on the 1st of March, 1883, and of the same securities on the 1st of March, 1884, adding, of course, in every case, any new issue of Stock which may have been made in the interval. The object I had in view was to compare like with like, and, at the same time, not to confine myself to any estimate I might form of a particular Stock, or a particular class of Stock, for I conceived that the result that would be obtained in that way would be fallacious, and open to the charge that the statistics had been collected with more or less partiality. I took, therefore, the whole of the Stocks quoted in *The London Daily Stock and Share List*, and dealt with on the London Stock Exchange. The result was that I found that on the 1st of March, 1883, the nominal or part value of these securities was £5,056,000,000; and on the 1st of March, 1884, it was £5,211,000,000, showing that during the year there had been an issue, or additional capital invested in Stocks, shares, and bonds, of £155,000,000, assuming in every case par as the basis. The market value of this £5,056,000,000 on the 1st of March, 1883, was £4,907,000,000; and the market value of the £5,211,000,000 on the 1st of March, 1884, including the addition of the £155,000,000, was only £4,901,000,000, showing a decrease in the value of the whole property of £6,000,000, or an apparent loss in the year of £161,000,000. Now, there were 31 classes of securities in the official list, and the only exceptions to the general loss in value were gas securities, which improved nearly 9 per cent in the year, and English Railway Guaranteed Stocks and foreign railway obligations, which show a slightly increased value. These figures, therefore, show that the whole of the issue, the new issue during the year, appears to have been lost, and something like 0·27 in addition. I do not wish to lay too much stress upon these facts; but they are an illustration of what has been going on during the past year. They certainly seem to show that a great many people were poorer than they were last year; that there was less capital seeking investment; and that, in consequence of that fact, the investments themselves tended to become less valuable; and the fact which I have stated here, that the loss is spread over the whole of the property that is dealt with on the Stock Exchange, with a very few easily explained exceptions, goes far, indeed, to disprove the view of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to accumulations. There is another class of property in the country on which there has been a great loss. Everybody who is acquainted with the North of England knows that shipbuilding yards are idle, and that ships have greatly depreciated in value. The woollen trade is prosperous; the steam coal trade in the West of England is prosperous, I believe; but, taking trade all round, the complaint in connection with all businesses is that there never was a period when profits were so small, and in which there was so much difficulty to keep things going. But the point of this statement which I have made is the bad omen it affords, in one respect, as to the future. If it is a fact that investments and industrial undertakings during the past year have, to a very large degree, resulted in a loss of capital embarked in them, and if they have not increased in value to the amount of the capital embarked in them, then there will be a very great indisposition, during the coming year, to embark in enterprizes that involve a certain amount of speculation and a certain amount of risk. I think, therefore, that profits having been small, and trade having been depressed, the tendency and danger which we have to fear is that employment will become less, and that, therefore, the interests of the country may be much more seriously affected than we suppose at this moment. I trust that may not be the case. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman that for workmen and labourers—for the working classes generally — times are good, because prices are low; but if we are reaching that period when work will become scarce, or when the inducements to offer work will disappear, then we are reaching a period which may be one of considerable anxiety. But, Sir, there is another interest to which the right hon. Gentleman referred at some length, and with some hopefulness. I wish, myself, I could be as hopeful as he is. He spoke of the agricultural interests of the landlords and of the farmers.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I did not speak hopefully by any means of the farming interest. On the contrary, I said that the state of agriculture was unsatisfactory both for landowners and farmers.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I am sorry I misrepresented the right hon. Gentleman. I can confirm the view he now expresses. In connection with this industry there has been a considerable and a serious loss of capital. No doubt there are a great many persons who rather rejoice at the losses that are sustained by landlords and farmers. ["No, no!"] Well, I hope I do not misrepresent the persons to whom I allude. I do not wish to do so. But I look on it as a distinct loss of capital and property to the country, for if a person who may possess, say, £10,000 invested in land finds that land depreciated to the extent of a quarter, a third, or half its value, as is frequently the case in many parts of England, his capacity for offering employment and entering into industrial enterprizes is diminished. He was in many cases, probably, a mortgagee, and had not recovered the amount due to him on his property. The right hon.

Gentleman says he sees nothing at present to cheer the farmer or the landowner. I am very much inclined to agree with him. I fear that those who are on heavy lands in England have a very sad prospect before them. We must, I am afraid, accept a very large diminution, indeed, in the property of the country, as having been realized, and write off, instead of an accumulation, a considerable reduction of the available resources of the country. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman, I see, does not entirely agree with me. During the past few weeks I have had an opportunity of conferring with a great many gentlemen who have had large experience in dealing with, and in the management of, land; and I must say that, from all I have been able to gather, I believe what I have stated to be the case. We have here a condition of things which, in connection with a private enterprize, would be very serious indeed. If a gentleman were dealing with his own affairs, and he were threatened with serious loss in this or in that direction, he would naturally look around him to see how he could effect economies; and I want to know how, in this national affair, the Government are going to effect economies which appear to me to be essential and necessary? I consider these economies as essential in connection with local taxation as they are in connection with Imperial taxation. Some hon. Gentlemen complain that local taxation is relied upon on every occasion; but I speak as a city and a town Member, and I say that local taxation is more oppressive in the towns than in the country. I know a case in my own constituency in which lodgings provided for working men, of which the gross rental is £400, are subjected to local taxation to the amount of £62 a-year. There has been an increase in that local taxation of 15 per cent within the last two years; and the result is that the persons who are now carrying on this enterprize, without any profit or advantage to themselves, will be compelled to raise the rents in one of the poorest parts of the Metropolis in order to secure 3 per cent on their capital. These are very serious points. They must be met by a deliberate resolve to deal with the question. But it is not a political matter; and therefore, unfortunately, it is allowed to slip by. It is a very easy, and frequently a very popular thing, to increase expenditure. Hon. Gentlemen go down to the Treasury or Local Government Board and say this or that is necessary, and by dint of pressure they get what they want. The Treasury, rather than offend the supporters of Her Majesty's Government—and, as I said before, I am not speaking of the present Government especially, but of all Governments—give way to the theories of doctors, lawyers, and engineers, who force on expenditure for local or Imperial purposes. Thus, year by year, the charges become vastly in excess of the capacity of the country to pay. There is one point to which I wish to draw attention, because it is a very difficult case of expenditure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke in terms evidently of sorrowing apology of the practical financial failure of the Parcel Post system. Let me point out the figures to him. In 1881-2 the Estimate for the Post Office was £5,400,000, and the yield was £8,400,000, leaving a profit of £3,000,000. In the next year, 1882-3, the expenditure was £5,700,000, and the yield £8,800,000, or a profit of £3,100,000. In 1883-4 the estimated expenditure was £6,348,000, and the Revenue £8,980,000, so that the profit has sunk to £2,632,000. For the coming year the Estimate of expenditure is £7,200,000, and the Revenue £9,700,000, so that we are still going down. We are spending more money and are getting less profit. I have said it before, and I say it again, that the Government is the worst possible instrument by which you can carry on business. A Government must operate more expensively than anyone else, as they are subject to pressure and influences, and all sorts of difficulties which Corporations and private individuals have not to face in the conduct of their business. I do hope these figures will be a warning to Her Majesty's Government to embark as little as possible in business, and to hold as tight a hand as they can on these things. The right hon. Gentleman claims credit for the manner in which he has dealt with the Civil Service Estimates this year. Well, I think they show evidence this year that they have not been allowed to mount up; and in this matter I consider full credit is due to the Secretary to the Treasury for the assistance he has rendered. I have watched his exertions from this side of the Table, and I cannot but commend them, knowing myself how hard it is to resist the pressure brought to bear by hon. Members. The Government, after all, are responsible for the Expenditure of the country, and it is their duty to see that the whole of the cost of carrying on the affairs of the State are brought within such reasonable limit as the trade and commerce of the country justifies. We are now in a condition of considerable trial in the country; and it should be met as similar circumstances are met in connection with other concerns and in other places, by the exercise of the strictest economy and disregard of all pressure, and by a firm resolve that no right hon. or hon. Gentlemen, whether responsible or irresponsible, shall force them to incur charges which bring no adequate return to the country, and inflict unnecessary burdens on the taxpayers.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that in regard to a matter in which he took considerable interest, he wished to make the strongest protest against an observation which had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He (Mr. Arnold) gathered from the cheers of the House, when the right hon. Gentleman made a statement in reply to the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) on the subject of the taxation of lands held in mortmain, that the whole House was anxious that such taxation should be imposed. But he demurred to the expression used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he said that the proper time for carrying out this necessary reform was when it pleased Her Majesty's Government to introduce a measure dealing with local government. The words of the right hon. Gentleman on the subject were really a condemnation of the most illustrious of financiers, who had been sitting beside him during the greater part of the evening (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). For what was the fact? Why, the Prime Minister proposed dealing with the subject in 1853, again in 1859, again in 1863, and again in the year 1881. When the right hon. Gentleman was Chancellor of the Exchequer he protested, in the strongest manner, against the exemption from taxation of lands held in mortmain, and declared that the exemption must be held as a grant. To whom was this grant made? Why, to wealthy Corporations, holding nearly 2,500,000 acres of the best property in the country—land worth not less than £12,000,000 sterling a-year. The tax that these Corporations ought to pay was in part levied from those wretched people, inhabiting the poorest houses, which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) had referred to as existing in his constituency, and in other crowded towns. This exemption was a tax levied upon the poorest and all sorts of taxpayers in the country; therefore, the proper time to carry out the reform was not when other measures were going to be introduced, but on the earliest possible opportunity. The right hon. Gentleman said, forsooth, that he proposed to deal with the subject when he dealt with the Death Duties as a whole. He (Mr. Arnold) could only tell the right hon. Gentleman that he would find it to be the fact that if he did not deal with the subject until he dealt with the Death Duties it would not be when the Government introduced a measure on local taxation. That was plain, for the reason given by the Prime Minister —which could not be answered—when he said that, owing to the fact that the great estates of this country were all settled estates, they could not fairly deal with the Succession Duty until they had reformed the tenure of land in reference to settled estates. He hoped the Government would propose a measure dealing with local taxation next year. This exemption was so unfair to the landed gentry of the country, who had to pay the taxes which these wealthy Corporations were exempt from, that it should not be allowed to exist a day longer; and he must express his very great regret that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not the boldness to propose this year the small but useful reform of taxing lands held in mortmain. Such a tax would produce him a sum sufficient to satisfy several of the claims they had heard of that night. Instead of dealing piecemeal with the Carriage Duty, for instance, such a tax would have enabled him to clear it off entirely, or it would have enabled him to get rid of the tax on silver plate, which the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg) was so much interested in. At any rate, this exemption ought not to be continued one moment longer. Every moment it was continued the House was making a most unjust grant to a class of people in the country who were the least deserving of such consideration.

Mr. CLARE READ said, he thought the Committee would entirely agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) when he said that the middle classes of the country were passing through a period of great depression. But of all the middle classes, as the right hon. Gentleman had justly said, that connected with agriculture had suffered the most and longest. That class had found it necessary, in consequence of the reduction which had taken place in their incomes, to reduce their expenditure. It had been hoped and believed, when the present Government came into Office, that after their declarations of economy, they would have taken measures to reduce the Expenditure of the country. Instead of doing that, however, whilst they had made no remission of taxation, the usual enormous Revenue, or even a more enormous Revenue, was to be raised. The agriculturists had originally very small hopes of any assistance from the Government, and what little hope they had entertained had of late become sadly dimmed. They had no promise whatever of any further subsidy in aid of local taxation. He saw that the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had given Notice of his intention to move the rejection of the Vote of £259,000 paid to Local Authorities in aid of repairs of disturnpiked roads. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not agree to that; but, at the same time, he wished to put one proposal before the right hon. Gentleman—namely, that, in those counties where the parochial system prevailed, instead of insisting that the Government grant should be given to the parishes, the whole sum apportioned to the county should be applied to the reduction of the county rate. He had mentioned this subject the other day, and he again referred to it in order to show the amount of injustice which prevailed in connection with the present system. Half the parishes in his county had main roads, and the other half had not; and, consequently, the parishes which had no main roads had, first of all, to contribute half the expenses of the main roads belonging to the other parishes, and then to contribute one-fourth in the shape of taxes allowed by the Government. In that way, the parishes having main roads received three-fourths of the cost, while the others had to pay this proportion and received nothing whatever. The burden was, therefore, augmented instead of equalized, and a considerable injustice done to those parishes which had no main roads. The other point he desired to refer to was that of the very large amount of Revenue derived from the Beer Duty. That matter, he thought, had entirely gone out of sight since the Prime Minister, some four years ago, was good enough to transfer the tax from malt to beer, which transfer was considered at the time to be a repeal of the Malt Tax. ["No, no!"] He repeated, that it was so considered; and it had been referred to very often as the greatest possible boon given by the Government to the farmers of the country. The farmers certainly did ask for a transference of the tax from raw to manufactured articles; but they certainly did not ask for any increase of the duty on beer. What had been the result? By the last Report of the Inland Revenue Commissioners, the net Revenue derived in 1872 from brewers' licences, maltsters' licences, and others, amounted to £7,213,000; in 1882 the present Beer Duty amounted to £8,530,000, the increase being £1,317,000. But that was not all. In the year 1872 there were brewed 28,000,000 barrels of beer, as against only 27,000,000 barrels brewed in 1882; so that the tax upon a gallon of beer which in 1872 was 1·79*d.*, was 2·14*d.* in 1882, the increase being ¼*d.* a-gallon—a very considerable increase — which really meant that the farmers, instead of paying, as they did formerly, 21*s.* 8*d.* per quarter Malt Duty, had to pay much more. The Beer Duty was equivalent to a tax of something like 24*s.* or 25*s.* upon a quarter of barley. There was another point also which he asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take into consideration, and that related to the licences paid by labourers for brewing. When that proposal was made by the Prime Minister he (Mr. Clare Read) had not the honour of a seat in the House; but he had written to the right hon.

Gentleman asking him whether it was not possible that the tax of 6*s*. should be collected in half-yearly instalments of 3*s*.; and he was told, in the most courteous terms, that although he had wished it to be done, he found that the Inland Revenue Commissioners were against him on that point. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer had tried the experiment with regard to game licences; why, then, should he not try it with regard to the licences which the labourers had to pay for brewing? The right hon Gentleman had said that evening that in consequence of his reducing the game licence, so that by the payment of 20*s*. a man might have 14 days' sport, the result was that there had been no loss of revenue, but rather, as he (Mr. Read) believed, a small increase. And if a similar alteration were made in favour of the labourers, he apprehended that a greater number of them would brew than did so at present, and that would be a considerable boon to them. As a rule, they did not want to brew, except in haysel and harvest-time, and the cost of the licence was a considerable amount for a man to pay before he could brew at all. Before the labourer could touch a drop of beer brewed in his own cottage, he had to pay 6*s*. for a licence, 5*s*. for a bushel of malt, 1*s*. for hops, besides the cost of firing and the use of casks; in all about 13*s*., or about a week's wages, before he could brew any beer whatever. This was a heavy tax upon the labourer. Although this cottage brewing was considered by some as a trifling matter, it was a very general custom in the Eastern Counties, and he thought it had much in it to commend it to those Gentlemen who advocated temperance principles, for most of the labourers who brewed at home hardly ever entered a public-house.

DR. CAMERON said, he objected to the postponement of the arrangement under which the minimum charge for inland telegrams would be 6*d*., instead of 1*s*., as at present. After the Resolution embodying that proposal was carried last year, the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General would recollect that he (Dr. Cameron) had not taken the smallest step — he had asked no Question, nor in any way urged the right hon. Gentleman to deal precipitately in the matter. On the contrary, he had given the right hon. Gentleman and the Treasury full credit for wishing to introduce a system of 6*d*. telegrams in the most satisfactory manner, and thought it was better to let them take their own time for dealing with the matter in the best way. Having taken that course, he felt himself the more free to express his dissatisfaction at the postponement which had been announced. What reason had been given for that postponement? Why, that the Parcel Post had not paid. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had last year said—"The Post Office is engaged with the Parcel Post. We shall occupy ourselves with the arrangement with respect to the 6*d*. telegrams next year; but at present we shall confine ourselves to the Parcel Post." If he had said that, he should not have complained. The amount received on account of the Parcel Post had been, during the last year, £155,000; but what was the loss spoken of? The right hon. Gentleman had told the Committee that his estimated receipts under that head were £340,000 for the eight months during which the Parcel Post had been in operation, and that it had only produced £155,000, the deficiency being £185,000. But the right hon. Gentleman had also told the Committee that of that £185,000 the sum of £150,000 was in the shape of capital expended; preliminary expenses, as he (Dr. Cameron) presumed, of horses, carts, and other requisites. But would any man in that Assembly look upon that expenditure as loss? It was simply capital invested. He believed the right hon. Gentleman was incorrect in treating it as loss; and if that amount of £150,000 were deducted, there remained the bagatelle of £35,000 as representing the loss for eight months. His chief objection, then, lay to the extraordinary ground on which the postponement was to take place. Anyone accustomed to business must perceive that this result for the first eight months during which the Parcel Post had been in operation showed a very good beginning. The right hon. Gentleman, however, was frightened at that loss, and that, too, while he was making out of the Post Office a profit of £2,600,000 a-year. Of course, he had no objection to this large profit being derived from the Post Office; but he thought it was bad policy to postpone the arrangement for cheap telegrams simply because during the first eight months the trifling loss of £35,000 had been incurred in connection with the Parcel Post. All the departments of the Post Office ought, in his opinion, to be worked together; and it was as unfair to take the loss on the Parcel Post separately, and make it a reason for postponing the reduction in the cost of telegrams, as it would be to deal simply with the cost of the Money Order Department, and make it a reason for withdrawing Postal Orders because the Money Orders did not pay. The Department should be regarded as a whole; and it must be borne in mind that an increased number of telegrams must result in an increased number of letters, which would increase the Revenue of the Post Office. But there was another argument against postponement which deserved consideration from an economical point of view. The telegraph poles and wires were set up, and that involved as much expense, and the deterioration was as great, as if they were in full work. Then, there were the learners of telegraphy to be considered. The right hon. Gentleman had said he could not state how many learners were to be kept on; but, whatever the number might be, their wages would have to be paid for the nine months which were to elapse after next October before the system in question was to come into operation. How the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer could make out that the cost in this year's Budget, if the cheap telegrams commenced on the first of October next, would amount to between £250,000 and £300,000 he was utterly at a loss to understand. But if he included the sum expended on capital account, he emphatically protested against such a proceeding. The investments in plant and machinery, whether on account of the Parcel Post, or on account of the Postal system generally, were judicious investments; they were money sunk, from which profits was expected to be realized; and they were not to be put in the same category with money wasted on the Duke of Wellington's Statue, for instance, or money spent on the Egyptian War. The reduction in the price of telegrams would, of course, not show a profit at first; but it would do so in a very few years. The longer, then, the experiment was deferred the longer would it be before their telegraph system became remunerative. The Committee which considered the question of telegrams, seven years ago, was constituted on account of a movement on the part of the Treasury. It was proposed to increase the charge for telegrams sent from railway stations, for telegrams sent on Sundays, and for Press telegrams. But the Committee pointed out that the wires and the staff were only doing half work; that the superannuation allowances were going on, whether the staff did full work or not; and they said that the real way to make the Telegraph Service pay the country was to increase the facilities offered to the public; to extend the business of the Department by, at the proper time, reducing the charge for telegrams. That was the view taken of the matter by the Committee, and it was upon that recommendation that he (Dr. Cameron) brought in the Resolution of last year, which was agreed to by the House. It was then stated by the Postmaster General that there were 5,700 telegraph offices in the Kingdom, through which only 80,000 telegrams were transmitted daily, the average being 14 or 15 for each office. Now, a second class clerk would transmit twice that number of telegrams in an hour; so that throughout the whole Kingdom only one half hour's work was done in the course of the day. As a matter of fact, they had increased the staff of learners and the wires and poles to the tune of £180,000, and yet they found themselves with this beggarly lack of business. Having regard to the extent to which the telegraph system was worked, it was obviously important to take some measures that would stimulate it. During the earlier years, when the system was in the hands of the Post Office, the business went forward by leaps and bounds. It might be said that in 1872 the business was in fairly good working order. There were 15,000,000 telegrams sent per annum, and in 1882-3 the number had gone up to 33,000,000. But in 1882 the increase on the previous year was only 746,000, or less than half the increase of that year, while in 1883-4 it had fallen to 640,000 That showed that, having reached the limit of progress, the advance in the Department was getting less and less, and that if the existing staff were to be employed, the charges must be cut down—in other words, the step recommended by the House of Commons must be taken. He made these remarks, not because he found fault with the Treasury for wishing the experiment postponed; had they made up their minds to postpone it originally, he should have acquiesced in the arrangement; but he strongly dissented from the course which had been taken of going so far, and then stopping short; about as unsatisfactory a course as could be pursued—as unsatisfactory as that book in *Hudibras*, in which

> "The story of the Cat and Fiddle
> Is told, and breaks off in the middle."

As, however, the step was to be postponed, he trusted the Government would make up their minds as to which system they would adopt, and that they would proceed in a more business-like manner than had been the case during the last eight months.

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, after the speeches which have been delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) and the hon. Member who has just sat down, I trust the Committee will allow me to make a few remarks in reply. I feel it somewhat difficult to steer a middle course between the two speeches to which I have referred, because the one takes just as gloomy a view as the other takes a rosy view of the Post Office business. My hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) not unnaturally expresses disappointment at the postponement of cheap telegrams until August next year. I can assure him that I should have been extremely glad if the position of the Post Office and the general finance of the country had allowed the introduction of the system at the date originally fixed — namely, the 1st of October in the present year; but anyone who listened to the Statement of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer must, I think, have come to the conclusion that, unless we are prepared to say that his estimate of the Revenue is unduly gloomy, he certainly has no margin available for the purpose. The only criticism I have heard on that estimate of Revenue is the suggestion thrown out that it erred on the side of being somewhat over-sanguine. That was the opinion which, although not actually expressed, was thrown out by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is left with a balance of £270,000; and if you reduced the price of telegrams on the 1st of October next, the consequent loss of Revenue would have taken absolutely the whole of that balance, and left my right hon. Friend with no balance at all. No doubt, my hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow is correct in saying that, so far as mere Revenue is concerned, the introduction of 6*d.* telegrams would not have involved such a loss as that which has been described. The loss would have been probably not more than £50,000 or £60,000; but it has always been the principle on which the Post Office is administered that improvements should be carried on out of income, and that we have no such thing as a capital account. If the 6*d.* telegrams were introduced on the 1st of October next, instead of on the 1st of August next year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have been compelled to spend during the current financial year the whole amount required, instead of spreading it over two years. Now, my hon. Friend, by some of the remarks which he made, seemed to think that this delay would be the cause of great waste. I do not think the waste will be anything of importance, because the works are not suspended, and all that we have done is to spread their completion over 14 instead of six months. With regard to the telegraph learners, no possible disadvantage, but a real advantage, will result from the postponement, because it is well known that it takes two years to become a skilled telegraphist. If we had introduced the cheap telegrams on the 1st of October next, there would have been the disadvantage which has always presented itself to me—that we should have had to meet the increased work with a staff not so skilled as it might have been; but having 10 months longer in which to complete the work, we shall have a better trained staff, and there will be less chance of the general telegraph business of the country being in any way dislocated. With regard to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster on the decline of the revenue of the Post Office, I think the fact that we have no capital account will, to a certain extent, explain that decline, because every improvement has to be paid for out of income; and although the Post Office is to be regarded as furnishing an important part of the Revenue, yielding, as it does, nearly £3,000,000 annually to the Exchequer, yet, in the interest of the commerce of the country and of the public convenience, I can conceive no greater mistake than that the Post Office should be administered merely as a Department of Revenue; because there is something, to my mind, deeper and of more importance to keep in view, and that is, that the Post Office, in various ways, may be administered so as to conduce to the commercial prosperity and general convenience of the country. I can conceive no money so badly spent as if, for the sake of saving a few thousand pounds, the public were deprived of the introduction of the Parcel Post, or of a plan such as that of Postal Orders, which have greatly facilitated the transmission of small sums of money. If we look at the Post Office somewhat more narrowly than has been done by the right hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), we shall be able to arrive at some very satisfactory conclusions; and I venture to bring these figures before the Committee, not so much in the defence of the Department which I have the honour to administer, as to show some set-off to the gloomy things that have been said this evening, and that there are certain things occurring in this country which may make us hope for its prosperity. I will compare the profits of the Post Office in periods of 10 and five years. I take 10 years ago, 1873-4, because that was the period selected by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to show the growth of the Civil Service Expenditure. He mentioned that the Post Office expenditure had increased in that period by £2,600,000. Yes; but seldom has there been an expenditure which has yielded a richer harvest. We have increased our expenditure; but we are paying, at the present time, nearly £1,000,000 a-year more profit to the Exchequer than at that time. But I will take a period of five years, and I will compare the profit which is now yielded by the Post Office and Telegraph Service with the profit yielded five years ago, and I will endeavour briefly to show what has been done in that time. Compared with five years ago we are now making nearly £200,000 a-year more profit, and what has been done in those five years? £150,000 a-year has been spent in improving the position of the telegraphists and sorters, and I say there never was an expenditure of public money which was more justifiable than that. If we had yielded to mere popular demands and thrown away this money we should deserve the severest censure; but I believe that if an increase of wages had not been conceded it would have been impossible to carry on the administration of the Department; and I think there is no economy so unwise as refusing to increase remuneration when you are convinced that the circumstances of the case demand that that increase of remuneration should be given. £150,000 a-year has been spent in that way; and now I come to another item of expenditure to which I will particularly call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster. In addition to the £150,000 spent three years ago in improving the condition of the telegraphists and sorters, we have spent about £100,000 in improving the condition of the letter carriers, both town and country, in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and if the increase of expenditure on the telegraphists and sorters was justifiable, this increased expenditure in improving the condition of the letter carriers was still more justifiable; and in proof of this I may call to witness the right hon. Member for Westminster. Ten years ago there was a most serious agitation among the letter carriers, who demanded that their position should be improved and their scale of wages should be increased. They received much support from many hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House; but the most influential and the most important support they received was an earnest letter from the right hon. Member for Westminster, saying that the Government ought at once to concede their demands. In spite of that authoritative declaration, although the right hon. Gentleman occupied the position of Secretary to the Treasury, where he had far more control over the wages of the letter carriers than the Postmaster General, nothing was done to meet those demands, which in 1873 were considered so just, until the year 1882.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I am sure the right hon. Gentleman does not wish to make any misrepresentation. A considerable addition was made to the pay of the letter carriers in London in 1874.

MR. FAWCETT: Yes; but this letter of the right hon. Gentleman referred not only to the letter carriers in London, but to the letter carriers throughout the Provincial towns; and I believe it will be found that between 1873 and 1882 nothing whatever was done to improve the condition of the letter carriers in the Provincial towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I think the right hon. Gentleman is mistaken.

MR. FAWCETT: At any rate, in 1872, before the meeting to which this letter was addressed was held, the system of good-conduct stripes existed in London; but there was no letter carrier out of London, in England, Scotland, or Ireland, who, until two years ago, had the privilege of wearing a good-conduct stripe. Now, these two improvements in the position of the Post Office staff have involved an expenditure of about £260,000 a-year; but there has been, I am glad to say, another improvement in the position of that staff. I do not think there is any body of public servants in this country who have been so miserably paid as the small sub-postmasters. I looked into their case, and their position has been improved at a cost of about £35,000 a-year; and all these improvements have involved an outlay of about £300,000 a-year. If this money has not been required the expenditure has been an act of extravagance, for which I am prepared to bear the full responsibility; but I can only say that I did not, and I would not, recommend that 1*s*. of this money should be spent until I had made a careful investigation of the whole subject—until, as far as I could, I had exhausted every means of investigation. Having come to the conclusion that this improvement in the position of these men was required in the interests of the Public Service, I can only say that I am perfectly willing to bear the entire responsibility of having recommended the Government to agree to this outlay to improve the position of these hard-working public servants. But that is not the only increased expenditure within the last year or two. We have spent at least £150,000 in capital expenditure on the Parcel Post; £180,000 have been spent in preparing for cheap telegrams; and, consequently, we had last year an expenditure of over £600,000, which was not in operation five years ago; and yet, in spite of all this, so great is the progress of the country, and so general is the diffusion of education, and so great has been the use of the Post Office, that we are actually making £200,000 a-year more than was made five years ago. I am free to admit that some of our calculations as to the Parcel Post have not turned out as we hoped they would. I am prepared to take the responsibility of the estimates; and I am sure the Committee will see that, at any rate, we had very slender data to go upon. I always felt that it was little more than guess-work; but, after all, our estimate of the number of parcels to be carried has not been very far out. We estimated that we should have to carry 27,000,000 parcels a-year, and we are carrying at the rate of 21,000,000 a-year; so that we were not so very far out. But what has prejudicially affected the revenue is that the weightier parcels, and consequently the postage on them, have not come as we estimated they would, and that has affected our revenue. If we had known beforehand the number of parcels we should have to carry, and if we had known how the parcels would be distributed, and what would have been their weight, we need not have made such great preparations as we did make; but before the Parcel Post was introduced, as far as I was able to ascertain, the opinion was almost unanimous that our preparations, instead of being excessive, were not sufficient to meet the business we ought to anticipate. The thing I was most anxious to ensure was that there should be not the slightest risk of dislocating the Letter Service by the introduction of the Parcel Post, for in a commercial country like this it would be impossible to put a pecuniary value on the loss and the inconvenience that would have been caused if the Letter Service had been dislocated for a single day. I can only say this—and not in the slightest degree to take credit to myself, for the credit is due to the permanent officials of the Post Office—that although our preparations were, perhaps, somewhat more costly than they might have been if we had known all the circumstances, yet everything was so carefully prepared that, as far as I have been able to ascertain, this great change in the Postal Service was introduced without a single letter being delayed or disturbed in its course. This, I think, is a most important fact. Although we found that we had, perhaps, made somewhat too large preparations for the amount of business to be done, I trust the Committee will allow me to point out this. We shall be able, without any increase of staff, and with scarcely any increase of expenditure, to make arrangements also for an International Parcel Post. Reductions of expenditure are every day taking place; and whether the Parcel Post business is great or small, I feel perfectly certain that we can adjust expenditure to the amount of business, whatever it may be, and that soon we shall have a balance between revenue and expenditure. I think also that this is to be borne in mind—that if there has been some loss on the Parcel Post the public have gained an advantage; because instead of destroying private agencies and enterprizes for carrying parcels, the Parcel Post has acted as a stimulus to a better and cheaper private service. I am sure it would be a great mistake to estimate the effect of any postal improvement by the financial results of one year. The Penny Post, when it was first introduced, involved a certain sacrifice; and that, I believe, must be the case in regard to every postal improvement. I believe—and I express this opinion with the greatest confidence—that, in the course of a year or two, the profits from the Post Office will be as large as they have ever been; and I do not think it is a very bad business at the present time, considering that we are making a profit of £2,800,000; while great improvements will have been introduced into the Service, and improvements will have been effected in the position of the staff. This is not simply a question which concerns the interests of the staff, but which concerns the interests of the public; and I do not know that I can better describe, in my concluding remarks, the advantage which the public derives, or may derive, from this improvement in the position of the letter carriers, sorters, and telegraphists, than by quoting the opinion of a provincial postmaster, who the other day said that before the recent revision of the letter carriers' pay it was often difficult to get such a class of men as the correspondence of the country could properly be entrusted to. He said—

> "We shall now be able to draw men from an improved class; and I believe there is no expenditure which has ever been sanctioned with regard to Post Office administration more important than this, which will confer not only greater advantage on the Post Office staff, but also on the public, whose correspondence that staff has to deal with."

I am sure the right hon. Member for Westminster would be the last to wish not correctly to state the facts; but there is one thing I ought to point out, the bearing of which he will see in a moment. That is, that within the last two years the cost of manufacturing Post Office stamps has been transferred from the Inland Revenue to the Post Office itself, and that means no less than £135,000 a-year. Consequently, the Post Office expenditure has been apparently increased by that amount.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Everyone in the House, I am sure, feels that the right hon. Gentleman has done the work belonging to his Department in a manner which deserves the greatest credit. We have listened with great interest to what he has just said; but I cannot help thinking that we are sometimes led into some error with regard to the Post Office revenue by the distinction, of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer is so fond, between that portion of the Revenue which arises from taxes and that drawn from other sources, and by his sometimes reckoning the Post Office as a source of Revenue which is not to be called a tax. In a certain sense that is true; but the repetition of that view rather leads the public to believe that we do not look on the Post Office as a source of Revenue, and that we ought not to look upon it as a source of Revenue. We have always been in the habit of so considering it; and I think it would be a great mistake if we were to consider that we have nothing to look to but that the Post Office paid its expenses, did its work properly, and left an ordinary margin of profit. We ought to look upon it as a fair and legitimate source of Revenue to the State; and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer makes his proposals for any financial year, he always takes into account the Revenue which he can rely upon from the Post Office. Therefore, there is naturally and properly an amicable contest between the Postmaster General and the Secretary to the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to what is to be allowed, on the one hand, from the improved efficiency of the Department, and the greater convenience of the public; and, on the other hand, as to maintaining a fair and reasonable balance of Revenue. We have an instance of that in what has been done to-night. An increase which is admitted to be desirable, which has been promised, and to which a great deal of interest is attached, is to be laid aside, because it is necessary to maintain a balance of Revenue. Now, with regard to the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I do not know that I have very much to say with regard to what may be called the Budget proper. In point of fact, the right hon. Gentleman has produced a Statement which shows so close a balance between Revenue and Expenditure that he does not find himself in a position to make proposals with regard to the alteration, or reduction, or remission, of taxation. On the other hand, he does not seem to consider the time favourable for proposing any great change in our system of taxation. I am not sure whether, under the circumstances, it would not have been as well if he had postponed what he said with regard to the Death Duties, as he was not prepared to deal with them now. With regard to the Statement itself, it is, undoubtedly, one which, if not too sanguine, is not one to be called gloomy. I think the very interesting statistics given by my right hon. Friend the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) may induce the Committee to consider that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has taken by no means an unfavourable view of the position of the country at the present time. We hope that the Estimates he has prepared may be justified by the results on all accounts; but I would also point out that while the right hon. Gentleman has been careful to take a sufficiently full view of the Income Tax, he has not, perhaps, been quite so ready to make allowance for the possible exigencies of expenditure. I shall rejoice if we find that the provision he has made for expenditure is not exceeded; but looking to the state of things in regard to foreign policy, and other matters to which I need not refer now, I fear no margin is left for possible exigencies. With regard to the other interesting points to which the right hon. Gentleman has directed attention, which lie outside the Budget proper, we have the proposal as to dealing with light gold. Observations have been made by some hon. Members dealing with the subject, and it has been considered by some of the authorities in this House. I myself was not aware what the proposal was to be, although I had heard a report upon it. I cannot say that, at the first blush, I like the proposal for turning the half-sovereign into a token. It is introducing a principle into our Gold Coinage which we ought to be shy of. Not having considered the question, I do not wish to express a positive opinion upon it; but I hope we shall have a good opportunity of discussing this subject. The right hon. Gentleman will, perhaps, tell the Committee what course he intends to pursue with regard to that and other proposals in the Budget; when he intends to bring them forward and to take the Votes upon them; and whether they will be embodied in one measure, or in separate measures? With regard to the proposal as to a reduction of the Interest on the National Debt, that is also a matter upon which we ought to have time for consideration; and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will lay on the Table a Statement showing what the working of his proposal will be. I am not quite sure that I understand the observations of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to a portion of the relief that will be given by a reduction of the rate of interest—that portion of the relief to be given at once to the taxpayers. Does the right hon. Gentleman mean that the relief is to be given from year to year if the rate of interest is diminished, or is the amount now appropriated, £28,000,000 a-year for the reduction of the Debt, to be applied subject to annual reductions and fluctuations according to the reduction of the amount to be paid as interest on the Debt? Will they be changes made from year to year, or will the £28,000,000 a-year be reduced once for all, or at long periods? If this is to be done by reducing the £28,000,000 year by year according to the reduction in the interest, that will be a strong blow against the principle upon which the £28,000,000 rests. I do not know that there are any other points which, at the present moment, claim attention; but I must congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on having brought his financial operations of the year to a satisfactory conclusion; and we must also congratulate him upon his clear and able Statement.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that at that hour of the night (12.30 A.M.) he thought the time had arrived for him to reply to the remarks which had fallen from hon. and right hon. Gentlemen in reference to the Financial Statement he had made earlier in the evening. First of all, however, he wished to thank the Committee for the manner in which they had been good enough to receive the very long Statement it had been his duty to make. He had tried to make it as clear as he could; but he was afraid, looking at the questions he had had to deal with, it had been impossible for him to meet by anticipation every point that might be raised. He had been asked by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) whether the House would have an opportunity of fully discussing the plan for converting Three per Cent Stock, and whether there would be a separate Bill dealing with the Gold Coinage. There would be many opportunities of discussing the proposal as to the Gold Coinage, for it would be the duty of the Government to bring in a Bill for carrying out in detail the plan he had explained to the House; and on the different stages of that Bill there would be full opportunity for discussing the scheme. The right hon. Gentleman also asked him whether, under the conversion plan, the relief to the taxpayer would be varied from year to year, or would be once for all. The proposal was entirely in harmony with the Act of 1876, and the automatic arrangement of last year would not be altered in the slightest degree. The hon. Member for Andover (Mr. F. W. Buxton) had asked him, in the first instance, how Australian gold would be dealt with under the new plan affecting the Gold Coinage. Australian gold would be dealt with under the new plan as it was dealt with now—that was to say, it would still be a legal tender. Light Australian gold found in the country would be treated in the same way as light English gold; but light Australian gold coming in after the adoption of the new system would be subject to the same rule as any other coin coming in and found light—that was to say, it would be sent to the Bank to be dealt with under the present law. Then his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) had enlarged a good deal upon the plan for creating new 10*s.* gold pieces, and had pointed out that great danger would arise from a new trade springing up at Birmingham and places abroad, for the manufacture of illegal 10*s.* pieces, in order to gain the 1*s.* in 10*s.* which would be secured in consequence of the amount of gold in the new coin not being worth its nominal value. The hon. Member had spoken of that as a very probable evil, and as one in regard to which they might derive warning from what had happened up to the present time. But his hon. Friend had entirely forgotten that if that trade was likely to be established for the sake of the small 10 per cent gain upon gold coin, how was it that it had not been established for the sake of the much larger gain—20 per cent—which might be made in connection with the silver coinage, or for the sake of the even larger gain on the bronze coinage? A 2*s.* 6*d.* silver coin contained less than 2*s.* worth of silver; and though there had always been a certain amount of false coinage—that was to say, of spurious money—in the country, there had never yet been to any appreciable extent an illegal coinage of money, silver or copper, of the same value as the current coin. That was a trade which, if it were likely to spring up in the case of gold coin, he should have thought would have been much more likely to spring up in the case of silver coin. The hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) had complained that he had made no allusion to the Wine Duties. Well, there was a saying that "Speech is silver and silence is gold." He had used a few words with reference to the Wine Duties last year; and the Committee was aware that the Government had laid upon the Table full information as to the negotiations which had been carried on with certain wine-producing countries on this subject. Having full knowledge of the present position of the question, he had intentionally refrained from saying anything about the Wine Duties that evening. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) had given them some very useful, and no doubt accurate, information as to the trade of the country; and they were all of them very much obliged to him for it. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was not justified in attributing the increase of the Income Tax to the extent that he had done to the accumulation of capital in the country. That was a subject upon which it was his duty to be in constant communication with the Heads of the Inland Revenue Department; and whilst he recognized to the full the valuable work and increasing energy of many of the officers in connection with that Department, and the consequent benefit to the Revenue, these authorities concurred in the opinion that the increase which had taken place in the Income Tax was mainly due to an increase of capital in the country. The right hon. Gentleman had given them a case which was not altogether to the point. He had quoted a Return as to the value of Stocks dealt with on the Stock Exchange on the 1st of March, 1883, and the value of the same Stocks on the 1st of March of the present year. The period covered was 12 months, and it showed that the value of certain securities had shrunk, although their nominal value had increased by £150,000,000. Well, but the shrinking of the value of Stocks was no evidence of falling-off in accumulation in the course of 12 months; but the increase of the accumulations was measured by the additional amount of Stocks bought. The increase and decrease in the nominal value of these securities was owing to different considerations from those referred to by the right hon. Gentleman; and he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had no doubt there was a very large amount of capital accumulating every year in the country. Where it came from there was not time just at present to discuss; but there was no doubt a steady accumulation of capital going on in the country, and though some was not invested, a large quantity was added to the property-paying Income Tax. Touching upon the question of local taxation, it was said by the right hon. Gentleman that when they thought they had done so much in diminishing the Imperial Debt they must set against that diminution the increase of Local Debt. Now, no doubt the increase of Local Debt was a very important question; but those two kinds of Debt were totally different. When they increased Local Debt they intended to make a judicious remunerative investment. Whether it was really judicious and remunerative would depend upon the wisdom shown by the Local Authority; but the investment was one, as a rule, earning interest. He did not say that was so in every small case; but a great mass of Local Debt was raised for remunerative purposes; whereas Imperial Debt had been incurred for wars, and was not of a remunerative character at all; therefore, although it was, of course, very important to check any undue increase of Local Debt, it was mathematically wrong to set the Imperial Debt and the Local Debt against each other, as if they were of like nature. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had said that the words he had used about the taxation of the lands in mortmain were a condemnation of the First Lord of the Treasury; but he had no idea in what this supposed condemnation consisted. The hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) had asked him to consider the question of brewing licences, and to try to make them fall a little less onerously on the cottagers. The hon. Member knew that he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had been making some inquiries in reference to this subject; but there had not been any time to consider the question fully before the present Budget. He would not reply to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) on the subject of the Post Office and the Telegraphs, because he had already been answered most fully by the Postmaster General. He believed he had now answered all the questions that had been put to him; and once more he thanked the Committee for the indulgence they had extended to him.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, that another opportunity would arise to call attention to the great omission from the Budget of any relief to local taxation; but he wished to call attention now to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to subventions. Did the right hon. Gentleman include prisons and the Irish Police?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): Yes.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, that arguments against the policy of subventions was hurled at the heads of hon. Members by the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues; and when they challenged him he and his Friends were silent. In the debate on local taxation he had challenged the President of the Local Government Board as to what he had said last year, and he quoted his own words and figures. He proved to the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) that the lunatics and police had decreased in proportion to the subventions; and now the Chancellor of the Exchequer came forward and lumped together the prisons and the Irish Police. There at once went £1,000,000 out of the £2,900,000. That was the way in which the policy of subvention was attacked; and when they came to grapple with the figures they entirely broke down.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, he had followed the Return which bore the signature of the Secretary to the Treasury of the late Government. The distinction between the payments made for Imperial purposes and the payments made for local purposes was made by the late Government; and he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had simply followed their Return. If he remembered rightly, the Return commenced in 1875 or 1876.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he should like to make a protest against the extremely narrow view which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had enunciated to the Committee with regard to the Imperial and the Local Debt. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that the Imperial Debt was a Debt contracted through the operations of war, and therefore had been mere waste.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, he had not said anything of the kind. What he had said was that the Imperial Debt had been mostly incurred for objects which were not pecuniarily remunerative; and therefore it was not fair to put it side by side, as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) had done, with Debt incurred for local purposes.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he had understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that expenditure on war was not a useful expenditure. He had certainly stated that Imperial Debt was incurred for wars, and was not of a remunerative character at all. Would the Chancellor of the Exchequer state that the money spent upon the construction of a Town Hall at Birmingham was more beneficial and more remunerative than the money spent in the Imperial efforts which saved England and Europe from the universal domination of the First Napoleon, or which guaranteed the security of 250,000,000 people in India? [Mr. Willis: Certainly.] That was just what he should have expected to hear from the hon. and learned Member for Colchester. No doubt the hon. and learned Member would like to be a down-trodden worm under some French or Russian despot. He could quite understand that; but what he should like to know was, whether this Local Debt was incurred for objects which were more remunerative and valuable than the military operations which had saved India? There were three striking features in this Budget. There was, first, the substitution for the ancient and time-honoured Three per Cents, of the New Two-and-a-Half, and the New Two-and-Three-Quarter per Cents. There was then the issue of these bad half-sovereigns—which would remind them of the worst days of the Plantagenets; and there was, last of all, this miserable surplus of £200,000, which he sincerely hoped would not prove to have been the price of the lives of General Gordon and those depending upon him. He should remind the right hon. Gentleman, when the proper time came, that he had promised them that these Bills, which were to deal with changes in taxation and Revenue, should be brought in at a reasonable hour. He had promised them that they should be brought in at a time which would give them ample opportunity for full discussion—that the measures would not be hurried through the House at 3 o'clock on an August morning, as was the National Debt Bill last Session. He could not offer the right hon. Gentleman his congratulations upon the Budget Statement he had made. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had not been so fortunate as to hear that Statement; but he had read it since. He had no doubt it was delivered with all the right hon. Gentleman's characteristic lucidity and eloquence. The right hon. Gentleman had made some very important admissions. He had told them that trade was bad; that profits were low; and that incomes derived from land were still unsatisfactory. It was to be hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would, therefore, induce the Government to reconsider their fiscal policy, and to give up the present futile system of so-called Free Trade, which was ruining the country, and which was causing the accumulated capital of centuries—certainly of generations—rapidly to disappear, and which was giving other countries every possible advantage over us in the race for prosperity, and even for existence. He believed that a more judicious policy of encouraging our Colonies by turning our emigration and our trade into Colonial channels, rather than into foreign channels, would largely remedy the evils which at present existed.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged, collected, and paid for the year commencing on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of Five Pence;

And for every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,—

In England, the Duty of Two Pence Halfpenny;

In Scotland and Ireland respectively, the Duty of One Penny Three Farthings;

Subject to the provisions contained in section one hundred and sixty-three of the Act of the fifth and sixth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-five, for the exemption of persons whose income is less than One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, and in section eight of "The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1876," for the relief of persons whose income is less than Four Hundred Pounds.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 3.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow, at Two of the clock."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, before the Motion was agreed to, he wished to protest against the way in which the interests of private Members had been trampled upon by the Government. There was not, he believed, any precedent in recent years for the appointment of Morning Sittings before Easter, a practice to which the Government had recently resorted. There was no valid ground for the deprivation from which private Members were suffering at the hands of the Government.

DR. CAMERON asked if the hon. Member for Eye was in Order in making these remarks, the Morning Sitting having been fixed?

MR. SPEAKER: The remarks of the hon. Member are not out of Order.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, the observation of the hon. Member for Glasgow showed a deplorable want of acquaintance with the Rules of the House. The Government could not be surprised at Motions for Adjournment and discussions at inconvenient times, if they deprived hon. Members of their opportunities of bringing forward their Motions. He had himself been a serious sufferer from that cause. He ventured to say that the Government would not be gainers by the practice, because at times most convenient to himself, and perhaps inconvenient to the Government, he should now feel it his duty to call attention to subjects which he had not, owing to the action of the Government, been able to bring forward at the appointed time. That day every expedient had been resorted to for putting off the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard), and that of the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price). Those two important Motions had been pushed about in a manner which caused great inconvenience to the House generally, and to the hon. Members in whose names they stood. [Sir CHARLES W. DILKE dissented.] He must ask the protection of Mr. Speaker against the incoherent mumblings of the President of the Local Government Board. This was a very serious question. The Government complained of Obstruction; but he ventured to say that if they paid more respect to the rights of private Members, and if they had made up their minds as to their policy, there would have been none of the debates, or certainly but one quarter of the debates, which had taken place, and to which Ministers so much objected, on the Egyptian Question. There would also have been much saving of time in regard to the raising of other questions and inconvenient Motions. He rose, however, for the purpose of moving, as an Amendment to the Motion before the House, that the Bill be put down for Monday at 4 o'clock, instead of for that day at 2 o'clock. He doubted if Her Majesty's Government would gain anything by the Morning Sitting to-morrow; they would probably waste time, while they injured private Members. He felt it his duty to make this protest in behalf of independent Members, whose rights were infringed; and he should repeat it on every future occasion, when the Government pursued their present course of treating private Members unfairly, while, at the same time, they failed to advance Business in any way.

MR. WARTON said, he begged to second the Amendment of the hon. Member for Eye. The Government persisted in treating the House with scant courtesy; hon. Members had been trifled with in the most ridiculous manner with regard to the Sitting of to-morrow morning. On Tuesday they were told there would not be a Morning Sitting on Friday; on Wednesday they were told there might be; and to-day they were told there would be a Morning Sitting on Friday. In that way the Government, of their own sweet will, trifled with the convenience of Members and the public time. He joined in the protest of the hon. Member for Eye against a Morning Sitting to-morrow. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade said—"It is already fixed;" it was in that way the House was irritated so much, although the Government had not sense enough to see it. If it were otherwise, he was convinced that a great deal more Business would be gone through in the House. He had put down a Notice of Motion that Morning Sittings should not be fixed except by Motion made in the ordinary way.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "To-morrow, at Two of the clock," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next,"—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the Motion of the hon. Member for Eye, if carried, would have the effect of wasting the time of the House.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that would not be so. Private Members would proceed with their Motions.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE repeated that there would be a waste of time. He presumed that Orders of the Day would be taken before Notices of Motion. However, the hon. Member, in his opinion, had lost his opportunity by not making his Motion at an earlier stage. The House had certainly agreed to a Morning Sitting for to-morrow.

MR. HICKS said, he would appeal strongly to the Government to reconsider the course they were taking. There had been more Morning Sittings up to that early period of the Session than had been known in the history of the House. And what had resulted from them? Almost every one of them had been wasted, and that, too, by the Government themselves. At one Morning Sitting the House was called together to take into consideration the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill; but instead of proceeding with it the Government took another Bill, the consequence being, as he stated, that the Sitting was wasted. The Bill was then put down for another Morning Sitting, which was likewise nearly wasted. Then, again, they had insisted on a Morning Sitting last Tuesday, and Her Majesty's Government were well aware of the result. They were now asked for another Morning Sitting to-morrow; but he thought, judging from the feeling shown by the House, that the Government were not likely to derive any benefit from this tyrannical treatment of hon. Members. On the contrary, they would probably discover that "force was no remedy." They might get Members into their places at 2 o'clock; but it by no means followed that their Bills would be passed. He hoped, therefore, they would reconsider their line of conduct with regard to these irregular demands upon the convenience and rights of private Members, and allow the Business of the House to proceed in the ordinary way.

MR. BIGGAR said, if the Government were determined to have a Morning Sitting to-morrow the time could be very pleasantly occupied in discussing the Stockton Carrs Railway Bill, which was down for second reading.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 59; Noes 21: Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 69.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill to be read a second time *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 109.]

(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow, at Two of the clock."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

MR. LEAMY said, he rose to move, as an Amendment, that the Bill be taken on Monday. Irish Members did not think it would be taken on so short a Notice. This was a Bill in which many of his hon. Friends were interested, a large number of whom were absent from the House, and certainly had no idea that it would be taken at a Morning Sitting without adequate Notice being given. Many Irish Members were at that moment in Ireland; and he thought it only fair that the Bill should be postponed until Monday on that account, the Notice being too short in the case of Gentlemen who, when they went away, were perfectly easy in their minds as to the Bill not coming forward in their absence. He believed that if the Bill were one which affected England or Scotland it would not be treated in this way. However that might be, the only result of putting the Bill down for to-morrow would be that its discussion would occupy so much time that no progress would be made with it. If the Government desired to act fairly towards Irish Members interested in the measure they would have no hesitation in assenting to his proposal, or take the Bill next Tuesday, when he supposed there would be a Morning Sitting also. Amongst those Irish Members interested in the Bill and absent from the House were the two Members for Dublin, supporters of the Government, the two Members for the City of Cork, and the senior Member for Waterford, not one of whom, as he had said, had any reason to expect that it would be taken at a moment's Notice. It was, of course, reasonable that the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill should take every opportunity that presented itself of advancing it; but, believing that the course now proposed by the Government was unfair, he begged to move that the Bill be taken on Monday.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "To-morrow, at Two of the clock," in order to insert the words "upon Monday next,"—(*Mr. Leamy,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. TREVELYAN said, the Government were not able to accede to the wish of the hon. Member for Waterford, Notice having been given in the most public manner on Wednesday. As far as his observation went, there was a very large gathering of Irish Members, including, certainly, the Members for two of the cities mentioned. Those hon. Gentlemen who were absent would have been able to read in *The Irish Times* of Thursday the announcement made by the Government on Wednesday, and be in town in time to take part in the debate to-morrow. He was sorry to dissent from the opinion of the hon. Member.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill to be read a second time *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

SCHOOL, &c. BUILDINGS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 45.]

(*Colonel Colthurst, Mr. William Shaw, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Patrick Martin.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Colonel Colthurst.*)

MR. COURTNEY said, he did not intend to oppose the Bill; but it raised a question which intimately concerned a large number of people, because it proposed to facilitate the granting of loans of public money to build schools. The difficulty with regard to Bills of this kind was in obtaining security, for the buildings themselves never afforded security, being of no value except for the purpose for which they were built; and it could not be supposed that security could be easily enforced against priests who might become responsible for the debts. It must, however, be worth considering what guarantees the State could get; and, for his part, he thought it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the Bishop should offer some guarantee. In the first place, he would be able to see the application for a loan was not foolishly or improperly made; and, in the next place, that the money should be properly spent; and by reason of these circumstances, and his influence in his diocese, he could protect himself against loss. He did not see any difficulty, in principle, in applying that plan to the larger question of Training Colleges; but without pledging himself to that proposition, he would assent to the second reading, on the understanding that before the next stage was taken there should be some plan before them for obtaining proper security.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought the hon. Gentleman showed a sincere desire to meet the object of the Bill; and with regard to the suggestion that the Bishops should co-operate in an application for a loan, he was perfectly disposed to assent to that, believing it to be desirable that the Bishops should be associated with such matters. As there were, according to the statement of the Chief Secretary, several hundreds of schools in Ireland, many of which were not in a fit state, he hoped the House would assent to the second reading.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 15th May.

PUBLIC HEALTH (MEMBERS AND OFFICERS) BILL.—[BILL 164.]

(*Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Cowen, Mr Long.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir John Kennaway.*)

MR. GRAY said, he thought the House ought to know something more about this Bill before they agreed to the second reading. He did not object to the Bill, because he knew nothing about it; but he thought that was a good reason for protesting against its being taken now. He would ask the hon. Member who had charge of the Bill to say whether it was applicable to England alone, or to the whole of the United Kingdom; and if it was only applicable to England, why he so restricted it? A measure of this kind ought to be general in its application. The Public Health Acts for England and for Ireland were practically identical, although they were enacted separately; and as the hon. Member thought it incumbent upon him to amend the Public Health Act of England in certain particulars, he ought to take the trouble to ascertain what were the corresponding clauses in the Irish Act and amend them also, and so preserve that uniformity which had been established by a codifying Act a few years ago. This Bill, he thought, should be made general, and should not be restricted to one part of the country; and if the hon. Member would undertake on the Committee stage to re-commit the Bill, so as to extend it to Ireland, he should not further object to the second reading.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that as the question of public health in Ireland was dealt with by separate Acts from those referring to England, and was under entirely distinct authorities, it would be impossible to make Amendments in the Acts of the two countries at the same time; but he could promise the hon. Member that if the same difficulty existed in Ireland as in England he should have no objection to amending the Irish Acts. A grievous hardship, undoubtedly, existed. It was stated in the form of a Question put to himself a few days ago, and he had then said that a hardship existed which ought to be remedied; but he would await the issue of an appeal that was pending in a case which had occurred in the West of Ireland before he attempted to deal with the subject. At the same time, he stated that he would give all possible support to this measure, because he knew that a certain grievous hardship did exist. If the same hardship existed in Ireland he would certainly help the hon. Member to remedy it.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the right hon. Gentleman to state what the hardship was?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE replied that it was an extremely technical point, which it would be desirable to deal with in Committee. The 3rd clause referred to proceedings being taken by a common informer against persons who had become servants merely by letting a room to a Local Authority. In some cases the service to the Local Authority had been of the smallest kind; and yet a whole class of Acts had been invalidated by the mere fact that a small room had been let to the Local Authorities. The penalties were recoverable at the instance of a common informer.

MR. GRAY said, there was a great deal more than that in the Bill.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE replied that it would be open to the hon. Member to move to leave out other portions of the Bill; but the main principle of the Bill was as he had stated it.

MR. LEAMY asked whether the hon. Member would be willing to leave out Clause 2? According to the right hon. Gentleman the really important clause was the 3rd, which was to prevent a common informer pursuing a person for acts which were illegal now, but which Clause 2 would make perfectly legal.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT suggested that the objections raised by the hon. Member were objections to be raised in Committee, and that if the Bill was now read a second time they could be dealt with in Committee, when the hon. Member in charge of the Bill would be able to give the objections thorough consideration. He did not think the hon. Member would lose anything by assenting to the second reading.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 15th May.

MOTIONS.

——o——

QUEEN'S COLLEGES (IRELAND).

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, in moving for a Return from each of the three Queen's Colleges (Ireland), showing:—

"I. (1) The number of Matriculated Students of the Royal University now reading in the College the course for the First University Examination in Arts, specifying how many of these Students are also reading the course for the First University Examination in Medicine;

(2) The number of Matriculated Students of the Royal University who have passed the First University Examination, and are now reading in the College the course for the Second University Examination in Arts;

(3) The number of Matriculated Students of the Royal University who have passed the Second University Examination, and are now reading in the College the course for the B.A. Examination;

(4) The number of Matriculated Students of the Royal University who have passed the B.A. Examination, and are now reading in the College the course for the M.A. Examination;

"II. (1) The names of the Students now in the College who have gained a Scholarship of the Royal University;

(2) The names of all the Students now reading in the College the First, Second, or Third Year's Course in Arts, who have gained Exhibitions of the Royal University; specifying, in the case of each Student, how many Exhibitions he gained, what each Exhibition was worth, and at what Examination it was awarded;

(3) The names of all the Students now reading in the College the First, Second, or Third Year's Course in Arts who have gained Scholarships or Exhibitions of the College; specifying, in each case, the duration of such Scholarship or Exhibition, the date at which it was awarded, its value in money, and the value of the Fees remitted to the Student holding it; stating also, in each case, whether or not the Student who gained the Scholarship or Exhibition was a Matriculated Student of the Royal University;

"III. The number of Students who entered the College in the Academical years 1882-3 and 1883-4 respectively; stating how many of these Students, in each

> year, passed the Matriculation Examination of the Royal University, and how many are not Matriculated Students of any University;
>
> "IV. (1) The number of Students who competed, in the Academical year 1883-4, for the five Entrance Scholarships in Classics, worth £24 each, and the number of such Scholarships awarded;
>
> (2) The number of Students who competed, in the Academical year 1883-4, for the five Entrance Scholarships in Science, worth £24 each, and the number of such Scholarships awarded;
>
> (3) The number of Students who competed, in the Academical year 1883-4, for the five Scholarships of the second year in Classics, worth £48 each, and the number of such Scholarships awarded;
>
> (4) The number of Students who competed, in the Academical year 1883-4, for the five Scholarships of the second year, in Science, worth £48 each, and the number of such Scholarships awarded;
>
> (5) The number of Students who competed, in the Academical year 1883-4, for the Seven Senior Scholarships, worth £40 each, and the number of such Scholarships awarded,"

said, he would not go into the details of this Return; but it was most important that it should be granted, in order to show that public money was being wasted. Prizes were given away in a most reckless fashion, while the best teaching and the real honours were obtained outside these Colleges. The Chief Secretary knew perfectly well the meaning of this Return; but while not saying that the Return was unreasonable, he said all the information it could give would be brought out before the Commission which he proposed to grant. It was most important that the House should know, on authentic evidence, which were the grievances complained of, so that they might understand how they could be remedied. Unless this authentic information was given they could not tell what the grievances were, nor could they understand another reason there was for placing this Motion on the Paper. No one knew whether there was to be a Commission of men actually impartial, or whether further inquiry into the whole question would yield further evidence. Whether he pressed for this Return or not depended upon whether the Chief Secretary answered his question as to what sort of a Commission it was that he intended to give, and as to whether he would put upon it some person who would represent the views of the Catholic clergy and those of his hon. Friends around him. They were entitled to have such a Representative on the Commission; but he would now content himself with making his Motion.

Mr. SEXTON wished to urge upon the Chief Secretary the reasonableness of this Motion. The Irish Bishops, as heads of a body directly interested in this matter, because of the exclusion of Roman Catholic students from their fair share of prizes, met recently and passed a Resolution outlining the Catholic claims, and that Resolution attracted public attention to the subject. He thought his hon. Friend had no option but to make this appeal to-night, because the right hon. Gentleman had stated that the Commission might possibly be appointed to-morrow. Therefore, there could be no delay allowed. It was essential that there should be an Irish Member on the Commission; and if the right hon. Gentleman would state that there would be such a Representative of the Irish Bishops and the Irish public the work would be more than half done.

Mr. TREVELYAN trusted that hon. Members who were interested in this question realized the full gravity of the step the Government had taken in consenting to the appointment of a Royal Commission. With regard to the remarks of hon. Members as to the continued anxiety to obtain this Return, he could not help thinking that they underrated altogether the importance of the step the Government had taken. He would not say that that step would not have been taken but for Parliamentary pressure; but the step would not have been taken if the Government had not been satisfied that there were serious grounds for inquiry of the nature which he had several times indicated, and to which this Return referred. That step was taken at a time when the authorities of the Queen's Colleges were, undoubtedly, having their time largely taken up by responding to demands for Returns, and by sending answers to Questions put in this House. Those Returns and answers were assuming a volume, which amounted to something very like a Parliamentary inquisition into their condition. The Government were of opinion that it was necessary to choose between this Parliamentary inquisition, which might, in the long run, become somewhat costly and voluminous, and have the business done by a body of gentlemen whom they could thoroughly trust. They had taken their decision; and he must say he could not see his way to departing from that decision. If, when the names of the Commissioners were announced, hon. Members felt no confidence in the proposed Commission they would then obviously continue their inquiry; and the knowledge of that had, of course, influenced the Government in the selection of the Commissioners. With regard to that selection, the first object of the Government was to get men who were thoroughly acquainted with education in Ireland; and their next object was to get a Commission which should have upon it some men who were primarily interested in the matter. If the Queen's Colleges could stand the test of an examination by men who were accustomed at their Universities to see that the greatest amount of educational work was done for the least amount of money, they would stand any test they would be required to stand. The one method of obtaining rigid and thorough workmen on the Commission was to have a small number, and it was proposed to appoint three. Another point was that the Commission should set to work at once. The Government were perfectly aware that it was necessary to have on the Commission some person who would represent those people in Ireland who imagined that the education funds of the country were not at present properly administered. He had had placed before him the names of several gentlemen of high University distinction who would be very proper persons to serve on this Commission; and, as a Member of the House of Commons, he was proud to find that several of those gentlemen were in the House; but he felt that it would be a distinct disadvantage to select English Members, and for that reason he had set aside two hon. Friends of his own, who were second to none as connected with the practical work of University education. The gentlemen whom he had asked to represent English University education had been specially selected as not belonging to the House of Commons, and on that ground alone he had not asked any Member of the Irish Party to sit on the Commission. If any Member of the House of Commons did sit on the Commission eventually, which he hoped would not be the case, he would then communicate with Irish Members as to whom from among them the Government would be willing to accept. With regard to a Member of the Commission who might be supposed to represent the views of the Prelates and educationalists who had been referred to, the Government thought they could get such a man. That was the Commissioner whom they were most anxious about; and, under the circumstances, while he should be very sorry to ask the House to negative the Motion for these Returns, he trusted the hon. Member would postpone the Resolution, say for a fortnight. If the hon. Member did that, he could not see that he would be in any degree in a worse position than he was now; whilst, on the other hand, it was quite certain that during the interval the Government would get the names of all the Members of the Commission. He hoped that by to-morrow, or Tuesday, he should have the acceptance of a gentleman who had been asked to serve as representing a very influential body.

Colonel COLTHURST said, that he was with his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) on this subject of University education; but he would ask him to accept the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. He was certain that the right hon. Gentleman would make such a selection as would be acceptable to the people of Ireland. Suitable ecclesiastics, who were not Bishops, could be obtained; and, on the whole, he thought that the hon. Member for Longford would best serve the interests he had at heart if he would allow the matter to stand over for a fortnight.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had to leave the matter in suspense. The right hon. Gentleman seemed perfectly to realize the fact that the entire usefulness of the Commission would depend on its commanding the confidence of the Irish people; and while he (Mr. O'Brien) was sorry to say that the right hon. Gentleman's statement did not indicate a desire to procure anything like a full or preponderating representation of Irish opinion upon the Commission, still he thought it was desirable, in view of the passing promise given them, that the body appointed should be such as to secure the confidence of the people of Ireland, that they should, for a time, at all events, suspend their judgment on the matter. With the leave of the hon. Member for Longford, therefore, he would move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. O'Brien,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday* next.

BANKRUPTCY FRAUDS AND DISABILITIES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. CAMERON, Bill to apply to Scotland certain provisions of "The Bankruptcy Act, 1883," *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. CAMERON, Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK, Mr. MACKINTOSH, and Mr. STEWART CLARK.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 179.]

House adjourned at Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 25th April, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Marriages Legalisation (Wood Green Congregational Church) * (66); Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London)* (68); Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order (Dundalk Waterworks) * (69); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * (70).

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF BERBER AND KHARTOUM.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: My Lords, I rise for the purpose of putting a Question to the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, of which I have given him private Notice. It is, Whether Her Majesty's Government have arrived at any resolution as to the steps that should be taken for the relief of Berber, and for securing the safety of General Gordon at Khartoum? The Question is almost identically the same as that which I put yesterday, and I wish to disclaim either any design of discourtesy to the noble Earl (Earl Granville) or desire to disregard the Rules of the House by putting it then without Notice. It struck me at the time that this was a matter of very general interest; and I thought, possibly, some information could be given which would have been satisfactory to this House. I am not sure that I was not to some extent justified in this course, because on referring this morning to the usual channels of information that action has been foreshadowed "elsewhere," which, if confirmed, will lend increased value to any communication that may be made by the noble Earl. I take it that we have it now as a matter of fact that Her Majesty's Government recognize that there is extreme danger at Berber; and if in the interest of the public service it is not considered desirable to enter into details, I will not, under the circumstances, unduly press the noble Earl; but what I and others feel is this—that, if it were possible, we should like to know what the actual danger is at Berber at this moment; whether it is a danger of so grave a nature that it requires to be dealt with immediately, or whether it is one which will allow the Government time to consider what course they will take; and I should like, in the latter event, to know how soon the noble Earl thinks he will be able to make some announcement with regard to the intentions of the Government on the subject? Then with regard to Khartoum. Here I come to what I consider to be the very important admission which the Government have made to the country. There are two statements in the papers this morning; one is that, in the opinion of the Government, General Gordon is in perfect safety at Khartoum, and the other is that Mr. Power is in very considerable peril in the same place and at the same time. These two statements cannot be reconciled. We are also told that Her Majesty's Government thoroughly recognize the obligations they are under for General Gordon's safety, and that, recognizing it, it is their duty to put themselves in a position to discharge it should the occasion arise. To anybody with a certain amount of common sense who reads these words, they must appear to foreshadow some action; and I am at a loss to know whether, when Her Majesty's Government have undertaken the responsibility which I assume they have undertaken from these words, how that responsibility will be increased by giving the public information as to what they intend to do; and I also believe a statement of what they intend to do will have a very great effect in bettering the position of General Gordon, and also the position of the garrison at Khartoum. I would also like to ask the noble Earl another Question. I see in *The Morning Post* to-day a telegram which states that at an extraordinary Cabinet Council held yesterday at Cairo, a resolution was adopted declaring that the immediate despatch of an expedition to Upper Egypt was imperatively necessary, and that Nubar Pasha had been instructed to communicate that resolution to Her Majesty's Government. I wish to know whether anything of the sort has been done; and whether the noble Earl is able to inform us what steps Her Majesty's Government intend to take with regard to that expedition?

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I am obliged to the noble Earl for having given me Notice this morning of his intention to put this Question. I am quite sure that, being a good Conservative, he will be satisfied in conducting the Business of the House in a regular way. I can quite understand the great anxiety and curiosity that the noble Earl feels on this subject, and which is not peculiar to himself, but is common to all your Lordships. The noble Earl speaks of the responsibility which we have undertaken; but we are also under responsibility in regard to the answers which we give to Questions put to us. I do not think I have much to add to the answer which I gave the other day to almost the same Question put by the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) who sits on the front Benches opposite. With regard to Berber, our information is that it is in immediate danger; but I cannot go beyond what the Prime Minister said not many hours ago, that we have received communications from Berber, and have replied to them. As far as Khartoum is concerned, I am really not aware that "elsewhere" anything more was said than I said on Tuesday, when I stated, in the strongest manner possible, the obligations under which Her Majesty's Government felt themselves to be, in common with the country, in regard to the safety of General Gordon. That acknowledgment of obligations involves the responsibility of carrying out the duties imposed by those obligations; but I am not prepared to give the noble Earl any further information on the point which has been raised by the noble Earl, though he has said something new. The noble Earl has said that he learnt something new yesterday—namely, that though I said I did not consider Khartoum or General Gordon in military danger, Members of the Government in the other House were of a very different opinion in consequence of the intimation we had given to Mr. Power. But this intimation was given very nearly a month before General Gordon had left this country. His position is not different now from what it was then. Is it to be held, because we said we believed there is no military danger to General Gordon at this moment, that we are insensible as to his position, and feel no interest or sympathy with him? It has been a consolation to me this afternoon to have had a conversation with that very distinguished man, Sir Henry Gordon, who repeated to me what he had said before—that he believes his brother is in no military danger at Khartoum, whatever cause of danger might exist elsewhere. He read to me a letter from his brother, dated the 12th or 15th of March, in which General Gordon said he should be more powerful two months hence, when the waters of the Nile began to rise, than he was two months ago. I am sorry I cannot give the noble Earl more information; but the noble Earl will probably appreciate the feeling that there are responsibilities under which Her Majesty's Government believe that they ought not to say at any moment exactly what they will or what they will not do.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, it is not my intention to press the noble Earl, after his last declaration, on any matter connected with the intentions of Her Majesty's Government; but I wish to make one observation with respect to the mode in which he received the Question of my noble Friend last night. The noble Earl stated that it was the uniform practice of this House that Notice, public or private, should be given of Questions which it was intended to put in this House. I will not attempt to traverse his opinion in that respect, his experience in this House having been so much larger than my own; but I desire to call attention to the difference between the conduct of the Government in the other House and that in this

House. In the other House Questions are constantly put to Ministers on the spur of the moment, and they are not disposed of in the cavalier manner which has been adopted by the noble Earl in this House. Some answer is almost always given. It may, of course, be in the public interest that answers should not be given to Questions such as that of the noble Earl, especially without Notice; but I think I am right in calling attention to the curt and—if I may use the word in this House—the snubbing rejoinder that no information can be given unless Notice is given beforehand, is not the manner in which the Government receive Questions in the other House put at a time of crisis like this, with respect to which the interest of all Her Majesty's subjects is urgent and extreme. I think the noble Earl presses the tradition and practice of your Lordships' House too far, and that he might have given information in this House which is not refused in the other. I can only explain the noble Earl's conduct in one way—he has been embarrassed by the somewhat effusive language of the Prime Minister in the other House, and thinks it necessary to hear what the right hon. Gentleman has said before giving an answer himself. That is a position which I can easily understand; but I think he exposes his apprehensions in too nude a manner.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, although it is irregular, I must ask to be allowed to say a few words in reply to what has been said by the noble Marquess. I have been a great many years a Member of this House, and have long held official and semi-official positions; but this is the first time I have been accused of want of respect to your Lordships' House. Without regard to the differing practices in the two Houses, one thing is quite clear, and that is, that yesterday, in regard to the chief Questions put in the other House of Parliament, Notice, either public or private, had been given; and I cannot conceive that anyone should have thought it necessary to make an innovation here. I put it to the noble Marquess himself, who has had so much experience, whether there is any possible advantage, either to this House, to the Government, or to the public, that noble Lords, having Questions to put to Ministers in regard to which they must have made up their minds in the course of the day, should jump up at the very last moment, and I am sure without the slightest intention of doing so, taking by surprise the Minister to whom the Question is addressed. I believe the tradition of this House is an excellent one, and one which should be acted upon; and, as far as I am concerned, I shall try to adhere to it, whether in Government or in Opposition. If the noble Marquess likes to break this rule, of course, he can do so; but I do not mean to be deterred by any taunts of his from reserving to myself the right to have some Notice given of very important International Questions before they are put to me.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION (LONDON) BILL [H.L.] (NO. 68.) A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Education Department under the Elementary Education Act, 1870, to enable the School Board for London to put in force the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, and the Acts amending the same: And

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (DUNDALK WATERWORKS) BILL [H.L.] (NO. 69.) A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Waterworks in the town of Dundalk:

Were *presented* by The LORD MONSON; read 1ª.

PIER AND HARBOUR PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under the General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861, relating to Aldborough, Baltimore and Skibbereen, Carlingford Lough, Chatham, Cromer, Cullen, Dawlish, Eyemouth, Fraserburgh, Hove, and Newlyn—Was *presented* by The Lord SUDELEY; read 1ª. (No. 70.)

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 25*th April*, 1884.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Oriental Bank Corporation.* *Third Reading*—Stockton Carrs Railway, and *passed.*

Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Tramways Provisional Orders (Birmingham and Aston Tramways, &c.) * [180].

Second Reading—Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [3], *debate adjourned.*

Third Reading—Public Health (Confirmation of Bye Laws) * [173], and *passed.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

STOCKTON CARRS RAILWAY BILL (*by Order.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, that in consequence of certain incidents which transpired on a recent occasion it would, perhaps, be as well that he should state to the House, at the opening of the remarks he was about to make with regard to this question, that it was in no shape or form tinged with the colour of Party. He might mention, as an evidence of that, that among the chief opponents of the measure who had taken a very large part in promoting Petitions and otherwise expressing an opinion against the scheme were, in the first place, the Chairman of the Stockton Liberal Association, and another chief opponent, who employed something like 1,000 hands, was, he was told, a former President of the same Association. He mentioned that fact so as to clear the ground entirely in regard to the district to which he was about to refer, lest the House might be induced to believe that the measure partook somewhat of a Party character. The merits of the scheme, to which he wished to draw the attention of the House, were very clearly set forth in the official Report of the Inspector of the Board of Trade, Colonel Yolland. Colonel Yolland said—

> "I do not gather, from the statements which the engineer laid before me, that there is any specific want on the part of the public that will be satisfied by the construction of this short piece of railway, but that it is proposed as a speculation, as the means of utilizing a small portion of unoccupied ground in Stockton Carrs; and provided the public safety is not unnecessarily endangered by the construction of this work, there would probably be no objection to its being sanctioned. But two level crossings of public roads in the town of South Stockton are proposed to be constructed on this short portion of railway."

Colonel Yolland went on to say—

> "In my opinion, other means of reaching this piece of unoccupied land at Stockton Carrs should be found. The number of persons killed at level crossings of different kinds on railways in the year 1883 was 78, and 51 were injured, and these numbers were in excess of the numbers killed and injured at similar level crossings on the average of the previous eight years."

He would beg the attention of the Home Secretary, who was responsible for the lives of Her Majesty's subjects, and also of the President of the Board of Trade, to these statements. Colonel Yolland concluded by saying—

> "I therefore recommend that the proposed level crossings may not be allowed, as they appear to me to be entirely unnecessary.

Now, that was the Report of Colonel Yolland; and he had read it to the House, because he thought it better that a statement of that kind should emanate from an impartial authority, and not from one who, like himself, had had his attention called to it by persons locally interested in the merits of the scheme. Now, with regard to the level crossings to which Colonel Yolland referred, he himself (Mr. J. Lowther) had taken a recent opportunity of inspecting the ground in question. He had gone down to this place, and he had been enabled to judge for himself. He had visited it at a time when a portion of the working men who must necessarily pass over the tract of ground where these level crossings were proposed to be constructed were returning to their work from their dinner. He was, therefore, in a position to assure the House that a very large number of workmen would be daily compelled to pass over these level crossings, and that very considerable inconvenience, if not, as Colonel Yolland suggested, actual danger must arise. Statistics were not usually very acceptable to the House, and he only proposed to inflict a very few upon it; but he thought it right to mention that observations had been taken on a given day, and it was found that the piece of ground proposed by the Bill to be occupied by these crossings was traversed in one day by 309 vehicles and by 12,594 foot passengers. In addition to a traffic of that kind, there were no inconsiderable number of the rising generation playing about, who were the inhabitants of the neighbouring houses, and he left the House to judge how far it might or might not constitute an augmented danger. He might also inform the House that there had for some time past been a strong local feeling in South Stockton against level crossings as a general principle. But there had been what might be called a very formidable agitation locally set on foot against these particular level crossings. It was only fair to mention that among the most active opponents of these crossings was one of the gentlemen who had appeared before the Chairman of Ways and Means the other day in order to state his approval of the scheme. Mr. Walker held a position upon the Local Board as Chairman of the Paving Committee, and he had taken a very active part against these level crossings; but he seemed to have become enlisted in favour of those proposed by the present Bill. He hoped the House would allow him (Mr. Lowther) to place before them as briefly as he could the extraordinary, unparalleled, and he hoped he might say for-ever-after unexampled, history of this scheme. The Board of Health of South Stockton consisted of 15 members; and when the proposal was made before the Board that the Bill should be approved there were seven members who voted for the scheme and six against it. There were, he was told, 14 members present; but one gentleman, who was a promoter of the Bill as well as being a member of the Board, had the good taste to abstain from voting on that occasion. He thought the House would fully appreciate the good taste displayed by this gentleman in not voting in a matter in which he was personally interested. The question was raised before the Board on a second occasion, when a virtual attempt was made to rescind the vote previously arrived at. It appeared on that occasion that eight voted for the scheme and seven against it; but among those who voted for it he regretted to find the name of Mr. Promoter Breckon, the gentleman whose self-denying ordinance on the previous occasion he had felt it his duty to commend. Thus the approval of the Bill was carried by a majority of one, that one being a promoter, who happened to possess a seat upon the Local Board. Public opinion in Stockton had not been idle during that time. A requisition was got up at a public meeting of the inhabitants, at which the chair was taken by the Chairman of the Local Board of Health. At that meeting a resolution was passed in the following terms:—

> "That this meeting regrets the action taken by the Local Board of South Stockton in assenting to the Bill of the proposed South Stockton Carrs' Railway, thereby approving of a level crossing being made through the public thoroughfare."

A second resolution was also passed—

> "That this meeting respectfully recommends the Local Board to reconsider their decision, and strongly urges the importance of opposing the measure in Parliament."

These resolutions were signed, on the part of the meeting, by Mr. John Watson, the Chairman of the Local Board of Health. The effect of the passing of these resolutions did not appear to be absolutely *nil*, because he found that on the next occasion that the matter came before the Board it was proposed that the Bill, as amended in a manner he would afterwards describe, should be approved by the Board. Against that proposal he found there was a majority of one, the form of amendment being that the amended Bill be referred to a certain Committee—[Mr. DODDS: No.] At any rate, the Board declined to sanction the scheme at that time; but after it became the lot of certain members of the Board of Health to vacate their seats under the Act of Parliament a new election was held to fill up the vacancies. He would not trouble the House by going in full detail into the result of those elections, as he was anxious to save the time of the House; but it brought matters to this point—that he now held in his hand a Petition, signed by a majority of the legally-elected members of the Local Board of Health, praying the House not to give its consent to this Bill.

MR. DODDS rose to a point of Order. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he was about to read to the House a Petition signed by certain members of the South Stockton Local Board of Health. Now, the point of Order he desired to raise was this—whether, having regard to the Standing Orders of the House, it was competent for any hon. Member to read a Petition with reference to a Private Bill which had not been presented to the House in the ordinary way—namely, by being deposited in the Private Bill Office of the House?

Mr. GUY DAWNAY: This is the third reading of the Bill, and no other opportunity can be afforded for bringing a Petition before the House.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, that in order to enable the Speaker to rule upon that point, he must inform him of the fact that the Petition was one which had been signed by a majority of the legally-elected members of the Stockton Board of Health, praying the House to decline to give its assent to the third reading of the Bill. It was obvious, therefore, that this was not a Petition praying to be heard by counsel and witnesses in the usual manner, but was totally distinct from the ordinary procedure in respect of Private Bills.

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand that the Petition has not been presented to the House.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: I am about to present it now.

Mr. DODDS: It cannot be presented to this House except in the ordinary way—namely, through the Private Bill Office.

Mr. SPEAKER: It appears to me that this is not the time to present the Petition, and that, technically, the right hon. Gentleman is not entitled to read it. But the right hon. Gentleman is entitled to state, generally, the substance of what passed.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, his only object in alluding to the Petition, or in taking any other steps in regard to the Bill, was to place the House of Commons in full possession of the facts of the case, in order to allow the House, without prejudice to one side or the other, to decide the question on its merits. Following the instructions of Mr. Speaker, he would confine himself to the statement that this was a Petition signed by eight gentlemen out of 15 constituting the Stockton Local Board of Health, immediately after a popular election which had produced a change in the composition of that Body, and the Petition requested the House to decline to give its assent to the third reading of the Bill. The Board of Health had taken other steps to make its opinion known; and he thought it right, after the interruption which had just occurred, that he should, in defence of the Local Board, state how it came about that they took the unusual form of making their wishes known to Parliament by signing a Petition for presentation to the House on the part of the majority. As soon as the new elections had terminated, a requisition was forwarded by certain members of the South Stockton Local Board, requesting that a meeting of the Board should be convened, at which formal action was to be taken in the direction of rescinding the previous Resolution to which he had referred. This requisition was addressed to the clerk of the Board, and he (Mr. J. Lowther) held in his hand the answer which was sent to the requisitionists by the clerk of the Board. He saw that it was dated, "South Stockton Local Board, Clerk's Office, Stockton-on-Tees, April 1884," and there was in the margin of the letter the following words in print:—"Clerk, Joseph Dodds, M.P." It would appear that the attempt to suppress the opinion of the legally elected representatives of the ratepayers of South Stockton which had just been made in that House, was attempted likewise on a previous occasion; for he found that the Gentleman who was described as "Joseph Dodds, M.P.," and who signed the Circular as clerk to the Board, sent the following reply to the requisitionists, who were simply seeking, in a regular manner, to obtain the decision of the Local Government Board of Health on the subject. The latter acknowledged the receipt of the communication from the Local Board. It went on to say—

> "It is not legally competent to the Board to proceed in the manner indicated in their requisition. I shall, however, send out notices for a special meeting as requested."

He would not trouble the House with details of the special meeting that was held. He would only point out that, owing to some technicality in connection with the bye-laws of the Local Board of Health, it was found that it would not be practicable to rescind the previous Resolution without certain definite steps in the way of notice being taken, and also that a certain proportion of the members must be present, and that the majority for rescinding the Resolution already passed must be one of two-thirds. In consequence of that difficulty, the Local Board of Health had been driven to an expression of their views in a somewhat unusual manner; but, at any rate, they did pass a Resolution in the following terms:—

"That, in the opinion of this Board, the Resolution passed in favour of the Stockton Carrs Railway Bill should be rescinded, and that legal steps should be taken to rescind such Resolution as soon as may be convenient."

There voted for that Resolution eight, and six against it. He was told that the gentleman who abstained on the first occasion, on the ground of his connection with the promotion of the scheme, voted amongst the minority; but that was a detail into which it was not necessary to enter. The fact was that the Local Board of Health of South Stockton, as now constituted, had, by a majority of eight against six, declared against this scheme. He had already referred to the measures which had been taken locally for expressing the opinion of the ratepayers and their representatives. He had omitted, however, to state that in addition to being signed by the majority of the Local Board of Health to which he had referred, and in addition to the Resolution of the Local Board, steps had been taken to express the local opinion. In passing, he might remark that his hon. Friend the Member for the North Riding (Mr. Guy Dawnay) had had forwarded to him several Petitions, largely signed by working men employed at the works situated in the vicinity of these level crossings, which working men would have to pass such level crossings several times in the course of the day. There had been, as he had already stated, other means adopted to give expression to the local opinion. Some of the large manufacturers, including the Chairman and ex-Chairman of the political Body to which he had already referred, had presented a Petition to Parliament in a regular manner, asking for leave to be heard by counsel and witnesses against the second reading of the Bill. They were refused that privilege by the Standing Order, or *Locus Standi* Tribunal. He did not presume to express any opinion upon the action of that Tribunal. From his knowledge of the Gentlemen who composed it, he had no doubt they arrived at a thoroughly just and honest conclusion. They disallowed the Petition, and the Bill became what was technically known as an unopposed Bill. The House would be aware that unopposed Bills went before the hon. Baronet the Chairman of Ways and Means. Of course, it would be presumptuous in him to say anything as to the competency of the Chairman of Ways and Means to conduct an inquiry in regard to any Private Bill introduced into Parliament; but he would take the liberty of saying this—that it would not be possible to find any Gentleman more thoroughly capable of conducting an inquiry into the merits of any Bill, if he had only the means afforded him of conducting an impartial inquiry. He (Mr. J. Lowther) would only say of his own knowledge, as the result of inquiry, that the hon. Baronet who now filled that Office not only exerted himself the same as his Predecessors in times past to discharge the duties imposed upon him with efficiency, but that he had, notwithstanding the considerable demands upon his own time and health, gone very much more closely into the details of unopposed Private Bills than was formerly the case. But what were the means which the Chairman of Ways and Means had at his disposal for sifting the merits of unopposed Private Bills? The hon. Gentleman had to be dependent upon such evidence as might be forthcoming at the instance of the promoters of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman did not have the advantage of hearing witnesses, except from one side; and he had not the advantage of hearing those witnesses cross-examined by counsel. The hon. Gentleman, in fact, had to discharge duties somewhat analogous to those which were performed by a Grand Jury. He had to hear *ex parte* statements, and arrive at the best conclusion he could upon the very slender information presented to him. That being the case, the hon. Baronet must have been largely dependent upon gentlemen who represented the promoters of the Bill. What did he find? The hon. Baronet, who, as he (Mr. J. Lowther) had said just now, was exceedingly desirous of forming, after the fullest inquiry which was available to him, a comprehensive judgment upon the issue submitted to him, had one engineer called before him. This engineer was a gentleman about whom he could say nothing beyond this, which was, that he was one of the actual promoters of the Bill, and that he had devoted his attention throughout his life not to railway matters at all, but to matters connected with water. He was a river engineer, who had not, he (Mr. J. Lowther) believed, attained any great mark in his profession; but, of course, that was a matter with which the House had no concern. It was, however, right that he should point out that he was not, in any shape or form, a gentleman capable of expressing the opinion of an expert upon a railway matter. [Sir ARTHUR OTWAY: Who is he?] The gentleman to whom he referred was Mr. John Fowler. The hon. Baronet had asked for the name; and he might tell the House that although the name of this gentleman was "John Fowler," he must not be confounded with the eminent engineer of that name. He was a gentleman of local celebrity only, and the hon. Baronet, in his desire to obtain full information, had actually had palmed upon him a gentleman who was not a railway engineer at all. It was just as right that they should consult an occulist for the tooth-ache as to employ a water engineer upon questions of railway construction. [Mr. HOPWOOD: Oh!] He begged the hon. and learned Member's pardon; this was a matter which involved not only very great local, but general importance; and he should endeavour to compress his remarks as much as possible. He did not regard the interruptions of the hon. Member as anything personal, because the hon. Member almost invariably interrupted every hon. Member who addressed the House. In addition to the water engineer he had referred to, another witness, apparently, was the solicitor to the Bill, who, as had been mentioned the other day, was the son of the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds). He did not, however, attach much importance to that fact in connection with the matter he was referring to. One other gentleman was, he believed, examined—namely, the Chairman of the Paving Committee, who was, he understood, a potter by calling, and in no shape or form could be qualified to speak with authority upon an engineering question. But if the hon. Baronet had been enabled to avail himself of the expert evidence, which would have been forthcoming if there had been an opportunity of seeking for it, he might have had before him a civil engineer of considerable eminence, a partner of the eminent Mr. Fowler, not the obscure gentleman to whom he had already referred, but the well-known Mr. Fowler. He referred to Mr. Baker, the civil engineer, who had told the Chairman of the Local Board of Health that he would have been only too glad to give evidence before a Committee. The Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Local Board of Health was also a member of the Institute of Civil Engineers, as also was the Chairman of the Committee of Works. The hon. Baronet, with the slender information at his command, did, as he (Mr. J. Lowther) was sure he always would do, the best he could under the circumstances. The hon. Baronet had inserted into the Bill certain provisions, among others that no train was to pass over these level crossings at a greater speed than three miles an hour; that a red flag should be exhibited in front of a coming train; and that a foot-bridge, 6 feet in width, should be erected over each crossing. The hon. Baronet further provided that there should be a close time during which no train should be run, whether preceded by a flag or travelling at any rate of speed whatever. Those hours the hon. Baronet had fixed according to such local information as had been presented to him by one side. The hon. Baronet had naturally selected those hours which he thought would be most convenient to all parties concerned; and the hours he had selected were between 11.30 A.M. and 1.30 P.M. Now, this was one of the dangers of an inquiry of this kind, conducted with limited means of information as those which were at the command of the hon. Baronet; because, as a matter of fact, while one of the large firms employing some 1,000 hands who would have to cross over this ground fixed the dinner hour at from 12 to 1, another firm also employing 1,000 hands fixed the dinner hour at from 1 to 2. Hon. Members would see that it was the intention of the hon. Baronet to insert a close time during which working men were passing to and fro for their dinner; but that intention had been defeated by the absence of information which might have been forthcoming if the Bill had been opposed in the ordinary way. It had been urged that the House would do well to allow the Bill to pass—although it had been condemned by the official Inspector of the Board of Trade, and notwithstanding the fact that it had been denounced by the inhabitants in public meetings assembled, and protested against by the majority of the Local Board of Health, and that the employers of labour were strongly opposed to it—because there was still room in what was technically called "another place" for these unfortunate omissions to be repaired. Hon. Members, however, would perhaps be surprised to hear that under the bye-laws of the Local Board of Health of South Stockton it would be practically impossible for the Local Board to obtain a *locus standi* before the House of Lords; because the rescinding of the Resolution approving of the Bill, although now agreed to by a majority of the Board, required, according to the bye-laws, that a majority of two-thirds must take part in rescinding of it, and that an equal number of members must be present at the rescinding as were present at the time it was passed. He need not point out to the House that, although the majority were willing to rescind the Resolution, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the necessary quorum. This was a case, therefore, in which the House must be prepared to undertake its own duty, without casting on the shoulders of the House of Lords the responsibility of remedying any omission of its own. Although most unwilling to refer in any way to personal matters, he felt that he should not be discharging his duty to the House if he were to omit to point out that this Bill had been promoted by most unusual means. He was not going to refer to the painful incidents which took place on the last occasion that this Bill was before the House. The House dealt according to its judgment with what then transpired, and he had no desire to reopen that unfortunate issue; but he thought it right to draw the attention of the House to a certain Standing Order which he feared had been in spirit, at all events, somewhat infringed upon during the passage of the Bill. The Standing Order to which he referred was No. 436. First of all, by a Resolution of February, 1830, it was laid down that it was contrary to the law and usage of Parliament that any Member of the House should be permitted to engage, by himself or any partner, in the management of a Private Bill, before that or the other House of Parliament, for pecuniary reward. As he had said just now, it was the spirit of the Standing Order and not the letter which he wished to draw the attention of the House to. The other day it was mentioned that a Circular had been sent out referring to the fact that a near relative of an hon. Member of that House was employed as the solicitor to this Bill. The House treated that matter as being a parental excess of zeal, and as not being a wilful evasion of the Standing Order, and it accepted the apology of the hon. Member for the issue of that unfortunate Circular. But what were the real facts in connection with the Circular? He trusted the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) was in a position to say how far he (Mr. J. Lowther) was rightly informed; but he understood that the solicitor for this Bill was a partner engaged with the hon. Member, generally speaking, in professional business; that they occupied the same office, and that they employed a common staff of clerks. Well, the genealogical and domestic personal matters of interest which occupied the attention of the House a short time ago—namely, the fact that these two gentlemen who lived under the same domestic roof stood in the relation of father and son, was, in his mind, a secondary matter; but what, in his judgment, the House ought to consider was, whether it was in accordance with the spirit of the Standing Order that one member of a professional firm should, in his individual capacity, become a solicitor for a Private Bill; while another member of the same firm should also, in his individual capacity, constitute himself a Parliamentary guardian of the Bill of which his partner was solicitor? That was the real issue. The House, the other day, took a lenient view of the indiscretion of the hon. Gentleman; and he could assure the House that had the hon. Member profited by the somewhat sharp lesson which was read to him on that occasion—although the benevolent intervention of the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) somewhat modified the censure of the House—if he thought the hon. Gentleman had taken that lesson to heart, and was prepared to abstain from the practice of which complaint had been made, he (Mr. J. Lowther) would not have referred again to the unpleasant incident. But what were the facts of the case? He was indebted to an hon. Gentleman opposite for having placed him in possession of a document which showed that, notwithstanding that expression of opinion on the part of the House, another Circular had been distributed by the hon. Gentleman himself, and that the hon. Gentleman was found, as late as yesterday afternoon, in the Lobby of the House performing functions which were usually assigned to sandwich-board men. The hon. Member was engaged, with profuse liberality, in distributing Circulars which, although they omitted to mention the matter of domestic and genealogical interest to which he had referred, at any rate urged the passage of this Bill. He might go further, and he spoke within the recollection and knowledge of many hon. Gentlemen when he said that during the proceedings of the House yeterday the hon. Gentleman actually came within the Bar and distributed to hon. Members on his own side of the House a Circular of the kind to which he (Mr. J. Lowther) had referred. He must seriously ask the House to consider where this sort of thing was to stop. If the hon. Member denied the accuracy of what he said, of course he would not proceed to dwell further upon it; but as it occurred for the most part within his own personal observation, and he had the authority of others in corroboration of what he said, he thought it his duty to point out to the House that if one partner in a practising firm was to be allowed to place his own individual name, in his individual capacity as distinguished from his partner, on the back of a Private Bill as solicitor, and another member of the same firm, in his individual capacity as a Member of that House, was to be allowed to stand in the Lobby and distribute Circulars, and invite the support of the hon. Members to whom the Circulars were given—and he thought hon. Members would corroborate him as to the accuracy of what he said—there was no knowing where such a system would end. He had thought it right to mention the matter, because the hon. Member for Stockton occupied in respect to Private Bills a somewhat unique position, which ought to place him in a different category from that occupied by other Members of that House. The hon. Member—and, no doubt, it was a most praiseworthy act on his part—had for some time afforded assistance to the hon. Baronet the Member for Walsall (Sir Charles Forster) in taking charge of Private Bills in a *quasi*-semi-official capacity; and it was for the House to consider seriously how far it was right that proceedings of this kind ought to be supposed, in any shape or form, to command the approval of the House. He had only now to move that the Bill be read a third time upon that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. J. Lowther.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. DODDS said, he had hoped that the circumstances which had occurred in that House a fortnight ago would have disposed of the personal question raised by the right hon. Gentleman opposite on the Motion for the second reading of the Bill, and that he (Mr. Dodds) would have been permitted on this occasion to address himself to the Question before the House, whether or not the Bill should be allowed to pass. But, after what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, it was incumbent upon him to repeat, which he did without the slightest hesitation, reservation, or equivocation of any sort or kind, that he had not the slightest interest in this matter in any shape or form. He was neither a shareholder in the undertaking, nor was he interested in the land to be taken by the Bill or in the land to be benefited by the Bill, nor in any of the works to be constructed upon it; whilst, in regard to professional matters, long before he had a son old enough to join him in his Profession, when he became a Member of that House, under the advice of distinguished counsel—a Member of the House, of two members of his own Profession, both then and one still a Member of this House, and of Parliamentary agents—he made an arrangement with regard to his business which absolutely precluded him from receiving, in any shape or form, any share whatever of pecuniary reward in regard to any business connected with Parliamentary practice of any sort or kind. So strictly had he acted upon that arrangement, that during the 16 years he had been in Parliament he had not received one single farthing in connection with Parliamentary business. When, in course of time, his son became a partner with him in general matters, the necessary arrangements and deeds were entered into which expressly excluded him from all share in any business connected with Parliament; and during the whole of the time which had since elapsed, so strictly had he adhered to the rule which he had laid down before entering Parliament, and in regard to which he had some hesitation originally in accepting the invitation sent to him to become a candidate, that, as he had said, he had not received on any occasion during the 16 years he had been a Member of Parliament one single farthing, even for travelling expenses or personal expenses of any description. But during the whole of that time he had taken an active part in every local measure which affected his own immediate district; and whether his son happened to be the solicitor for or in opposition to a Bill had not, in the slightest degree, affected the course he had pursued. He had felt it his duty, since the constituency of Stockton conferred upon him the honour of reposing its confidence in him, to forward every measure that was likely to promote the interest of that district; and he appealed to the town of Stockton, and especially to South Stockton, to endorse the action he had taken in regard to this and other matters from time to time. As a matter of fact, he knew very well that South Stockton had endorsed what he had done and what he was now doing in this particular matter. The right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) had referred to the distribution of reasons in favour of this Bill; but he had not referred, nor did he refer on a former occasion, to the fact that he, or someone behind him who was pulling the wires, had also issued a Circular. He hesitated not to say that there had been what was technically called a "whip" quite as vigorous on the other side as the action which had been taken by those who were in favour of the Bill, except that the right hon. Gentlemen had not the good fortune he (Mr. Dodds) possessed of having a son who was capable of taking charge of a Bill in Parliament. If he had, possibly the right hon. Gentleman might even have gone as far as he (Mr. Dodds) had done; because, in all other respects, the right hon. Gentleman had certainly gone the whole length with him. The right hon. Gentleman had referred, as the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) had done on a former occasion, most unnecessarily, and he thought most ungenerously, to his having taken a part, in the absence of his hon. Friend the Member for Walsall (Sir Charles Forster), in conducting the Private Business of the House. Why had he done that? Before he came into the House he had had considerable Parliamentary experience and practice with regard to Private Bills. He knew a considerable number of Parliamentary agents; and he would undertake to say that there was not a single Parliamentary agent who was engaged in transacting the Private Business of the House who would not himself as soon place that Private Business in his (Mr. Dodds's) hands as in those of any other Member of the House. He had not intended to refer in any way whatever to the personal part of the question; but the right hon. Member having referred to it had given him this opportunity of making a disavowal, which he ventured to think most hon. Gentlemen would accept as being perfectly and strictly accurate in every particular. He was sure that those who knew him would do so, and the right hon. Gentleman himself ought to do so. He had, on more than one occasion, received a tribute of thanks recording the sense of the town and district for the services he had rendered, not only in connection with public affairs, but in connection with Private Bills. In regard to the Stockton Carrs Railway Bill, the right hon. Gentleman, in the Circular he had caused to be issued on that as on a former occasion, had quoted the expression of Colonel Yolland that the railway was not required except for speculative purposes. The right hon. Gentleman might have added another circumstance which was an undoubted fact — namely, that Colonel Yolland at the time he made the Report referred to had not seen the place at all. He had seen nothing beyond the deposited plans and certain statements which were put before him, which included a statement made on behalf of the Petitions against the Bill, and was of a most exaggerated, and, in most respects, of a most erroneous character. Colonel Yolland, in his Report, simply quoted the allegations put forward in the statement. In mentioning what had occurred before the Chairman of Ways and Means, the right hon. Gentleman might have mentioned what had since occurred before Colonel Yolland, which was far more in favour of the Bill than anything the right hon. Gentleman had shown in a contrary direction. It was said that this railway was a very short one, and that it was merely intended to utilize a few acres of land. The first part of that statement was true. It was a very short railway, indeed; but it was not quite as short as it seemed, because, as a matter of fact, it was an elongation of an existing branch railway connected with the main line of the Stockton and Darlington Railway, which now formed part of the North-Eastern system. As a matter of fact, it formed the missing link between the main line of railway and the Stockton Carrs district; and perhaps he might be allowed to explain of what the district consisted. It was not merely, as had been stated, a few acres of land that were in question; but if hon. Members would carefully study the plans that had been circulated and which had been deposited, they would see that the district to which this line was to give access included three very important works. The first was a bone mill for the preparation of bones for agricultural purposes and for the manufacture of artificial manures. The next was an oil and seed cake mill; and both of these works had been established some time ago by some of the leading agriculturists in the North of England for the purpose of supplying themselves with artificial manures and oil-cakes for their own consumption. From these mills there went out every year some 4,000 or 5,000 tons of artificial manures and oil-cakes. In the next place, there existed one of the largest flour mills in the North of England, and perhaps he might say one of the largest in the United Kingdom. In that flour mill there were manufactured every year from 150,000 to 200,000 sacks of flour; and there were employed in the conveyance of this manufactured article to the other side of the river some 20 rolleys, which travelled from 20,000 to 25,000 times across the river in the course of the year. The whole of this traffic was now taken through the streets of South Stockton at a cost of something like £1,300 a-year. If this railway were made available for the purposes of these works, a saving might be effected of nearly the whole of the amount of the present cost. The rates originally inserted in the Bill had been found somewhat excessive; and by an arrangement with the Board of Trade, the Chairman of Ways and Means had struck them out in favour of more reasonable rates, which had received the sanction of the Board of Trade or of the Railway Commissioners. The result would be that the charges would be virtually merged in the rates charged by the North-Eastern Railway Company. The North-Eastern Railway Company conveyed nearly the whole of the traffic to distant places, and the consequence would be a saving of nearly the whole of the rates now charged. The district in question had a frontage of something like three-fourths of a mile upon the River Tees, embracing some of the best water adapted for vessels of the largest class, the whole of which was at present practically useless. Then, in addition, there was land belonging to the promoters of the Bill, out of which six acres had been sold and appropriated for an iron shipbuilding yard, which would be commenced the moment it was ascertained that the Bill would go on. There were other proprietors of land in the neighbourhood who were prepared to utilize their property; so that instead of the benefits conferred by the Bill being confined to a small tract of land, they were practically extended to a very large district. He had no hesitation in saying that if the Bill passed, and the desired railway were constructed, it would afford employment in a very short time to 1,500 or 2,000 men; and, surely, that was a most desirable object for such a town as Stockton. Of course, it was not so desirable to the gentlemen in whose interest the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) opposed the Bill, who already possessed their own level crossings and desired to prevent other persons from having the same advantages. At the present moment the rateable value of South Stockton was about £40,000 a-year. He believed the land of which they had heard so much was rated at £50 a-year; but, upon the most moderate computation, if this Bill were passed it would contribute to the rates of Stockton hereafter upon a rateable value of something like £5,000. If that were really so—and he believed it was—the result would be the reduction of the rates to the extent of 12½ per cent, or one-eighth of the present amount. There would also be taken out of the streets of Stockton an enormous amount of traffic which now passed through it day by day, and there would be much less danger to life from these level crossings than there was at present from the existing traffic. Another reason in favour of the Bill was the enormous amount of work it would afford in the district, where work was very badly wanted just now. The right hon. Gentleman had taken especial care not to refer to the fact that he had been put in motion by the principals of the firm of Head, Wrightson, & Co., who were the chief opponents of the Bill, and who had induced three other firms to join with them who were in much the same position as themselves. The right hon. Gentleman had not informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was brought forward by the Chairman of the Constitutional Association at Stockton, who, if reports were correct, was to be his (Mr. Dodds's) antagonist at the next General Election for Stockton. That gentleman was a neighbour and friend of his, and had been a client for many years, and he thought he was a client even at the present time. He was of opinion, however, that that gentleman had never taken a more unwise step towards gaining a seat on the Benches opposite than he had done in getting up this opposition. ["Question!"] Surely this was the Question after what the right hon. Gentleman had stated; and he would repeat that this gentleman had never taken a less wise step for gaining a seat in that House than he had now done. ["Oh!"] Well, that was his opinion, at all events, and he was entitled to express it. That gentleman had a level crossing of his own over an adjoining street, called Hanover Street, which was just as much used as any level crossing ever established in Stockton. That level crossing, to his certain knowledge, was used long before Mr. Wrightson became connected with the works there, and all Mr. Wrightson's traffic passed over it, yet there had never been the smallest objection to it, although there had been, as the right hon. Gentleman had stated, a great objection generally to level crossings, the result of which was that on the main line they had been done away with. He asserted shortly, plainly, and distinctly, that the opposition to this Bill emanated from gentlemen who had a personal interest in the matter. [An hon. MEMBER: No.] He (Mr. Dodds) said "Yes;" and it was got up for no other purpose. If hon. Members would look at a map of the district they would see that the gentlemen who were opposing the Bill had their own level crossings to give them access to the main line of railway, and they would not be one whit the worse in regard to crossing the line in future than they were at the present time. In the case of two of the opponents of the Bill, their works were situate beyond level crossings, and the working men employed by them had to cross the line every day. But had there been a single loss of life? He was afraid that the district had not been altogether free from loss of life, and everyone deplored it; but that loss of life had never occurred on a siding of this kind, which was practically only a works siding, and not a level crossing at all. He had done all he could to get rid of level crossings in Stockton, and he had succeeded to a large extent, and he hoped to succeed still further. But he had never attempted to get rid of the level crossing of his friend Mr. Wrightson, because he knew that it was absolutely required for the enormous works in the district, and that without similar crossings it would be impossible to carry on the works connected with the land affected by the present Bill. He had already referred to the Report of the Board of Trade, and he had said that Colonel Yolland, before he made his Report, had never seen the place at all. Colonel Yolland made his Report without having visited the locality; but even taking Colonel Yolland's own Report, and dealing with the words which the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) had read, what were the facts of the case? Colonel Yolland said it might be a matter of speculation; but as long as the public were effectually protected that was not a matter of much consequence. The question was, what provisions were laid down for the protection of the public? The right hon. Gentleman, with that candour for which he was so eminently distinguished, had called attention to what the Chairman of Ways and Means had done for the protection of the public in order to give effect to the requirements of the Board of Trade; but the right hon. Gentleman had not dealt fairly with the House, because he had quoted a little bit, and a little bit only, and the right hon. Gentleman must have known that he was only quoting partially what the Chairman of Ways and Means had done in the matter. Now, what was it that his hon. Friend the Chairman of Ways and Means had done? The hon. Gentleman had provided, in the first place, at the expense of the promoters, and in redemption of a pledge made by them to the Board of Trade and to the Local Board, that the rate of speed should not exceed three miles an hour. [Mr. J. Lowther: I said so.] If the right hon. Gentleman would restrain his impatience, he was about to say what it was that the right hon. Gentleman had said, and what he had not said. In addition to limiting the rate of speed in approaching the level crossing to three miles an hour at the most, in addition to such a moderate rate of speed, which one would almost think was impossible to cause an accident, every engine was to be preceded by a man carrying a red flag. The right hon. Gentleman, no doubt, made that statement; but he did not state that, under the general Act, provision was made for gates and gate-keepers. Then came the climax of the right hon. Gentleman's candour, fairness, and honesty towards the House. The right hon. Gentleman had quoted a clause which he (Mr. Dodds) held in his hand in order to show how impossible it was for the Chairman of Ways and Means to deal with the question from want of local knowledge. The right hon. Gentleman illustrated his point of view by showing that the Chairman of Ways and Means had inserted a clause in the Bill to provide that the level crossings should be closed between the hours of 11.30 a.m. and 1.30 p.m., because it was assumed that during those periods working men would be passing to and fro to dinner. Now, was it fair on the part of the right hon. Gentleman to omit to state the whole of the provision? He would not read the words of the clause, but he would give the substance, and the whole of the provision was that between half-past 5 and half-past 6 in the morning there should be no traffic whatever over the crossing; that between half-past 7 and 9 there should be no traffic; that between half-past 11 and half-past 1, as the right hon. Gentleman had said, there should be no traffic; and that between half-past 4 and 6, also, no traffic should be allowed to pass over it.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: I beg the hon. Member's pardon, I only referred to the dinner hour.

Mr. DODDS said, he was quite aware that the right hon. Gentleman had only quoted the provision which applied to the dinner hour; but the right hon. Gentleman knew very well that there was something more than that; and if he would restrain his impatience for a short time he (Mr. Dodds) would tell him what it was. There was also a provision that the crossing should be closed to traffic between such other hours as the Local Board might, from time to time, determine, not being more than two hours at any one time, nor seven hours in any one day. So that the clause itself, which the Chairman of Ways and Means had taken care to insert, made provision that the Local Board might alter the hours from time to time, so as to suit the dinner hours of the workmen. This showed that the Chairman of Ways and Means knew perfectly well what was necessary to be done, and that he had done it. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the history of this matter, and, as usual, he had only quoted so much of the history of it as suited his own purposes. He (Mr. Dodds) hoped the House would permit him, as shortly as he could, to tell him the remainder. The right hon. Gentleman had not told the House that among the persons who opposed the Bill when it was originally framed were three gentleman—his friend Mr. Wrightson, Mr. Wrightson's manager, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Watson, Chairman of the Board—all of whom were the members of opposing firms; so that one-half of the opposition had a direct interest in the matter. What happened next? There was a public meeting convened to denounce the Bill. It was called, at a very short notice, by Mr. Watson, one of the petitioning firms, and care was taken to pack it. Indeed, if ever there was a packed meeting this was one. As soon as the doors were opened the room was filled by the *employés* of the petitioning firms. Up got Mr. Wrightson, and proposed a Resolution, and undoubtedly the working men of that firm voted very unanimously in favour of it. What happened? The matter went back to the Local Board. He (Mr. Dodds) happened to be present at the time the Local Board sat; but the Resolution passed at the meeting was so absurd that the Board took no notice of it, but stuck to their own Resolution. The right hon. Gentleman said that since then there had been a new election. Well, what happened then? The opponents selected their own men; two of them were cordial disciples of his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), and were acceptable men in every way. With those two gentlemen was put forward another of the leading employers in South Stockton. Thus, three of the best men who could be selected were put forward as candidates. Well, what happened? Two of the candidates were elected, but the third was totally defeated. He was told that an analysis of the votes showed that 3,000 more were given in favour of those candidates who supported the Bill than were given in favour of those who opposed it, notwithstanding that a system of open voting papers prevailed, which could easily be manipulated—as he was told they had been on this occasion—by persons going about among the working men. The right hon. Gentleman had brought a charge against him (Mr. Dodds) because his son was the solicitor for the Bill. Now, he (Mr. Dodds) had referred to Mr. Wrightson, and he thought he (Mr. Dodds) would have been justified in directing the same language against the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire as he had brought against him (Mr. Dodds), and with more propriety, the right hon. Gentleman being, he believed, a partner with Mr. Wrightson in the newspaper which he (Mr. Dodds) held in his hand—a great Constitutional organ. Mr. Wrightson was Chairman of the Constitutional Association; and he (Mr. Dodds) was surprised to read in a report contained in this newspaper, in reference to an occasion when the bye-laws had been used in order to perpetrate a little job, that the ratepayers were quietly invited to pass the whole thing over. He wished the House to remember that this was a mere siding across a road over which there was no traffic at all, except to the works situated on this piece of land. He had presented, in a legitimate way, two Petitions in favour of the Bill, and one was from persons who were the owners of land in the Carrs district, and nearly all the owners and occupiers of the houses in the street across which the level crossing would pass had also petitioned in favour of the Bill, on the ground that it would be of the greatest advantage to the entire district. The right hon. Gentleman said that a Petition was about to be presented from a number of workmen employed in the existing works. If he (Mr. Dodds) were permitted to read a statement which had been sent to him from the men employed in those works, it would be found that most of them had been coerced into signing that Petition. He held one of those statements in his hand; but he would not go into it at that moment. ["Read!"] He promised the hon. Member for the North Riding (Mr. Guy Dawnay) that when he had presented his Petition in the proper manner, and it had become the property of the House, he would hear something more of it, possibly in connection with a Breach of Privilege. He (Mr. Dodds) had presented Petitions from owners and occupiers in South Stockton, and those Petitions had been presented in the ordinary way of Private Bill Petitions to the House. They were signed by 1,896 out of 2,300 ratepayers, so that, practically, four-fifths of the owners and occupiers of property in South Stockton had petitioned the House in favour of the Bill. He was quite certain that at this moment nine out of ten were in favour of it; and if the Bill went forward and went to "another place," which, thank God! they had, the promoters of the measure would be able to satisfy the House of Lords that they had the full support of the people of South Stockton. He would throw out this challenge to the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) and the hon. Member for the North Riding (Mr. Guy Dawnay)—that if they would take the sense of the people of South Stockton by ballot upon this Bill, they would find that at least three-fourths would declare "aye" in favour of it, and desire, as he now desired, that the House should pass the third reading of it.

MR. PEMBERTON trusted the House would believe that he had no political feeling in the matter, and would allow him to explain the reasons why the Bill had been treated by the Court of Referees as an unopposed Bill, and had decided against the claim of the Petitioners to be heard. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) had said that there were some Petitions against the Bill. He thought the right hon. Gentleman was incorrect in that assertion, because he (Mr. Pemberton) was sure, from his own recollection of the facts, that there was only one Petition presented. According to the practice of the House, it was important to consider whether a Petition was, in reality, a Petition from one individual, or from one individual representing a particular interest or class; because it was the rule of the House that no one individual was entitled to be heard against a Private Bill unless he had some special interest in the matter different from that which was common to all the inhabitants of the district affected by the Bill. If he had no interest other than that of the rest of the inhabitants, then his interest was covered by that of the rest of the inhabitants; and on occasions like the present his interests were supposed to be represented by the Local Board. The Local Board represented the whole of the ratepayers of the district, and one private individual having no interest distinct from theirs was not, according to the practice of the House, entitled to be heard. He observed that the Petition was signed by more than one person; but his recollection of the case was that one Petitioner only appeared. The Petitioner argued the case himself, and, it was upon that point—namely, the practice of the House itself, and upon the consideration that the Petitioner was represented by the Local Board, that the Court of *Locus Standi* disallowed the Petition; and the consequence was that the Bill was treated as an unopposed Bill, and went before the right hon. Baronet opposite, the Chairman of Ways and Means. In taking that course the Court of *Locus Standi* did nothing beyond following the usual practice of the House; but in taking it they were certainly influenced by the statement that the Local Board of the district were in favour of the Bill, and had petitioned in favour of it. They were not told, as they were now, that the decision of the Local Board was obtained by a majority of one, and that one, as they were now given to understand, one of the promoters of the Bill.

MR. DODDS said, that was not so. The gentleman in question did not vote in the first instance, although he did so afterwards.

MR. PEMBERTON said, he understood that the Resolution in favour of the Bill was carried by a majority of one, and that this gentleman, who was one of the promoters of the Bill, voted.

MR. DODDS said, the hon. Member was mistaken. As a matter of fact, the gentleman in question did not vote until afterwards.

MR. PEMBERTON said, he did not think that the time when the gentleman voted was of much importance. The Court of *Locus Standi* were, undoubtedly, led to believe that the Local Board representing the district were in favour of the Bill. He thought if they had been informed of the circumstances of the case, although he would not say that their decision would have been altered, they certainly would have considered the matter more minutely, and further inquiry would have been made. He would not say that the result would have been otherwise; but he certainly did think that the Court had not been fairly treated when they were told that the Local Board were in favour of the Bill. As to the immediate question before the House, he could not help feeling that it was really one which ought, in the ordinary way, to have been discussed by a Select Committee of the House. He had the greatest possible respect for the abilities of the hon. Baronet the Chairman of Ways and Means, and for the care and attention which he paid to these unopposed Bills; but he thought it must be obvious to hon. Members, without making themselves partizans of either one side or the other, that this was a case on which a great deal might be said on both sides, and that it was one in regard to which it was unfortunate that the House had been left without the guidance of a Select Committee in the ordinary way. No doubt, his hon. Friend had witnesses before him; but they were witnesses on one side only, and he had not the advantage of hearing counsel, or of having the witnesses cross-examined. It was, consequently, clear that the inquiry before his hon. Friend, however ably conducted, could not possibly have exhausted the question in the same way that it would have been exhausted, if it had been considered by an ordinary Select Committee of the House. Under those circumstances, and in the absence of a full and proper inquiry, he could not help thinking that it would be unsafe for the House to pass the Bill in its present state.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY expressed a hope that hon. Members would dismiss from their minds the curious and unpleasant circumstances with which a former reference to the Bill was connected, and that the question would be decided on its own merits alone. Hon. Members naturally felt impatient at having so much of their time, and the time of the House, taken up by the consideration of a Private Bill; but they had just heard the reasons why the Bill had ever come to them for the third reading at all, which it was certain it would not have done if it had been opposed in the usual way before a Railway Bill Committee. He was quite certain that no Committee would have dreamed of sanctioning the perpetration of such an outrage, if he might say so, as the construction of a level crossing in one of the principal streets of a large and important town, and that, too, a street which was daily traversed by more than 3,000 foot-passengers and 300 horses and carts. And if these works were carried out, as the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) hoped they would be by this Bill, there would be an addition of some 6,000 more foot-passengers over this road every day. The hon. Member for Stockton said that the people of South Stockton fully endorsed his action in the matter, and the hon. Member had attempted to make light of the statements of the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) as to the real feeling of the inhabitants. He (Mr. Guy Dawnay) would say, in the first place, that on February 13 a fact occcured which he did not think the hon. Member had alluded to at all——namely, that the Local Board, by a majority of one, passed a vote to rescind the approval they had previously given. The hon. Member had made some allusion to the Petition which he (Mr. Guy Dawnay) had now the honour of presenting to the House. He was not quite aware whether that was the proper or formal way of doing so; and, therefore, he would present it in the usual way afterwards. The hon. Member for Stockton had made some remarks as to the manner in which the signatures to this Petition had been obtained. Let him tell the hon. Member that his opinion of Yorkshiremen was far better and far higher than to induce him to suppose that they would allow themselves to be coerced by their employers into signing anything. There might, however, be a few cases in which women in Yorkshire had been coerced; and he held in his hand a letter from Mr. David Thomas, in which the writer informed him that a person named Wells had called at his house with a Petition in favour of the Stockton Carrs Railway Bill, and had induced his wife to sign it without having obtained his (Mr. Thomas's) consent to it. Mr. Thomas subsequently saw Mr. Wells, and asked him if he had his (Thomas's) name to the Petition? The reply was, "Yes, I have." Mr. Thomas complained of the signature having been obtained in the way it had been. Mr. Thomas went on to say—

> "He told me he would scratch it out if I wished. I said that I did; but whether he did scratch it out or not I do not know."

Now, he (Mr. Guy Dawnay) had visited Stockton in order that he might form an opinion himself as to the proposed works; and he thought that if any hon. Member had made a similar inspection he would have returned as keen an opponent of the Bill, and quite as ready to condemn it, as himself. The facts were these. It was proposed to construct a line on a piece of waste land adjoining the river Tees, which had been offered for sale at a low price on account of the difficulties of obtaining cheap access to it. It had been bought by some acute speculators, who saw the possibility of being able to rush this scheme through the Local Board and through Parliament, and who were ready to sacrifice the daily comfort of the artizans of Stockton, and to endanger the lives of the inhabitants, for the sole purpose of saving some little extra expense. A level crossing was altogether unnecessary, and any competent engineer in the world would have said at once that there were various other means of gaining access to the land in question besides that which had been adopted. Even in a less busy centre of manufacturing industry than South Stockton, and a street less crowded by artizans hurrying to and from their work than Trafalgar Street, the construction of a level crossing ought to be regarded as inadmissible. The hon. Member for Stockton had referred to a regulation inserted in the Bill to prevent the running of trains from 11.30 in the morning until 1.30 in the afternoon; but the hon. Member knew very well that in one of the large works in the neighbourhood the dinner hour was from 12 to 1, while in another it was from 1 to 2. Whatever order any future Board might make, they certainly could not undertake to stop the trains during all those times in the evening, in the case of overtime work, when workmen would be crossing the line. Allusions had been made to the level crossing which now existed at the works of Head, Wrightson, & Co.; but the hon. Member for Stockton knew well that few foot-passengers ever went over that crossing at all. It was made 41 years ago, when the country was comparatively open, and it was the only level crossing, as the hon. Gentleman well knew, which the Local Board of South Stockton had not thought it necessary to make considerable sacrifices in order to abolish. He believed that the North-Eastern Railway Company had spent a very considerable amount of money—£100,000 at least—in getting rid of level crossings on their railway system; and the hon. Member for Stockton would hardly deny that he had himself lately advised the Corporation of Stockton to expend £2,000 in order to do away with the level crossing at Oxbridge Lane. The son of the hon. Member had gone as a deputation to the North-Eastern Company in order to arrange for its abolition. The hon. Member also knew of another level crossing in Stockton, at a place called Mill Street Lane, where numerous accidents had occurred. Only at the end of January last a girl was run over and killed, and at the Hartburne Crossing there were two other fatal accidents in the month of December. He would only, therefore, say that if the House did sanction the third reading of the Bill the responsibility of all the fatal accidents which were certain to ensue would rest on those hon. Members who voted for it. He had not the slightest interest in the passing of the Bill or in its not passing; and the hon. Member for Stockton would acquit him of any feeling of personal antagonism towards himself. He would only say that the Bill was opposed just as strongly by members of the Radical Party in South Stockton, who were political opponents of his own, as it was by Conservatives. As a matter of fact, he was shown over the ground the other day by a keen political opponent. He opposed the Bill only upon one ground, and it was upon that ground that he asked the House to oppose it also. The reason was that to give the sanction of the House to it would be to perpetrate a great wrong upon the population of an important and increasing manufacturing town, that it would seriously impede the trade and traffic of the district, while it would also endanger human life, and would license one of the most unnecessary, one of the most selfish, and one of the most iniquitous schemes that, in the way of Private Bill Legislation, had ever been presented to the House.

Sir ARTHUR OTWAY said, he thought that it was much to be regretted that an ordinary Motion for the third reading of a Private Bill should have been accompanied by a discussion of so excited a character as to be calculated to obscure the real merits of the question before the House. Into none of the incidents which had been mentioned did he mean to enter. They were perfectly new to him, and he had never heard of any of these circumstances until he had heard them mentioned in that House. But the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) and of his hon. Friend the Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) enabled the House to understand without difficulty how the matter stood. It appeared that a heated controversy was going on in this district. The right hon. Gentleman represented one party there; whereas the hon. Member for Stockton sympathized with the other. There was, consequently, an unmistakable difference between them. The right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire represented certain gentlemen who were already in possession of considerable advantages in the way of railway communication, and it was not altogether surprising that they should be somewhat averse to other gentlemen residing there, who had the sympathies of the hon. Member for Stockton, procuring the same facilities. He (Sir Arthur Otway) proposed to confine himself simply to one point in the matter in which he felt himself most concerned; and he did not intend to allow himself to be at all angry even in regard to the somewhat unusual language which had been used by the hon. Gentleman who had just resumed his seat. The hon. Gentleman had accused him of perpetrating a job which was a gross outrage.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY: No, no.

Sir ARTHUR OTWAY said, it must be so, seeing that he was responsible for the Bill.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY wished to explain what it was that he had said. What he said was that the construction of a level crossing in one of the principal streets of a large town was an outrage.

Sir ARTHUR OTWAY said, the Bill had also been stigmatized as one of the greatest impositions which had ever been attempted to be palmed off upon the House; but probably the right hon. Gentleman who made that statement did not mean to impute that he (Sir Arthur Otway) was the perpetrator of that imposition. Now, what was the case as regarded this crossing? The House would scarcely suppose, after all the heated expressions they had heard, that it had only come before him in the very innocent garb of an unopposed Bill. When he found that to be the case, he was bound to entertain the opinion that there were no persons who were at all opposed to it. He was there simply to adjust certain matters of detail upon a question which he naturally believed to be in accordance with the views of the people of the locality. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire had made some comments upon the conduct of business before the Chairman of Ways and Means, which he (Sir Arthur Otway) would like to refer to on another occasion; but he would not do so now, as the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman were of a general character. No doubt, a great responsibility was thrown upon any Member of the House who filled the position which he filled; and in consequence of that responsibility he felt himself obliged to go very thoroughly into every measure submitted to him, and to dispose of it in the best way he possibly could. When this scheme was first brought before him as an unopposed Bill, he made an inquiry into it, and said there were two things he would not consent to—one was the making of this level crossing, unless it could be rendered perfectly safe; and the other was that the promoters of the Bill must show that there would be great public advantage to the people of the neighbourhood in making it. He accordingly adjourned the Committee and the consideration of the Bill for, he thought, a week or 10 days; and, in the meantime, he instituted an inquiry into the plans. Probably hon. Members had not had as much experience of level crossings as he had. There was no matter in which he had concerned himself more than in that of providing for the safety of the travelling public, and especially the safety of persons who had to pass level crossings. People were constantly killed on these level crossings. The House must not, however, suppose that fatal accidents often occurred on level crossings such as these; but they occurred on the level crossings upon the main lines of railway which hon. Members travelled over when they went to visit their constituents; and they were generally caused by trains running at a very high rate of speed, and were inflicted upon persons who had neglected to use ordinary precautions. In regard to level crossings of this character, he had no hesitation in saying that a well guarded level crossing was the safest way by which a person could pass over such a railway as this. He would undertake to say, after the precautions established by this Bill in regard to this small line of railway, that it would be almost impossible for any accident to occur, and people might pass and repass this level crossing with perfect safety. As he had said, he adjourned the Committee for a week or 10 days, and in the interval he was furnished with further plans and evidence which satisfied him upon these points. When the Committee reassembled, evidence was given to him of the desire of the persons living in the neighbourhood that this railway should be constructed, and of its public utility, very much in the form which had been described by his hon. Friend the Member for Stockton. With regard to the level crossings, he was not so satisfied, and he required some further evidence to be given. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire had devoted a portion of his time in disparaging the evidence of Mr. Robert Fowler.

MR. J. LOWTHER begged the hon. Gentleman's pardon. All he had said was that engineering evidence was given only on behalf of the promoters, and that the only engineer examined was not a railway engineer at all.

SIR ARTHUR OTWAY said, he did not know what the experience of Mr. Fowler was; but that gentleman appeared to him to understand fully the questions upon which he spoke, and, at any rate, there was no other evidence produced. [Mr. J. LOWTHER: Hear, hear!] It was established to his (Sir Arthur Otway's) satisfaction that the railway could not be made except by means of a level crossing, and that there was no possibility of making a bridge. That being so, he determined that the level crossing should be made, but only under conditions which would make it absolutely safe. Now, what were those conditions? He wanted to know how it was possible for an accident to occur upon a railway when an engine was only allowed to pass at a speed of less than that at which a man walked; when it was to be preceded by a man carrying a red flag; and when it was only to work at times when there were very few people about? And that was not all. A bridge would have to be constructed, by which foot-passengers would be able to cross the line. Therefore, the only question was that of the vehicular traffic, and that was provided for by the speed at which the engine was alone allowed to proceed, and by the locking of the gates by the watchmen who would have to look after them. Under these circumstances, it appeared to him that, as far as any arrangements could be made, perfect safety had been secured. He knew of no other mode by which a level crossing could be made safe; and he did not think that any danger could arise to any man passing a level crossing under these circumstances. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire if he was acquainted with the town of Middlesborough? In Middlesborough there were more than a dozen of these level crossings upon eight or nine intercepted lines of railway, crossed by thousands of people every day, and he was informed that there had never been a single accident, notwithstanding the fact that the crossings to which he referred were unprotected, or, at any rate, not protected as these would be. There was only one other matter to which he thought it was necessary he should refer. He had endeavoured to obtain information as to the hours during which the workmen were generally about, in order that restrictions might be imposed upon the passing of trains during those hours. He certainly thought sufficient precautions were taken, because power was given to the Local Board at any time to vary the hours specified in the Bill.

MR. GUY DAWNAY: Subject to the condition of the crossing only being closed for two hours at a time.

SIR ARTHUR OTWAY said, that if the persons who objected to the Bill thought the workmen would not be sufficiently protected by the hours now fixed, they could have those hours extended. Under these circumstances, he must say he thought it would be most unwise if the House were to defeat a measure which was calculated to confer great public benefit upon the district for which it was designed. After the explanations which had been given, he trusted the House would not reject the Bill on the third reading. If there were strong objections to the measure, and if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire could show that those objections were as generally entertained as he asserted they were, the Bill had to go to "another place," and the right hon. Gentleman would have no difficulty in bringing his views before the Committee of the House of Lords. For his own part, he (Sir Arthur Otway) had no hesitation in saying, separating himself altogether from questions with which he had no concern of any kind, that as far as the protection of the public against danger from level crossings was concerned, it was in this case as complete as any protection could possibly be. If that were so, the objection raised against the Bill was not, he thought, a sufficient one to induce the House to reject the Bill now on the third reading.

MR. GILES said, he merely rose for the purpose of saying a few words in behalf of a gentleman who had been rather hardly dealt with by the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther). He referred to Mr. Fowler, the engineer. It was quite true that Mr. Fowler, who was connected with this Bill, was not Mr. John Fowler, the eminent railway engineer; nevertheless, the Mr. John Fowler referred to was a man of the highest ability, who had been the means of conferring great advantages upon the district in connection with the River Tees. Mr. Fowler, by the works he had carried out, had increased the depth of water up to Middlesborough from 3 feet to 18 feet. He (Mr. Giles) would, therefore, say, without knowing anything in regard to this railway, that if a man was eminent enough to be able to do that which Mr. Fowler had done in regard to the River Tees up to Middlesborough, he would be quite willing to take his opinion on the merits of this little railway scheme. Being an engineer himself, he (Mr. Giles) would like to add that there were many cases in which, if they prohibited level crossings, they would find it necessary to prohibit railways altogether, and they would be unable to carry on the traffic of the country. There were main lines of railway upon which trains ran over level crossings at an express speed of 60 miles an hour. Of course, it was not desirable to have level crossings if they could possibly be avoided; but on a line of light traffic like this, he doubted whether the works could be carried out without the level crossings. He thought he need scarcely add that he was not in any way interested in the promotion of this Bill.

Mr. A. PEASE said, he had inspected the place, and he was in favour of the scheme now under the consideration of the House. He had been almost inclined to believe that the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Guy Dawnay) could hardly have visited it himself when he said that it crossed the main street of the town. Those who knew anything of Stockton knew that the main street of South Stockton was a street which led from the bridge to the Cleveland district.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY remarked, that what he had said was "a main street."

Mr. A. PEASE thought the hon. Gentleman was mistaken, because the street in which it was proposed to construct these level crossings had no through traffic upon it at all. It was only a street which led down to the river, and it was passed over by working men and carts going in and out of the works. In regard to the Bill, he believed the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) had spoken in the interests of his constituents. If there had been a railway communicating with Stockton Carrs, there would long ago have been thousands of men employed in the locality; and it was only because there was no railway communication that manufacturing works had not been developed there. He had no doubt that the construction of this railway would be of the greatest public advantage; and he had reason to believe that as soon as this Bill was passed there would be another extensive shipyard built. He had very little doubt that the construction of this railway communication would result in a very few years in a large increase in the rateable value of South Stockton, and that it would also be of great convenience and importance to Stockton itself. With regard to the level crossing at Head, Wrightson, & Co.'s Works, which had been alluded to, it was a crossing which was entirely unprotected, and the whole of the working men had to pass it in going to their homes. He could not, therefore, imagine how it was that the gentlemen representing these works were opponents of this scheme, seeing that they had sidings of their own which placed the public in much greater danger than anything this scheme would do. The ground of their opposition to the Bill certainly appeared to be somewhat remarkable. He hoped the House would consent to read the Bill a third time.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he had been particularly struck by what had fallen from the hon. Member for East Kent (Mr. Pemberton), who was a Member of the *Locus Standi* Committee. It certainly appeared to him (Sir Baldwyn Leighton), after what they had heard, that it was not desirable for the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) to continue to give what, no doubt, had been valuable services in aid of the hon. Baronet the Member for Walsall (Sir Charles Forster). He regretted that the hon. Baronet was not present; but considering the position which the hon. Member for Stockton held with regard to railways, and also the active part he took with regard to Private Bill Legislation, it was quite possible that a Bill might be brought forward in which his action in aid of the hon. Baronet the Member for Walsall might be regarded with some suspicion. He did not suggest for a moment that anything improper had happened; but he thought it was desirable that the action of every Member who assisted in Private Bill Legislation should be entirely free from suspicion. The success of the Private Bill Legislation of the House must depend very materially upon the manner and character of those Members who, like the hon. Baronet the Member for Walsall and the right hon. Baronet the Chairman of Ways and Means, undertook the conduct of it. Therefore, he would venture to say—and he had no doubt it was what many hon. Members felt who did not say it—that it was not desirable that such a state of things as that which now prevailed should continue. He hoped the hon. Member for Stockton would see that, under all the circumstances, it was not desirable that his services in aid of the hon. Baronet the Member for Walsall should be continued.

Mr. BIGGAR wished to make one remark upon the statement of the Chairman of Ways and Means—namely, that the representations made to the hon. Baronet in regard to this Bill were entirely of an *ex parte* character, and the value of *ex parte* evidence in a contested question appeared to him to be exceedingly slight. He had no doubt that the promoters of the Bill had supplied to the hon. Baronet a list of all the Petitions presented in favour of it, and had also given full information in regard to the gentlemen who voted for it in the Local Board of Health, and that they naturally made out the best case they could; but, at the same time, they would naturally avoid saying anything which would at all appear favourable as to the views entertained by the other side. He entirely failed to see the value of the services which were rendered by the Chairman of Ways and Means under such circumstances. He had heard the defence of the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds); but the hon. Member had entirely avoided all reference to what seemed to him (Mr. Biggar) to be the most important part of the case—namely, the distribution of Circulars on the part of the hon. Gentleman in support of the Bill, not only in the Lobby of the House, where it was customary for the clerks of Parliamentary agents and messengers to distribute Circulars, but actually—for the statement of the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) had not been contradicted—within the Bar of the House. If such a course were to be countenanced, and hon. Members were to continue the distribution of bills in favour of particular schemes, he thought there ought to be a Resolution on the part of the House allowing professional men to take a professional part in opposing Private Bills. At present, the House enforced a Rule to prevent that; but it was preposterous to carry such a Regulation, and then to allow Members to come down to the House and distribute Circulars with regard to schemes which were disputed as to their merits. He thought the practice was a very objectionable one; and he trusted the House would set its face against it. In the next place, he hoped the House would only consent to sanction the construction of level crossings under very peculiar circumstances—such, for instance, as their construction across a road where there was a very trifling amount of traffic, and where there was no risk of endangering the public safety. In this case the hon. Member for Stockton had himself pointed out that there was a large population in the neighbourhood of the proposed line, and that the employment of workmen was likely to increase very considerably after the line was made. If this Bill were passed in its present shape there would be no means of remedying the grievance, no matter how largely the population might be augmented in the future. In the eyes of some hon. Members it did not appear to be a matter of much consequence whether lives were sacrificed upon a level crossing or not. He entertained a strong view that it was highly inconvenient to conduct traffic across a high road; and he held that no railway, except under very peculiar circumstances, should be allowed to make a level crossing in any town in England.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE begged to remind the House that it was in the power of the Board of Trade to direct that a level crossing should be put a stop to.

Mr. MAC IVER expressed a hope that some Member of Her Majesty's

Government would be good enough to inform the House who the Board of Trade were.

Mr. LEAMY said, that it had been stated, in the course of the debate, that within a very recent period several fatal accidents had occurred in Stockton upon the level crossings now in existence. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade what his opinion was as to these crossings, and what convenience they afforded to the public?

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he must protest against the interference of the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works. The interference of the right hon. Gentleman appeared to be somewhat wanton, because, if he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) were not mistaken, the right hon. Gentleman was not one of those who had been present during the whole of this very interesting and somewhat protracted debate. Nevertheless, the right hon. Gentleman had intervened with a single sentence, evidently for the purpose of having the last word with the jury. The right hon. Gentleman was mistaken, however, and was not going to be allowed to have the last word. The observation which the right hon. Gentleman had so skilfully interpolated was an observation which dealt with the kernel of the question—namely, whether or not level crossings were a danger to human life. The case with regard to this particular railway was already practically settled, because there had been three lives lost already in the town of Stockton upon level crossings since the month of December last. It was now proposed to add two other level crossings. The right hon. Gentleman said the Board of Trade had the power of stepping in at any time to put a stop to the use of a level crossing; but the right hon. Gentleman knew very well that a level crossing could not be changed without incurring considerable expense. One of the things which the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) had put forward in that eulogy with which he had indulged with regard to himself and his own public services as one of his many claims to canonization was that he had himself spent £2,000 in getting a level crossing abolished in this very town of Stockton. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was informed by an hon. Gentleman who was acquainted with the circumstances that no less a sum than £10,000 had been spent by the ratepayers of Blackburn recently in order to get rid of a level crossing, which certainly ought never to have been sanctioned, in the midst of a large population. He had nothing to say against the character of the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means; but he thought no more damaging statement could have been made against the case for this Bill than the statement of the hon. Gentleman. To paraphrase an old Latin phrase, they had an accused person confessing his own guilt—of course, he used the term in a purely Pickwickian sense. The hon. Gentleman said the measure came before him as an unopposed Bill. That was the grievance which was now protested against; and it appeared that the hon. Gentleman himself was not satisfied with the statements made by the promoters in regard to it, because he made an order for other evidence to be brought forward, and adjourned the Committee until it could be produced. But by whom was the new evidence brought forward. It was not by the opponents, because the Bill was unopposed; and, therefore, the evidence which succeeded in bringing conviction to the wavering mind of the hon. Gentleman was the evidence of the promoters of the Bill. He wanted to know whether or not it was a fact, as stated by the hon. Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. Guy Dawnay), that no less than 12,000 working people passed the place every day where this level crossing was to be constructed; and, if that were so, was the House prepared lightly, and upon most insufficient evidence, to expose to great danger the lives of no less than 12,000 of the constituency of Stockton? The hon. Gentleman the Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) had an easy way of meeting all objections. It was said that there had been a public meeting against the Bill. "Oh;" said the hon. Gentleman, "that public meeting was packed," then it was said that there was a Petition from the working men against the Bill; but in that case the hon. Member said that the signatures were forged, or had been obtained under *duresse*, because certain persons, unlike the hon. Member for Stockton, had a personal interest in the matter. In fact, the whole case of the hon. Member for Stockton was that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) ought to hide his face in such blushes as he had at his command, because the right hon. Gentleman did not come into court on this occasion with the dove-like innocence of the hon. Member for Stockton. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) did not at all agree with those who said that personal questions ought not to be introduced into the discussion of this measure. He thought that the personal matters were the very essence of the question now before the House; and he told hon. Members on the other side of the House that public opinion outside would look to the personal side of the matter as the question upon which hon. Members ought to vote. And the personal part of the question was this. No one seriously asserted that the hon. Member for Stockton had a personal interest, or a corrupt motive, in the matter. That was not the charge against him; but the personal charge was that he was seeking for the personal support of the House to this Bill, not upon public grounds, but upon personal and corrupt grounds—not on grounds of public utility, but because his own son happened to be the solicitor to the Bill. That was the real question. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire said that the son of the hon. Member for Stockton was his partner; but the hon. Member had denied that. ["No!"] The hon. Member denied that he had any personal or pecuniary interest in the firm in regard to this section of its business. He did not think, however, that he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) need dwell upon that point; because if the hon. Gentleman had requested support for this Bill as a stranger, he would, if the facts he had himself adduced were correct, in making the demand have acted upon corrupt and illegitimate grounds. That was the question the House had to consider; and he said that if this Bill were a good one, he thought that what had taken place, and considering the auspices under which it was brought forward, together with the circumstances which surrounded it, the House was bound, by due regard for its own dignity, to throw it out. The Bill was a bad Bill; and he thought the public would to-morrow narrowly scan the Division List, in order to see whether the House had more regard for the personal susceptibilities of a political Colleague than for the honour, dignity, and respect of that great Assembly.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 126; Noes 117: Majority 9.—(Div. List, No. 70.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

NOTICE OF QUESTION.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE OXFORD COUNTY COURT—THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

Mr. ONSLOW: I beg to give Notice that on Monday I will ask Mr. Attorney General, If his attention has been called to a paragraph which appears to-day in all the newspapers, to the effect that the Home Secretary has, in default of an appearance in a County Court, been ordered to pay, within 14 days, the sum of £4 15*s.* for button-holes, nosegays, and cut-flowers for ladies, ordered by him at the election at Oxford in 1880; whether the purchase of these delicacies as presents to ladies interested in the election was not at the time an illegal practice; and if these bouquets were not sent to the relatives of voters, whether he would cause inquiry to be made as to what necessity there was for the Home Secretary to display such a profusion of floral decorations during the progress of the election?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I should like to answer the Question myself now. I am very glad the hon. Member has made the inquiry, because it is one which since this morning I have made myself. The first time I ever heard of this action or proceeding was when I saw it in the newspapers. Whether there is any foundation for the statement that any such proceedings in the County Court have taken place, or any such judgment has been given, I really do not know. I have sent to ask whether it is a fact, because to me it is a new practice that a man can be sued in the County Court, and have judgment given against him, without having ever been informed of any such proceedings being taken.

QUESTIONS.

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SWITZERLAND—RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

Sir ROBERT PEEL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have made any representations, through the British Legation at Berne, to the Swiss Federal authorities, with reference to the religious persecution of British subjects and others, which for some time past have taken place in certain Cantonal States of the Swiss Republic?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Representations upon this subject have been made to the Federal Government through Her Majesty's Legation at Berne. Papers will be laid on the Table.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—HYDE PARK CORNER—THE WELLINGTON STATUE.

Sir ROBERT PEEL asked the First Commissioner of Works, Who are the members of the General Committeee, and by whom appointed, referred to in the Report which has been presented to Parliament, of the executive Committee on the decoration of the new place at Hyde Park Corner; and, to what extent the Chief Commissioner has delegated his authority to the said General Committee? The right hon. Baronet said, he saw by the Report which had been laid upon the Table that the Executive Committee appointed by the General Committee were in a position to make their Report to the General Committee; that they had carefully weighed all the suggestions made by the General Committee; and that the Executive Committee were prepared to give their decision to the General Committee, and strongly recommended that the latter should give their adhesion to the conclusions to which the Executive Committee had been guided.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Will the right hon. Gentleman state if there is any precedent for presenting as a Parliamentary Paper the Report of a private Body not being a Department of the State?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: The General Committee consisted of a considerable number of distinguished persons, whom the Prince of Wales invited to confer with him on the subject. I think they numbered about 85 in all. I shall be quite prepared to supply the right hon. Baronet with the names, but I do not think it is necessary to give them to the public generally. I have delegated none of my powers either to the General Committee or to the Executive Committee, and I am responsible alone for anything that may be done hereafter in the matter. In reply to the Question of the noble Lord, I am not aware that there is any precedent one way or the other; but I was asked by some hon. Member to issue this document, and I agreed to do it.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Was it printed by Order of the House?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Yes, it was.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Who moved for it?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I did. No; it was moved by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands).

Mr. GORST asked whether the Notice for the production of the Report was given by the hon. Member for Burnley in the usual way, and whether it appeared on the Papers of the House?

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked whether the matter came before the Printing Committee over which the Speaker presided?

Mr. SPEAKER said, that a Motion for the production of the Report must have been made; but he could not recall the actual date when it was made.

Sir ROBERT PEEL observed that the Return was made according to an Order of the House of Commons, dated April 8.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL subsequently asked whether a Minister could obtain from the House, without Notice, an Order for the printing of a document which was neither Departmental nor Ministerial, nor a command paper, but simply a private document? If a Minister could do so, he might have his speech to his constituents printed, or his election address, or any other frivolity of that kind.

Mr. SPEAKER: The noble Lord is, undoubtedly, referring to a Paper presented by the Chief Commissioner of Works, a Paper relating to his Department, which was presented by him in his quality of Minister without Notice.

The right hon. Gentleman, in the course which he took, was only following a precedent which is constantly acted upon.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: The Question arose out of an answer which I gave to the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands). I quoted in my answer a Paper, and the hon. Member asked me to lay it before the House. I believe that a Minister who has quoted a document in the House is bound to lay it before the House.

STATE OF IRELAND—MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE AT QUEENSTOWN.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the case that detective policemen attended the last meeting of the Queenstown Branch of the Irish National League, and refused to withdraw when requested to do so; if so, upon whose instructions were they acting, and with what object; if they were acting on their own initiative, whether they will be informed that they exceeded their duty; and, whether, in view of the frequent altercations that have occurred between the police and people, owing to the confusion in the minds of the police as to their duty in this respect, an explicit general instruction will be issued for the guidance of the police, in relation to their attendance at private meetings of the Branches of the National League?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The meeting referred to in this Question was held in the Town Hall at Queenstown, and summoned by printed placards extensively posted throughout the town. A sergeant and a constable attended by direction of the District Inspector. There was no objection made to their entering the Hall, which appeared open to all. Two persons, however, objected to their remaining at the meeting, and proposed and seconded a resolution to that effect. But the Chairman declined to put the resolution to the meeting. He said he saw no reason why the police should not remain, as the meeting was not a secret one; and he invited them to take seats, which they accordingly did. On the general question, the police have instructions. I do not think it necessary to issue fresh instructions; but I am engaged in ascertaining whether the present instructions are thoroughly understood by all concerned, as they are intended to be understood by the Government.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman, will he not consider the advisability of issuing warrants, as in the cases of searches for arms and documents, empowering the police to attend in certain special cases, so that persons could not be prosecuted for ejecting the police? There would then be no further difficulty.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I think the cases should be special cases. I will inquire into the matter.

RIVERS CONSERVANCY AND FLOODS PREVENTION—LEGISLATION.

Sir ROBERT PEEL asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether, in view to the pledges of the Government, he has in contemplation to introduce, this Session, a Bill to make provision for the better prevention of Floods and for the Conservancy of Rivers?

Mr. DODSON: I do not quite know what are the pledges referred to by the right hon. Gentleman. I only know that on February 11 I gave a by no means encouraging answer when asked whether there would be legislation on this very difficult and complicated question in the present Session. Since then, looking at the progress of Business, the prospect of being able to deal with the matter this year has not improved, and I am afraid that I should only be misleading the right hon. Gentleman and those who are interested in this subject if I were to raise any expectations of legislation in the present Session.

POST OFFICE—TELEPHONIC COMMUNICATION.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY (for Mr. Gray) asked the Postmaster General, If he can say before what day the Estimates for the Postal Telegraph Service will not be brought forward; and, whether he will have them submitted at such an hour as to afford opportunity for discussing the policy of his Department towards the development of Telephone communication?

Mr. COURTNEY: I think I may say, in answer to the Question put by the hon. Member on behalf of the hon.

Member for Carlow, that the Vote for the Postal Telegraph Service cannot be taken for a considerable time yet, and it would be quite premature to say at what hour. We shall, however, endeavour to suit the convenience of hon. Members when the Votes come on; but we shall go through the ordinary Civil Service Votes first.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (SUB-COMMISSIONERS), LONGFORD—CASES IN GRANARD.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the complaints made in the district of Granard, county Longford, of inconvenience caused by the fact that claims for reduction of rent made in Granard are heard by the Sub-Commissioners in the town of Longford, many miles distant; and, whether he will recommend that Granard cases should be tried in Granard?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The instructions of the Land Commissioners to the Assistant Commissioners are to hear cases from each Poor Law Union at the place most convenient to the suitors. The Land Commissioners are unable to say why the Longford Sub-Commission has appointed the hearing of Granard cases at Longford; but they have communicated with them by the telegraph for the purpose of ascertaining, but up to the present date they have received no reply.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND—THE CHURCH IN WALES—DISESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. MORGAN LLOYD asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the interest felt in the question by the people of Wales, he will give facilities to the Honourable Member for Swansea to bring forward his Motion on the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales during the present Session?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I hope my hon. Friend the Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) may be favoured by fortune to secure a day which will ensure a proper discussion of the question which he has raised. With respect, however, to our giving facilities, I do not think we could consistently, in the present state of Public Business, give any for a Motion which we are not prepared to support. We are not quite ready to take charge of a measure for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, and thus add to the burdens with which we are laden at the present moment.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—"THE TIMES" CORRESPONDENT AT KHARTOUM.

Mr. HENEAGE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he could state the dates of the telegrams relating to Mr. Power leaving Khartoum which he referred to yesterday?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The telegrams to Mr. Power authorizing him to leave Khartoum and his reply are, as I stated yesterday, to be found in "Egypt," No. 5, 1884. They are dated January 2 and 4. The telegram from Lord Granville to Sir Evelyn Baring, authorizing him to thank Mr. Power for his courage and public spirit—those are the words of the telegram—is also in "Egypt," No. 5, under the date of January 24. I alluded to this subject, as I stated yesterday, in the debate on the Vote of Censure; but I made a fuller statement on March 15.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF KHARTOUM.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I wish to ask the Prime Minister, Whether it is convenient for him to state whether it is a fact that the Egyptian Government have abandoned the expedition on which they had decided for the relief of Khartoum owing to directions from Her Majesty's Government?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I have not been informed of the fact.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman now, or if not convenient I will give Notice for Monday, whether the responsibility which the Government acknowledge with respect to the safety of General Gordon extends to the garrison who have so faithfully adhered to him?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Perhaps the hon. Member will give Notice of the Question.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Can the right hon. Gentleman give the House any information with respect to the present state of affairs in Berber and Khartoum?

Mr. GLADSTONE: There is no new intelligence in the possession of the Government.

THE IRISH VETERINARY DEPARTMENT.

MR. O'BRIEN (for Mr. HEALY) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he could state how many veterinary surgeons are at present on the staff and enrolled at Dublin Castle; how many are of the Protestant and how many of the Catholic religion; and, what qualifications are necessary for an appointment?

MR. TREVELYAN: There are 28 veterinary surgeons employed under the Irish Privy Council Veterinary Department. The qualification held to be necessary for the appointment is that of a legally qualified veterinary surgeon. I have already informed the hon. Member in whose name the Question stands that the question of religious profession is in no way considered in reference to these appointments, and that the Government has no information whatever on the subject.

ARMY—AMBULANCE DRILL.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will consider whether the officers and men in each regiment of the Army might be systematically instructed in ambulance drill, and how to treat sick and wounded in the absence of medical assistance; and, if he is aware that ambulance classes are attached to many of our volunteer corps, police force, and also many manufacturing establishments?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER: In consequence of the continued indisposition of the Secretary of State for War, perhaps I may be allowed to reply for him that a General Order is about to be issued, which will, to a great extent, carry out the suggestions contained in the hon. Member's Question.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Is the Prime Minister in a position to say when the Navy Estimates will be taken? An engagement was made as regards the Navy and the Army Estimates that a night should be given for discussion in each case before Whitsuntide.

MR. GLADSTONE: We hope to be able to redeem the pledge then given.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Can the right hon. Gentleman state the course of Business for Monday?

MR. GLADSTONE said, that on Monday the Motion that the House resolve itself into Committee on the Franchise Bill would be made, and on Tuesday the Cattle Diseases Bill would be proceeded with.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Can the right hon. Gentleman tell us anything as to the Business on Thursday?

MR. GLADSTONE was understood to say that this was not settled.

NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.

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CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL.

MR. DODSON: The Government have, in accordance with the undertaking which I gave after the Division in Committee on the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill on Tuesday last, carefully considered the course which they will take in regard to the Bill; and they have used their best endeavours to find some means to enable them to proceed with the Bill. As the result of our consideration, I shall propose another Amendment to Clause 1, which I will put on the Notice Paper to-day, and which will appear to-morrow. It will follow upon the decision at which the House arrived the other day, and which, of course, we cannot attempt to reverse. I will read to the House the words of the Amendment which I propose to move—

> "In Clause 1, line 14, after the words 'foreign country,' to leave out the word 'therein' in line 17 inclusive, and to insert 'or any specified part thereof that, having regard to the sanitary condition of the animals therein or imported therefrom, to the laws made by such country for the regulation of the importation and exportation of animals, and for the prevention of the introduction and spread of disease, and to the administration of such laws, the circumstances are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease.'"

I may add, that if the House consents, we propose to proceed with the Committee on the Bill at 2 o'clock on Tuesday.

MR. TOMLINSON asked whether the House was to understand that as a matter of course they were to sit at 2 o'clock on Tuesday?

MR. DODSON: The House itself must appoint the Sitting.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

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MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL. 3.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he did not think it was necessary he should make any detailed statement. When the Bill relating to Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections was before the House last Session he received remonstrances from both sides of the House, complaining that no provision was made in that Bill for dealing with corrupt practices at municipal elections. It was pointed out to him that evils prevailed at those elections, and he recognized the justice of those remonstrances. He found, however, even with the generous support of the House, that to pass the Bill dealing with Parliamentary Elections was a most difficult task, and, therefore, he felt it more advisable to postpone the measure dealing with municipal elections until this Session, so that he might learn from the experience of the Parliamentary Bill how far the feeling of the House would be willing to go with him in support of a Bill like the one now before the House. He now submitted the Bill confident that it would receive the same support given to the Parliamentary Bill. It would be remembered that the Bill of last year dealt with corrupt practices by punitive clauses, and substantially those clauses would be found in the present Bill. He saw no reason why there should be a difference in such a matter where the offence was really the same. Then the Bill of last year prohibited certain classes of expenditure, and provisions of a similar character would be found in this Bill. The Bill of last year also contained a maximum schedule of expenditure; but he thought the House would see that it was impossible to apply a maximum scale to municipal elections, the expenditure at which, except in one or two cases, was not large. They ought, of course, to make them as inexpensive as possible, so that men of every class could enter the municipal bodies. There was a class lower than that which now were returned willing to enter into municipal bodies and take part in local government. He thought the House was bound to do all it could to make it easy for these classes to enter, and they ought not to throw obstacles in the way of persons who had a great stake in relation to local affairs taking also a fair share in those affairs. He found, however, that it was not so much the expenditure as the process of election that was the difficulty. Therefore he made no attempt to deal with the maximum scale. That was the exception, and substantially the Bill was the same as the Act relating to Parliamentary elections. He would suggest the only provisions different from the Parliamentary Act. The first was as to where public meetings should be held. In the discussion on the Parliamentary Bill, such a strong representation was made to him as to the difficulty of obtaining rooms for holding public meetings, other than those in connection with public-houses, in regard to county elections, that he felt compelled to withdraw the proposal; but he had received so many respresentations on the subject as to municipal elections, that he had felt it necessary to introduce the prohibition into the Bill, because it had been felt that, in a large number of cases, meetings were held in support of candidates which were really for the benefit of the publican. But while he placed this clause in the Bill, if it could be shown in the course of the discussion that it produced greater inconvenience than benefit, he should, so far as he was personally concerned, be prepared to listen to the arguments of hon. Members. Respresentations had also been made to him that persons who were perfectly innocent had to bear the costs of the actions of their agents. When it was recollected that it was made obligatory on persons, if elected, to enter the municipal body, they ought not to add burdens which might prevent them from becoming candidates. The proposition in the Bill was that where a person had not himself taken part in any corrupt practice some relief should be given to him with respect to the payment of those heavy costs. If corrupt practices extensively prevailed, then the community should pay the costs. If other persons bribed for the candidate, then those persons should pay. He had endeavoured to extend the provisions of this Bill not only to municipal elections, but cognate elections, such as Boards of Guardians and Local Boards. The rest of the Bill, which had only some 36 clauses, followed so closely the Parliamentary Bill, as it left that House, with the concurrence of the majority, that he did not think it necessary to go over it clause by clause. He thought it almost a duty to present the Bill to the House, for if some such measure as that suggested should not become law, all the labours of last Session would be of little avail, in consequence of their having what he might call one hole unstopped; and the only change would be that corrupt practices would be shifted from Parliamentary to municipal elections. He thought experience justified him in saying that the Bill was not framed to aid any political Party, and that the Act of last year was wisely framed. In this, as in the other measure, he had endeavoured to be guided by gentlemen of experience, and he would gladly receive suggestions for its improvement from whatever quarter of the House they came.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was sure the hon. and learned Member had been impelled by a sense of duty to introduce the measure, for everyone knew that bribery at municipal elections might be carried on for the express purpose of political corruption. He was glad also to hear that the Attorney General was willing to receive suggestions from any part of the House for its improvement. As to the former Bill, it had not yet been subjected to the test of a General Election, though so far as they had been able to learn it had worked well at bye-elections. At the time when the Corrupt Practices Bill was introduced great stress was laid on the principle of a maximum expenditure. Why had that principle entirely disappeared? It was just as important in municipal as in Parliamentary elections to say that a certain amount should be spent and no more. He had had no experience in municipal elections; he was happy to say he knew nothing about them; but this point certainly would demand the consideration of the House. He regretted the proposal that the Bill should be referred to a Standing Committee, and could see no reason why it could not be dealt with in the House, where they had Representatives of all the great boroughs. This was a matter specially requiring to be treated by the whole House, and he should oppose any attempt to transfer it to the Standing Committee.

Mr. GREGORY said, he thought the House should bear in mind the fact that the Act of last year imposed very severe penalties, which should not be carried further than the nature of the case required. They might reasonably be applied to municipal elections, which were generally of a political character, and frequently connected with those for Parliamentary purposes; but the elections for School Boards, Boards of Health, or Guardians, were totally different matters, and it was unwise and unjust to expose persons who came forward to fulfil those duties to the heavy penalties of the Act which might be incurred by very slight inadvertence. He trusted, therefore, that, under any circumstances, elections of this nature would be omitted from the Bill.

Mr. FIRTH asked why in this, in common with all previous Municipality Bills, London was to be excluded? He could see no reason why it should be, except, perhaps, the great natural virtue of its citizens. They were promised, indeed, a London Government Bill; but if they were so unfortunate as not to obtain it, they ought not to be excluded from the benefits of this one. At elections in the City of London votes had been bought and sold as completely as sheep in the open market. [Mr. Warton: Oh, oh!] The hon. and learned Member objected to his statement. It was done in the ward of Portsoken at the last election but one, and if the hon. and learned Member would refer to *The City Press*, the organ of the Corporation, he would find what he had said was a fact.

Mr. RAIKES said, he desired to congratulate the Attorney General on the introduction of this Bill. Any measure dealing with corrupt practices at Parliamentary elections must necessarily be supplemented by a measure like this, and he was glad the Government had seen their way to introducing it early in the Session, and seemed disposed to carry it through. The Attorney General had mentioned two points of difference in the new Bill, and in both cases they were an improvement on the former. In the first place, meetings in public-houses, where, in fact, the whole of the corrupt practices took place, were prohibited, and the cost of the proceedings were in certain cases thrown upon the constituency or the corrupt agents, instead of the unseated candidate, when personally innocent. He would, however, suggest that it was hardly satisfactory that the person incriminated should be precluded from having an appeal; but otherwise he thought it right and useful to be able to hold in terror over these gentlemen the extreme probability that they would have to pay for their malpractices. He would join very strongly in the representation of his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Assheton Cross) as to the policy of sending this measure to a Standing Committee. The Attorney General himself had not said why he thought it desirable to do so. The measure had very little to do with law, except in so far as that every measure which came before the House had something to do with a change in the law. He would suggest that it might just as well be sent to the Standing Committee on Trade, which had nothing to do at the present moment, and which would have the advantage of again being led by the President of the Board of Trade, who was well acquainted with every sort of electioneering, and whose experience might prove useful in the matter. He confessed that he would be extremely sorry to see this measure run the risk of getting into the troubled waters of a Standing Committee, and he would, therefore, venture when the question came up to challenge the proposal. He hoped, however, that the Attorney General, after what he had heard, and what he would hear in that debate, would be led to alter the conclusion to which he had come. The House ought to take a Bill of this sort in hand with great vigour and decision, and he thought that on Constitutional grounds the measure should remain under the consideration of the House. The result would be better if it were discussed in Committee of the Whole House, rather than committed to a delegated body such as a Grand Committee.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he held that if the Bill was to be passed at all it must go to a Grand Committee. He understood it was proposed to make the Bill applicable to Scotland. He should like to know if that were the case, and how it was intended to proceed with the introduction of clauses giving effect to the intention?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, that it was intended to extend the Bill to Scotland. There would be no difficulty in introducing the necessary clauses.

Mr. GORST said, he also cordially concurred in the admiration expressed with reference to the principle of the Bill. He, however, maintained that the success of the Act of last year was entirely due to the limitation of expenses. He doubted whether the present Bill would be successful unless the expenses were similarly limited. Bribery had been undoubtedly committed in municipal elections with a view to subsequent Parliamentary elections, and the present Bill would not put a stop to the practice. A clause should be inserted to limit the expenditure. With that addition, he thought that the Bill would work as well as that of last year.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he was afraid that the Attorney General would be disappointed in his hope that the Bill would bring forward a better class of men for municipal elections. There was a great deal of corruption going on that was done, not by individuals, but by collective bodies, who had the control of charity and other funds, and he doubted whether the Bill would reach those cases. He did not see any reason why London should have been exempted from the action of the Bill; but still, in his opinion, the Bill was distinctly a step in the right direction.

Mr. STOREY said, he thought there was a good deal in what had just fallen from the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) with reference to the limitation of expenditure at these elections. He, too, wished to take this opportunity of pressing upon the Government that in such a Bill it was absolutely necessary that a clause limiting the expenditure should be inserted. The misfortune in this matter was that the

Law Officers of the Crown had had, comparatively speaking, no experience, except in reference to elections in small boroughs, and, as all knew, the circumstances therein were certainly dissimilar to the circumstances of large towns. He understood the hon. and learned Attorney General also to say just now that such a thing as large expenditure over municipal elections was not common. Well, if he correctly apprehended what he said, he could only say that he spoke in total ignorance of the subject. Why, he knew of an election in a Midland town only a few months ago where in a single ward of the borough, which had at least 12 wards, there was in that single ward an expenditure by two candidates of £700 in order to settle which of them should represent it. Nor was that an exceptional case. He had known in his own experience in various towns very large expenditure at such elections — sums spent varying from £100, £200, and £250 —in a single ward. Now, if these sums were multiplied by the number of wards in the towns—and very often at the November ward contests there were elections in all the wards of a borough—they got absolutely a much larger sum spent in the month of November in municipal elections than could be spent in Parliamentary Elections. He therefore impressed very strongly on the Attorney General—having had, he was sorry to say, very large experience in such matters in more than one town—the absolute necessity there was of providing for the limitation of the expenditure at these elections.

Mr. ONSLOW said, that the expenditure in ward elections did not always fall on the candidates. The amount necessary was to some extent obtained by large subscriptions, and that money undoubtedly was employed to influence voters. In small boroughs, if a legal limit were put on expenditure at municipal elections, and that limit was exceeded, it would be difficult to find anybody to prosecute, especially as he might be floored on some technical point and have to pay very heavy costs. No doubt, there was excitement at municipal elections; but it was nothing as compared with the excitement at Parliamentary elections. However strict were the rules laid down in that matter, they would be evaded in small places, although in large towns, like Manchester or Liverpool, where political feeling ran high, they might get men who would prosecute. In a small town, if a tradesman prosecuted another for bribery his business would go at once, and he would not deem it prudent in his own interest to do so. [The Attorney General (Sir Henry James) was here understood to refer the hon. Member to the clause relating to the Public Prosecutor.] That was all very well; but who would move the Public Prosecutor to prosecute? No doubt, the Corrupt Practices Bill of last year had done a great deal of good. He witnessed the late contested election at Brighton, and had been at many similar results at Brighton before that, and he had never known any election there, at which there was less display of colours, less posting, or less expense incurred, than at the last Parliamentary contest. In conclusion, he would not oppose the second reading of that Bill, but at the same time he would urge that it should be considered in Committee of the Whole House, and not relegated to a Grand Committee. Why it should be sent to a Grand Committee he could not conceive, unless it were that the Attorney General desired to give the Committee work.

Mr. WHITLEY said, he agreed in the opinion that generally speaking the Bill was an improvement on the Bill of last Session. If he understood its principle correctly, it brought punishment more directly home to the actual offender and protected the innocent. There were, however, two alterations in the Bill to which the Attorney General had not alluded. Upon the Corrupt Practices Bill of last Session there was a long discussion as to the policy of allowing election meetings to be held at political clubs, and the result was that an exception was made in favour of those clubs in regard to meetings. In the present Bill, however, there was no suggestion in favour of political clubs. That he thought was a mistake. He agreed that the holding of such meetings at public-houses was most objectionable; but if buildings were erected where meetings might be held without the corrupting influences of public-houses, he could not see why they should not be utilized for municipal, in the same way as for Parliamentary elections. That Bill affected every man in the House, and he thought that the whole House ought to have an opportunity of considering it in Committee. He generally approved of the measure, and would give the Attorney General every aid in his power in passing it.

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, he regarded that Bill as one that was eminently fitted to be referred to the tribunal of a Grand Committee, and he believed that the Government had exercised a very wise discretion in proposing that it should be sent to such a Committee. He, at the same time, took the opportunity of saying that he thought the Bill went unnecessarily far; and while he cordially agreed in the expediency of extending the Corrupt Practices Act to municipal elections, he could not see that it was requisite to apply all its provisions to the election of Poor Law Guardians and members of School Boards. They had to be careful in legislation of that kind not to lay traps for innocent persons, who might, for some trivial act connected with these minor elections, be exposed to very heavy penalties.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, he had not intended to speak in that debate; but since he came down to the House he understood that a serious charge had been made against the constituency which he had the honour to represent. He was told that the hon. Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth) had said that at municipal elections in the City of London votes were bought and sold as sheep were bought and sold in the market. He would ask, then, how it was that year by year in the various municipal wards of the City of London men were elected without any contest? There were, he thought, only two or three contests on last St. Thomas's Day in the City, and for one of those contests the hon. Member for Chelsea was responsible, because that hon. Member brought a friend into the ward to contest the seat of a much-honoured member of the Common Council, a strong Liberal in politics. In all the wards the same men were generally elected from year to year. In corrupt Parliamentary boroughs there was always a contest—they did not like "dry elections." If the constituency of the City of London were corrupt, why was it that they had not contests? He repudiated the statement of the hon. Member because it had been made in the House. Of what the hon. Member said out of the House he did not take any notice. The hon. Member for Chelsea was a man of high honour, but he had a craze about the City of London; and if the hon. Gentleman were told that either his hon. Friend and Brother Alderman opposite the Member for Finsbury (Sir Andrew Lusk) or he (the Lord Mayor) had poisoned their grandmother, he would believe it like a shot.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he was afraid the Bill would not work without a whitewashing clause with respect to past corrupt transactions similar to the one in the Act of last Session. There was always an aversion on either side to have past elections looked into, so that, without one, unless the party workers on both sides were free from the risk of having old events opened up, they would never be able to start on a better footing. He wished to join in the protest against sending this Bill to a Grand Committee. When the Committees were formed they were divided into two classes —a Committee on Law and a Committee on Trade. He defied anyone to bring this Bill within the definition of matters proper for the Committee on Law. It would be as easy to bring it within the scope of the Committee on Trade. It seemed to him that, with respect to these Committees, if the work of the Committees was not limited to Bills having relation to the subjects with which they were intended to be exclusively occupied, it would soon come to be the prerogative of certain Ministers of the Crown to send all Bills introduced by them to Grand Committees. This course of proceeding might be used in derogation of the Privileges of the House.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT said, he hoped the Attorney General would consider the question regarding the maximum limit of expenditure. Coming, as he did, from a large city, and familiar as he was with the fact that there was a large expenditure in times of municipal elections, he should be very much disappointed if the Bill of this year was different from the measure of last year.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he was struck with the tone assumed by hon. Gentlemen opposite in reference to the sending of Bills to Grand Committees. He had been especially struck with the opinion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Lanarkshire (Sir Edward Colebrooke), who spoke of the Bill as being admirably suited for reference to a Grand Committee. The reasons which had been given clashed somewhat harshly with a great deal of somewhat exaggerated language to which the House had been compelled to listen not long ago as to the great improvement which might be confidently expected in their method of conducting Business by making use of those Grand Committees. The hon. Baronet had said that this Bill dealt with a subject which had been completely thrashed out, and was, therefore, capable of being dealt with in a Grand Committee. Hon. Members who had to listen to the discussions respecting the great principle of devolution must have had their original anticipations shaken when a staunch supporter of the Ministry defended the reference of a Bill to a Grand Committee on the ground that it dealt with a subject already thrashed out, and, therefore, would not introduce any political controversy. He thought the House would do well to consider how it initiated again this Session the system which had failed—the system of so-called devolution. What had been the result of the system last year? Hon. Members knew perfectly well that the so-called Grand Committees were universally admitted to be merely overgrown Select Committees, incapable of applying their energies to matters of detail with the force and the weight which a Select Committee was known to possess. When a Bill was referred to a so-called Grand Committee it had, for all practical purposes, been withdrawn from the cognizance of the House until the measure had reached such a stage as to have secured for all practical purposes its passage into law. As to the system of Grand Committees, however, it was not his intention to refer to the principle of it in any detail. He thought that when the House was asked by the Government, by Notice publicly given, to withdraw a measure from the immediate cognizance of the House, and to refer it to a Tribunal which, not only the Members of the House, but every person who was capable of forming an intelligent view of the conduct of Public Business, had admitted to have signally failed in carrying out the original high anticipations of its authors, the House ought to be very careful. The Attorney General had had appeals made to him to reconsider what he ventured to say was a most unwise resolve on his part, to refer this Bill to a Grand Committee. This was a matter which closely concerned a large number of their constituents, and it was a subject which was likely to form a topic of correspondence already sufficiently large with hon. Members. Those Members, therefore, who were not upon these so-called Grand Committees, would feel it their duty at the various stages open to them to exercise their position as independent Members of the House to open up any question which they might consider worthy to be dealt with by the House itself, whether or not attempts might have been previously made to dispose of those questions before another Tribunal. If the Attorney General had any corner in his mind open for the reconsideration of his determination, he hoped he would, while there was yet time, avoid being led into another of those fiascoes which he (Mr. J. Lowther) regretted to think had succeeded in monopolizing so large a share of the invaluable time and energies of the hon. and learned Gentleman.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he thought the Bill was eminently fitted to go before a Grand Committee, and that the gloomy anticipations of hon. Members opposite who objected to this course amounted, he would not say to Obstruction, but, at all events, to a denial to that House of the power of carrying through any kind of secondary legislation. If the system of Grand Committees had not fulfilled the expectations entertained of it, the reason was that the system had not been carried far enough; and he believed that until they consented to refer the greater number of the Bills that came before the House to Grand Committees, the House would never again get into working order. They wanted a radical reform of the procedure of the House in that direction.

MR. MAC IVER said, he entirely disagreed with the hon. Member who had just sat down. Having served on a Grand Committee, he knew what waste of time it was for any person whose time was worth anything to serve on those Committees, and how much they withdrew the subjects submitted to them from the proper consideration of the House. He joined with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) in appealing to the Attorney General to withdraw this Bill from the consideration of the Grand Committee. The Corrupt Practices Act, which had been, to a great extent, a success, was so because it had the cordial support of hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House. Both sides of the House were equally wishful to so amend the Corrupt Practices Act that it might be effective to prevent corruption. It was the desire of both sides that it should be a workable Act. It was far better, he thought, that the House should return to its old principle, and have measures discussed in the House rather than send them to the Grand Committees.

Mr. RITCHIE said, he thought that, on the whole, the discussions which took place upon the Bankruptcy Bill last year in Grand Committee were of an eminently practical character. He was sorry he could not agree with hon. Gentlemen on his side of the House in thinking that this Bill should not be referred to a Grand Committee. They were all of opinion that the principle of the Bill was of a sound nature, and that some such measure should be passed into law; but there was very little chance of the Bill becoming law this Session, unless it was referred to a Grand Committee. The measure was of a non-contentious character, and all Members of the House were interested in seeing that the wheels of the House of Commons were greased, in order to enable them to pass a measure which the country expected them to pass. If, therefore, a Division should be taken now, he, for one, should vote for the reference of the Bill to a Grand Committee.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he would appeal to the House to allow the matter to be decided now. The House had met at 2 o'clock to dispose of a Bill upon which there was really no practical difference of opinion, and almost every Member who had spoken on both sides had concurred in the principle of the Bill, and that it ought to be passed. They had then been four hours and a-half in the House, and had not yet come to a decision on the second reading. He hoped, at all events, the Bill might be allowed to be read a second time, and then before the Sitting closed they might determine the other question of referring it to a Grand Committee. It would not be to the credit of the House if, when such a Bill was before it, the Sitting should close without judgment having been pronounced upon it.

Mr. HICKS said, that hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House were quite as anxious as hon. Members on the Ministerial side to support any measure which would put down corruption. The support the Government had received last year in the passage of the Bill dealing with the election of Members to that House ought to have taught them that they might safely trust the present Bill to a full Committee of the House. If the Attorney General would assent to the suggestion made to him, and withdraw his intention to send this Bill to a Grand Committee, he was quite sure that the discussion might at once stop, and that the Bill, having been read a second time, might go to a Committee of the Whole House and very soon be worked into a measure satisfactory to all parties. If the Bill was referred to a Grand Committee, it would have to be again discussed when it returned, and it would be far better to have it conducted in the old Constitutional way in that House.

Mr. LEAMY said, he doubted very much if such a thing as corrupt practice at municipal elections existed in Ireland. The idea of spending money in that way would never occur to people in that country. He believed if the Government had stated, when the proposal to institute Grand Committees was before the House, that such measures as this would be referred to those Committees, they would not have obtained half the support they had received. This Bill was not at all required in Ireland, and they thought they had already a sufficient number of Bills with pains and penalties in that country. He might, therefore, inform the Home Secretary of the intention of the Irish Members to move that the Bill should not apply to Ireland.

Mr. WARTON said, he objected to the reference of this Bill to a Grand Committee on the ground that the Government were preventing the House from having its rights. The House had a right to full and ample discussions on the stage of the second reading, and on the Motion to go into Committee; but that right seemed to have been temporarily lost. The penalities in this Bill were excessive; and he wished also to point out that the Attorney General was inconsistent with his proposals last year. Why, for instance, should the House of Commons be asked to treat the Licensed Victuallers' trade with contempt? Why did the Attorney General think it right one year, and wrong another, that meetings should be held in public-houses? Why was it that he now said he would not have meetings in public-houses, "because municipal elections were rather rough affairs?"

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

MOTION.

—o—

TRAMWAYS PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under "The Tramways Act, 1870," relating to Birmingham and Aston Tramways, Blackpool Tramways, Bootle-cum-Linacre Corporation Tramway, Cardiff Tramways (Extensions), Dudley, Sedgley, and Wolverhampton Tramways, Liverpool Corporation Tramways (Extensions), and Nottingham Tramways, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and Mr. JOHN HOLMS.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 180.]

The House suspended its Sitting at five minutes to Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

LOCAL AND IMPERIAL TAXATION.

RESOLUTION.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD, in rising to call the attention of the House to the composition of the Public Revenue; and to move—

"That, accepting the principle which would adjust every man's taxation to his ability, this House desires that local and Imperial Taxation shall (whenever they are coincident) be levied upon a common basis and by a common measure of value; that Imperial Taxes shall, as regards the products of property, be (like local rates) charged upon their net or rateable annual value; and that industrial incomes shall be allowed, prior to assessment for Income Tax, an abatement, in compensation of their perishable nature,"

said, the question was one which affected several very important interests in the country, and had an important bearing, not only upon the levying of Imperial and local taxation, but also upon their administration and expenditure. Taxation and Revenue were too often regarded as convertible terms; and the amounts of the entries under the head of Expenditure in the official Statements of "Public Income and Expenditure" were assumed to be derived from the taxation of the country. This was very far from being the case. Of the £89,000,000 standing under the head of Income, £12,000,000 were repayments and cross entries, reducing the actual "Income" in 1883-4 to £77,000,000, from which again must be deducted the revenue from "Crown Services," "Crown Rights," and "Crown Lands." The sum actually raised by taxation was £73,000,000, of which the Income Tax contributed £12,000,000. It was especially to the Income Tax that he invited the attention of the House through the Resolution which proposed to adjust its assessment to the principle upon which local rates to the amount of £28,000,000 were already levied. How should the National Income be raised? To his mind, nothing was more obvious than that it should be the result of an aggregation of certain portions taken rateably from all individual incomes. The State, in the levying of that income, ought to be guided by the principle laid down by Adam Smith, "that every subject should be taxed in proportion to his ability"—that was, "in proportion to the revenue he enjoyed under the protection of the State." And it would be observed that the ability to expend, or, practically, expenditure, was the interpretation of Adam Smith's axiom. The Income Tax was, unhappily, not levied upon this sound principle, for it taxed at their nominal amounts of £1,200, incomes so widely different as these—A capitalist had a mortgage yielding him net £1,200; a landowner, out of a nominal rental of £1,200, had £1,100 net; a houseowner, out of £1,200, had but £1,000 net; and a millowner, out of a rental of £1,200, had £800 net. This inequality was the more marked in the case of incomes derived from landed property, which might be so heavily mortgaged, or otherwise encumbered, that the nominal owner, when he had paid interest on the mortgages and tax on the supposed income, would have hardly any residue. Take the case of a houseowner with his nominal rental of £1,200 reduced by outgoings to £900. He might owe £900 as interest on a mortgage, and he had to pay out of his net residue of £100, Income Tax on £300, or in a ratio thrice as large as that of the capitalist mortgagee. A landowner with a burthened property would be in the same position, or worse, for with the present reduction of rents he might be compelled to pay Income Tax on the outgoings of his land without having any residue on which to live. The remedy was obvious—simply to levy the taxation, not on the nominal value, but on the rateable net value. Passing from the owners of property of this nature, he would refer to the case of owners of industrial incomes, those living by the exercise of their skill and intelligence, such as barristers or officials of that House, who were taxed upon the whole of their receipts. He would ask, on behalf of all classes earning industrial incomes, such an amount of remission of taxation as would place them in a position of safety as regarded the future—that was, in the same position relatively as the owners of real property, who, in the case of local rates, enjoyed reductions of from 10 to 33 per cent. His proposal was that all purely industrial gains be allowed an abatement of one-third to place them on an equality with the net results of the rents of real property. This concession would be nothing more than carrying out the principles enunciated by Adam Smith, and it was merely extending to industrial earnings the same principle of assessment which the House had already adopted on the subject of local taxation. He wanted to know why was it that the principle which had been declared by the House to be right, sound, and just, to be scientifically true, and to be equal as between individuals in respect of their property, was to be denied in the taxation of the same properties for the Queen's taxes? The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department would know that, in his Department, in the case of determining licences or qualifications which depended upon a certain amount of value, the decisions were determined on the rateable value; and he would, therefore, call upon the right hon. Gentleman to support him in extending the same enlightened policy to the levy of taxes. He would now refer to the important decision of the House of Lords in the case of "Dobbs *v.* The Grand Junction Waterworks Company"—a decision which gave to his cause a force which no indifference or sophistry could resist. In delivering that decision, Lord Bramwell said—

> "What is the meaning of 'Annual Value?' We may safely adopt the definition (in 6 & 7 *Will.* IV. c. 96, 1836), viz., the rent at which it would let free of all usual tenants' rates and taxes, and deducting therefrom the probable average annual cost of the repairs, insurance, and other expenses, if any, necessary to maintain them in a state to command such rent. This is their value, this is the value, the net, the only value. . . . . 'Value' means 'net value,' 'net value' means 'value.'"

It was upon that decision that he placed his hope and confidence; and he thought the House, and he trusted the Government, would not continue to shut their ears and eyes to the evidence of such a decision with reference to the administration of that important branch of the Revenue which constituted the Queen's taxes. It was right to deduct from industrial earnings previous to their assessment the proportion which would be equivalent to their renovation or permanence. The millowner was allowed a deduction of 33 per cent on his machinery; but the professional man, who might be called a "human mill," as perishable as the other, was charged upon the gross income he received. The man himself could not be replaced, but his income might be; he could secure to his family the same amount which he could now spare out of his earnings. As regarded the question of what the amount should be, very able actuaries and students of scientific taxation had determined that one-half of an industrial income would not be an excessive amount to allow as a reduction for taxation. His (Mr. Hubbard's) calculation was that a practising barrister, earning £1,200 a-year, should lay by one-third of it, say, in a policy of insurance, as a provision for his family. That would be simply carrying out a principle which had been adopted—namely, to allow a deduction from income not exceeding one-sixth for Income Tax. The only defect in that clause was that one-sixth was not enough; it should be not less than one-third; and it was also absurd to bind people down to insurance as the only means of providing for their families. Government, and the Prime Minister himself, had already accepted the principle in the case of a premium for insurance. One advantage of the acceptance of the proposal which he placed before the House would be that it would bring into harmony the two great branches of public Revenue—the local rates, amounting to £28,000,000, and the Income Tax to £10,000,000 or £12,000,000 more; and it would bring them under the same valuation list and a common collection, which would be a source of great economy, and save the taxpayer a large amount of molestation, as he would have one instead of two visits from the collector. The necessity for introducing some method which should relieve the taxpayer under the Income Tax was unavoidable, for the amount of demoralization it had caused was hardly to be described. In by no means a distant Report on the Income Tax Revenue, it was stated that of the amounts which should be returned under Schedule D only 44 per cent came under charge. That was a frightful picture, for as Schedule D was the result of self-assessment, it really pointed to fraud. Moreover, this violation of honesty and truth in the Return was provoked by the injustice of the tax itself. So completely had some become reconciled to these disgraceful consequences of the tax that Mr. Lowe, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated that people had the remedy in their own hands; and why should the Government care about it? He protested against the continuance of a system which demoralized both the administrators and the victims of the tax. Instances had been known of high officials counselling their subordinates not to inform the public of their rights, but to allow the taxpayer to pay far beyond his legal liability. But was the Income Tax a tax which could be done away with? The Prime Minister, some years ago, gave the people to understand that the Income Tax would be repealed; and he mentioned the other day, in a letter printed in *The Times*, that at the time he expressed that opinion the finances of the country were in such a state as to make the repeal of the Income Tax a very probable event. He (Mr. Hubbard) had no doubt the Prime Minister said that with perfect sincerity; but what he (Mr. Hubbard) had to say was, that he was not the best doctor who killed the patient. The best doctor was he who cured. If the Income Tax were repealed, he wanted to know by what means they would bring the enormous wealth of traders under contribution to the service of the State. The Income Tax was the only tax which reached the owners of vast incomes who might spend them in dissipation in Paris or elsewhere abroad; and it was the only way of reaching the large Corporations. What was required was a re-adjustment of the tax; and he was in favour of the tax being maintained, because it was the only means by which all classes of the community could, according to their ability, be brought under a charge for the general service of the State. It was objected that the effect of his proposal would be to increase the burdens of the large capitalists, while lightening those of other classes. That was undoubtedly so; but no one could justly complain if those who were undertaxed had their burdens equalized with those who were overtaxed. No doubt, one class would feel the operation of the change, and that was the rich capitalist class; they would be more heavily charged, while, on the other hand, it would relieve those who lived by their brains and industry. It would weigh heavily on the idle permanent income, and relieve the industrial but perishable income. They could not readjust an unequally distributed burden without its pressing upon some more severely than it did before. If A, E, I, O, and U were engaged to carry between them a given load, upon equal terms, and it was presently discovered that A, E, and I had been carrying more than their share, it was obvious that O and U would, under an equal distribution of the load, carry more than they did before. In this matter he had been moved solely by a desire to do his duty for the benefit of the country; and he trusted the Prime Minister would see his way to the introduction of a measure which would harmonize and combine the system of public taxes and local rates so as to make them more just and satisfactory. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer also would be able to approve of a scheme which their own experienced officials were quite competent to carry out, which would remove all the inequalities and grievances under which the taxpayers now labour, and would substitute, for a system unjust, unequal, and demoralizing, one which would raise a portion of the Revenue easily and effectively as regarded the Crown, and acceptably and satisfactorily as regarded the taxpayer. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Mr. TOMLINSON seconded the Resolution.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "accepting the principle which would adjust every man's taxation to his ability, this House desires that Local and Imperial Taxation shall (whenever they are coincident) be levied upon a common basis and by a common measure of value; that Imperial Taxes shall, as regards the products of property, be (like local rates) charged upon their net or rateable annual value, and that industrial incomes shall be allowed, prior to assessment for Income Tax, an abatement, in compensation of their perishable nature,"—(*Mr. J. G. Hubbard,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, my remarks on the speech of the right hon. Gentleman will be partly critical and partly apologetic; but before I proceed to them I wish to make an observation as to the circumstances under which this Motion has been made. Yesterday, with a perfectly good conscience and a firm conviction, the right hon. Gentleman made a Motion, and stated to the House that he had to call attention to a definite matter of urgent public importance, and full 40 Gentlemen from the division of the House opposite to that in which I have the honour to sit rose to their feet to support the assertion of the right hon. Gentleman that the discussion he proposed to bring on to-night was a definite matter of urgent public importance. The right hon. Gentleman has brought on his Motion, has delivered his speech, and the numbers present in that division of the House which yielded yesterday, with such ease, 40 Members to make that assertion of the urgency of the subject have varied from between three to six. [Mr. Warton: No.] I am stating matters of fact, which cannot be shaken by negation that appears to proceed from utter forgetfulness of fact. The numbers have varied between three and six —I should say seven; but out of the seven some have been here in anticipation of an interesting and, I think, rather urgent subject, the discussion of which was likely to follow. That is a curious illustration of the state of feeling——[*Interruption.*] An hon. Baronet opposite interrupts me.

Mr. WARTON: No; it was I who did so.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I beg pardon; it was the hon. and learned Member for Bridport, who, in the exercise of his traditional privilege of disorder, interrupted me.

Mr. WARTON: I rise to explain my interruption. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The Prime Minister is in possession of the House.

Mr. WARTON: Am I not to say anything? I wish to make an explanation. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. GLADSTONE: There was great sympathy with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard), on the ground that if he brought forward his Motion last night he would not have fair play, because he would have been liable to have the discussion mingled with other subjects. There is, however, one advantage which the right hon. Gentleman would at least have had, and that is that he would have had the House pretty full to hear his statement, instead of the lank and lean attendance which has distinguished the portion of the House which was last night so deeply interested in the matter. But it is somewhat remarkable that the most fervent appeal made last night from the Front Bench opposite came from the right hon. Gentleman the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith), who testifies so deep and philanthropic an interest in the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman that he has not thought fit to honour him with his presence during a single sentence of his speech. These appear to me to be very extraordinary circumstances. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport, or any other Member, may comment on them as they think fit; but they seem to me extraordinary circumstances in connection with the arrangement of Business in this House. I am very sorry that the right hon. Gentleman has not had greater justice done to him, on a subject, too, upon which I am sure he has bestowed the greatest pains; for there is no one in this House who is more able to explain his views on any question connected with political economy with clearness and force than is the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman has devoted himself to this matter with a chivalrous loyalty. He began upon it shortly after his entrance into Parliament, now more than 20 years ago; and I believe that he will pursue it to the death. It reminds me of the Crusades. They began somewhere about the year 1100, and they continued at intervals for about two and a-half centuries; and if the condition of human life, now so much less happy than in the patriarchal age, permitted the right hon. Gentleman to extend his Parliamentary career to a period as lengthened as that embraced by the Crusades, I am sure that at the end of two centuries and a-half the right hon. Gentleman would still be found arguing with undeniable force and all his clearness of demonstration in favour of his plan for the reconstruction of the Income Tax. But the right hon. Gentleman must be content to look to the interest of this question. He has had some experience of it; and what has his experience been? In 1861 I had the honour to be Chancellor of the Exchequer; and then the right hon. Gentleman made a speech of much the same character as that which he has delivered to-night, and, if I remember aright, in greater detail. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, having had a responsible experience of this matter which the right hon. Gentleman has never had, I opposed his Motion; but he beat me by a majority of four, and obtained what was then the great object of his desire—a Select Committee to examine into his plans. Before that Committee the right hon. Gentleman developed his views with a fulness not here permitted. He called the most distinguished advocates of those views to support them in evidence; he made no complaint as to the impartiality or the ability of that Committee; and when I point out that, not to mention others, there sat on the Committee such men as my noble Friend Lord Sherbrooke and as the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), it is plain that the House of Commons had done its best to make it an efficient and able Committee. That Committee produced a considerable Blue Book. The right hon. Gentleman himself was Chairman of that Committee, and had every advantage of bringing forward and pressing upon the minds of the Committee all the arguments that he has adumbrated—and necessarily only adumbrated—to-night. And what was the result? When the evidence had been taken, the right hon. Gentleman prepared a most elaborate and most able Report, setting forth these same views. The Committee were quite unable to accept the Report of their Chairman. They stated with sufficient frankness in the brief Report which they presented to the House that they had arrived at the conclusion that the plan proposed by their Chairman did not afford a basis for the practicable and equitable re-adjustment of the Income Tax. That was the effect produced on a Committee composed of the most able men by a full and accurate and open examination of the subject. And after having carried his Motion for a Committee, and failed to convince his Committee, which rejected his Report and adopted instead of it a Report drawn up by the right hon. Member for North Devon, the right hon. Gentleman now comes here and thinks that on the strength of a speech, however ingenious and clever, the House is to embark itself in the desperate undertaking that he invites it to enter upon.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD: I wish to explain that it is not the same scheme, and it is a new Parliament, without prejudices.

MR. GLADSTONE: It is a new Parliament, and a new generation, if you like; but I have not done with my history of the case; and, at any rate, there is this to be said—that the Leader of the Opposition and of the Party to which the right hon. Gentleman belongs is the same Gentleman who drew the Report from which I have just made a quotation. Whether it is a new or an old Parliament, it, of course, has a perfect right to change its mind if it sees fit. What I have pointed out is simply this—not that we are bound by the acts of a former Parliament, but that a former Parliament did make a thorough and systematic examination before the right hon. Gentleman's Committee, that being a Committee of which he cannot complain, and after that examination rejected the plan of the right hon. Gentleman, and adopted a Report on a completely different basis. I am reminded that the right hon. Gentleman was a witness before that Committee as well as its Chairman, so that he had every opportunity of setting forth his views with the utmost advantage, and he failed in no part of his duty. It is right that I should mention that when it came to the question of supporting the views of the right hon. Gentleman by the Gentlemen who had gone through the investigation, the numbers were, for my right hon. Friend, two, and against him seven. That was the division of opinion in the Committee which heard the case. Well, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has shown, or endeavoured to show, various inequalities in the Income Tax. I do not contest one of them. I make a whole armful of concessions to him. I think I have had reason to know more of the Income Tax in the course of the 12 years that I was Chancellor of the Exchequer than even the right hon. Gentleman does. I will not accuse the right hon. Gentleman of exaggerating those inequalities; it is hardly possible to exaggerate them. The right hon. Gentleman has only touched on a few of them. Well, what is to follow? He says at the end of his speech that he offers us a scheme which our own official men are ready to carry into effect. I want to know what authority he has for that statement. I can only say that I have had large experience of the Board of Inland Revenue under three or four different Chairmen, and all those who were connected with them; and I never knew one who was ready to embark in the hopeless enterprize proposed by the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD: I have offered no scheme to-day; there is none before the House. What I said was, that the able officials of the Inland Revenue Department could, with great ease, prepare a scheme for carrying out the principles of my Resolution.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am glad to have elicited that explanation from the right hon. Gentleman. He gave his opinion of what the officials of the Inland Revenue Board would be ready to do. I thought he had said that they were ready to carry out his scheme. There is all the difference between the two things. What the right hon. Gentleman's opinion is of the capacity of the officers of the Inland Revenue Department is no doubt important; but it is not so important that we can prevail on them to prepare such a scheme. Every Chairman of the Board whom I have known, from Mr. J. Wood to Mr. Charles Pressley, regarded this scheme as a wholly visionary project, though, no doubt, philanthropic and benevolent in intention, and as absolutely impossible of practical application. But the right hon. Gentleman says he proposes to relieve certain Schedules and to increase the burden on certain other Schedules. I remember another Gentleman who was not less benevolent than the right hon. Gentleman. He was a very able man, and one much accustomed to speak upon finance in this House, I mean the late Sir Fitzroy Kelly, who went to a constituency and attacked the inequalities of the Income Tax. He began with Schedule A, and he said that it suffered most grossly, as the right hon. Gentleman also said, and that was to receive a handsome reduction. Then he went on to Schedule B, touching the farmers' profits, and he said that that was a cruel shame, and they were to have a handsome reduction. He came to Schedule D, and he said that case was monstrous, and it was plain they must have a handsome reduction. Then he passed on to Schedule E, dealing with officials' salaries, and he said these were men whose remunerations were measured in the nicest way, and it was monstrous to lay on them the full tax, and they were to have a handsome reduction. He then came to Schedule C—the fundholders—who, relying on the public faith, had accepted the lowest interest, and he ended by saying that they also should have a handsome reduction. But what he failed to do was to exhibit the numerical and financial result of allowing handsome reductions to these gentlemen all round. He made a most popular speech without exhibiting a practical result. That is not the right hon. Gentleman's course; but I observe the right hon. Gentleman was what the Scotch call "canny." In his references to the Schedule I heard him speak of E I U, I did not hear him mention O; but it seemed all through to be A E I O U. Why was it necessary to go to the five vowels? We have got the first five letters of the alphabet, and is that not just as good? A B C D E he would not touch. He thought it was better to generalize a little, and detach the operation of his plan from dry, hard, matter-of-fact, because the right hon. Gentleman yesterday had the great advantage of enjoying the support of the landed interest. They rose on his behalf in order to insure this discussion. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Who rose then? I constantly hear it boasted from that quarter of the House that they are the landed interest. I believe there are some other people in the House who have got land; but, at the same time, they are always calling themselves the "landed interest" by way of excellence. They are entitled to do that, and I believed in calling the Party opposite the landed interest I was paying a compliment. Well, now, what is the right hon. Gentleman who got those 40 Gentlemen to rise and help forward this Motion going to do with Schedule A? If he had taken A B C D and E, instead of the vowels, it would have been necessary to particularize, and to have said we will lighten A B and C, and tax further I and U. No; he is not going to tax I and U, except upon the five vowels; but among the actual Schedules taxed he is going to tax further Schedule A as the main basis of his operations. Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to tell me that if he has got £12,000,000 to raise by the Income Tax, and has begun by allowing a reduction of 33 per cent on D and E, he will get his £12,000,000 without further taxing Schedule A?

MR. J. G. HUBBARD: It is my firm conviction that in the recommendation which I have made Schedule A would, as nearly as possible, be in the same position as it is now, with this advantageous result from an adjustment, that those who are most heavily burdened would have their burdens lightened.

MR. GLADSTONE: I must investigate this a little further. I think it would have been better had he not taken those five vowels. It would have been much better if he had told us that the question really was whether Schedule A was to be burdened or not. That is the main question. Now, the right hon. Gentleman said at present you do not get upon Schedule D one-half of what you ought to get. Why do you not? Why, because of the great indignation against the injustice of the law; and, in consequence of that indignation at the Revenue, persons only pay upon 44 per cent of their income. Well, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has a faculty of imagination which came out in the last sentence of his speech, where he said that he was—I cannot remember the exact words—bringing forward a plan which would be easy of administration, lucrative in result, and satisfactory to the entire community. He offered to us a kind of paradise of taxation. I do not believe that the reason why you only get 44 per cent of this tax is this indignant sense of being oppressed. It is nothing of the kind. It is the unfortunate fact that a considerable portion of the community will escape paying dues to the Chancellor of the Exchequer if they can. At any rate, that is a question between the right hon. Gentleman and him; but what I want to know is this—the right hon. Gentleman from D and E deducts at least 33 per cent. Does he propose to deduct 33 per cent from A? No; nothing of the kind; and I will leave it to the landed interest and other gentlemen to say whether the fact of deducting 33 per cent from D and E, if the same sum of money has to be raised, will or will not be a burden on Schedule A? [MR. J. G. HUBBARD: I have not made the calculation.] I asked the right hon. Gentleman if he ventured to take 33 per cent from Schedule A; and he says no. I say that my right hon. Friend's plan manifestly goes to the burdening of Schedule A. That is a question which I have treated at great length in this House, and I will not refer to the arguments, because they are too long and intricate. I think it would have been better if the right hon. Gentleman had used the five vowels in the actual Schedule, and not have gone to the five vowels in order to obscure the operation of the plan. What is the real case? I have stated broadly to the right hon. Gentleman, and I do not question it, that there are a number of inequalities in the Income Tax, some of which he has shown, and many of which he has not shown at all, and many of which he does not seem to have any idea of. Are these inequalities incurable, or are they not? Sir, the right hon. Gentleman refers to a time when I, on the part of the Liberal Government, engaged that we should abolish the Income Tax. Why, according to the doctrine of the right hon. Gentleman, it would be a great mistake to do away with the Income Tax. That seems to be his idea. Now, can this operation of curing be performed? The right hon. Gentleman says it can; but he had the opportunity of stating his case ten times more fully before the Committee he induced the House of Commons to appoint, and that Committee, by seven to two, declared that he had entirely failed. That is an awkward fact for the right hon. Gentleman; but it is true. He was not dismayed by the adverse vote of his Committee, and he proposed it again the next year, on which occasion his majority was only four. Let me go a little further and tell him this—that with one single exception—a clever man, Mr. James Wilson—there never has been to my knowledge one single Minister or economist who had paid the slightest responsible attention to this subject for the 90 years since this tax has been established who would have concurred in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman. Mr. Pitt and Sir Robert Peel are the two greatest financiers who have been at the head of a Government. Do you not think they took the greatest possible interest in finding, if they could, those means of removing an anomaly and an injustice, and to make the tax delightful and popular to everybody. Certainly they did; and I remember very well going to Sir Robert Peel when I was a Parliamentary youngster, a character that was then, I must say, very different indeed from what it is now—after hearing something like the speech I have heard to-night. I was extremely captivated by the speech, and I spoke to Sir Robert Peel about it. He put an extinguisher upon me and my speculations in half a minute, and declared that he would not entertain for an instant a proposition such as this. I have mentioned Mr. Pitt, Sir Robert Peel, Sir George Lewis, Mr. Herries, and the right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote). Beside these I say there is not one who would support the right hon. Member for the City, and I challenge him to produce one. Why does the right hon. Gentleman not make his plan? He said that we had no plan before us—[Mr. J. G. HUBBARD: A good plan.]—that does not really touch the difficulties of the case. I do not wish to quote myself as an authority; but I would like to refer to the time when I first became Chancellor of the Exchequer, 32 years ago. At that time Mr. Disraeli, who had been the Chancellor of the Exchequer before me—as I know simply in the expression of private opinion and without any communication with the Revenue Departments—had expressed an opinion in favour of taxing Schedule D at 3*d.* and Schedule A at 7*d.* That secured, to a great extent, the votes of the Conservative Party for a plan of that kind. In the Liberal Party of that time there was an extremely free prepossession in favour of a plan of the kind; and when I became Chancellor of the Exchequer I will venture to say that if the question had to be decided there and then an immense majority would have voted for the plan of differentiating the Income Tax. In these circumstances I think it is pretty obvious that if it had been possible for me with my faculties to find a way to do it I should have done it. I spent more labour on a subject of this kind than I have ever done on almost any other subject in my life. I came down to the House and argued the case at great length, and I showed the great anomalies and difficulties involved then, and they were as nothing compared with the anomalies and difficulties which would have been involved if you had fixed differentiated duties on different Schedules. The House of Commons, by a large majority, having been induced to look closely into the case, repelled entirely these plans, and voted for the Income Tax as it had been voted before. There are two rival plans. One is that of the right hon. Gentleman. There is no doubt whatever about inequalities in the tax. The right hon. Gentleman says—"Cure the inequalities, make the tax perfect, keep it perpetual." And the other plan is—

"The tax is incurable of its inequalities, and in support of that doctrine is arrayed every man who has ever been in the position of a Minister responsible for dealing with the tax."

What said the Report of the right hon. Gentleman's own Committee? It said—

> "This tax has now been made the subject of investigation before two Committees; and, no proposal for its amendment having been found satisfactory, your Committee are brought to the conclusion that the objections which are urged against it are objections to its nature and essence rather than to any particular shape which has been given to it."

Well, it was upon that principle that we acted in 1874, when we saw that the finances of the country allowed the tax to be abolished, and when we engaged to abolish it if we were permitted. But that matter was referred to the country at a General Election; and the country chose to return a Parliament which they perfectly well knew was pledged to the Income Tax with all its inequalities. Nothing was said about removing its inequalities. They declined the offer of abolishing the tax that was given them, and the right hon. Gentleman need not trouble himself now to make many arguments against the abolition of the tax, for I can promise him that a sufficient number of years will pass over the heads of Englishmen before they will have another opportunity of abolishing it. I had been most anxious, ever since my connection with financial affairs began, to give them the choice. I gave them the choice, they took it, and the consequence cannot be disturbed for some very considerable time. One objection which I omitted to mention to the plan of the right hon. Gentleman is the sort of support which he received last night. I am not one of those who think that the land is overtaxed in this country. In the course now so freely pursued of continually transferring to the Consolidated Fund local charges, I have no doubt it will be necessary to settle accounts with those who have pushed forward that plan, and to make a just arrangement; but I do not think the land ought to be further taxed under the Income Tax as compared with the other Schedules. I have, however, a much stronger objection to the plan of the right hon. Gentleman. If I understand him rightly, he proposes to make certain allowances to Schedule A. I imagine he will undoubtedly make allowances to Schedule B, which is substantially, in his view, in the same category as Schedule D. In Schedule D he will deduct at least a third.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD: Certainly not. If you look at the Bill in your hand you will see that the deduction of one-third is entirely on industrial incomes, and not on the interest of capital.

MR. GLADSTONE: That does not touch my argument. My right hon. Friend is going to make a large reduction on Schedules D and E. What is he going to do with Schedule C?

MR. J. G. HUBBARD: I propose to make no deduction at all.

MR. GLADSTONE: Has my right hon. Friend considered the conditions under which this country contracted its loans? When it contracted its loans it gave the most solemn pledge to those who lent the money that their money should not be made the subject of taxation.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD: Quite so. Why have you taxed it?

MR. GLADSTONE: How has Mr. Pitt and how has Sir Robert Peel dealt with that? By this doctrine—that they laid the tax equally on every subject, without reference to the sources from which the income was derived. It has been in that way, and in that way alone, that those great men believed that they maintained the public faith; but my right hon. Friend proposes to cut away from under our feet that which they urged as their only defence against the charge that they were breaking faith with the public fundholders. It is impossible for the right hon. Gentleman to expect that he will find a responsible Government of this country to carry through such a plan as he proposes. He is the last man in the House who would knowingly do an act of questionable faith. This question of the fundholders is a very serious one, and it will be a very awkward thing for my right hon. Friend to come into conflict with Mr. Pitt and Sir Robert Peel when he proposes to do that which they saw would be a breach of faith with the public fundholders. I have quoted enough of historical authorities. It is all very well for ingenious Gentlemen to make speeches on this subject. I agree with very much that my right hon. Friend says, and I agree with a vast deal more that might be said; but, as to the point of practicability, I must say that those who have been in the position to be responsible in this matter in long succession, continued throughout many generations, without a motive to draw them aside from the right path, but with every motive to make them pursue it, are safer guides in a matter of this importance than what I regard as the academical speculations of my right hon. Friend.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL assured the Prime Minister that he and those who sat around him on the Opposition side were induced to take the action they did yesterday by their desire to maintain the rights of private Members, which, in their opinion, seemed to be threatened. He himself had been ignorant of the very terms of the Motion, though the name of his right hon. Friend was as closely connected with the subject of the Income Tax as that of Richard Cœur de Lion was with the crusades.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, he thought the Prime Minister was unnecessarily severe on the Gentlemen of the Opposition. The other night they panted for information as to General Gordon up to 7 o'clock, when the Sitting was suspended. The British Constitutional Party had then to go to dinner—for the British Constitution must be maintained—and at 9 none of them returned. He did not intend to go into the intricacies of this question, but wished to remark that he called attention to one particular branch of it last year, when an important error arose in the discussion. To the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill he moved an Amendment for the purpose of preventing the Chancellor of the Exchequer from putting his paw on incomes that never came into the United Kingdom. The Chancellor of the Exchequer told him that a case had been tried in 1808 in which it had been decided that the whole income, whether made in England or not, was to be assessed. Still, 100 Members voted for the Motion objecting to that which was stated to be the law. His own solicitor being unable to find the case in the published reports, he applied for a reference to it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Private Secretary, who furnished him with the full particulars of the case, from which it appeared that what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been advised was a legal decision was only the opinion of the Inland Revenue Board, which was not upheld by the Income Tax Commissioners, the case being that of a gentleman who carried on trade in Ireland, which was not then subject to Income Tax, and who, having for some time paid tax on the whole income, succeeded in obtaining exemption, except for the portion of his income which was expended in England. In these circumstances, he should raise the point again this year on the Inland Revenue Bill; and it was probable that some hon. Members who did not vote previously against what they were told was the law would support his Motion, which was in conformity with the law.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he understood that the object of the discussion on the Motion for the Morning Sitting was to prevent interference with the rights of private Members; and he was under the impression that the first subject to be discussed was the Motion on Portpatrick Harbour, which it was said would not take long, but would lead to a Division. On reaching the House at five minutes to 10 he was surprised to find that the House was not discussing the first Motion on the Paper; and he believed many of his Friends were absent in the belief that that Motion would occupy more than an hour, and that the Motion on the Income Tax would be reached at a later period. He must emphasize one thing which had fallen from the Prime Minister. It had been shown clearly what the anomalies in the Income Tax were, and the Prime Minister had admitted that the anomalies were cruel; but he said they could not be remedied, and therefore they must be perpetuated as long as the Income Tax itself. He said there were the greatest possible difficulties in remedying them.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Not difficulties, but impossibilities.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that the right hon. Gentleman's correction proved his case further than he had ventured to state it. It followed that if the Income Tax were continued the anomalies could not be removed. In 1874 the right hon. Gentleman offered the constituencies the greatest bribe ever held out to them—namely, the abolition of the Income Tax; but the constituencies resolutely and boldly refused to accept it, and now it seemed, because of this refusal, no attempt was to be made to remedy the inequalities, although it was admitted that the operation of them amounted to cruelty. He entirely agreed in the views of his right hon. Friend, and he had hoped that some expectation would have been held out to the public that the existing inequalities which the Prime Minister admitted would have received some attention from him with a view to their removal. The Prime Minister, however, adopted a different course. He seemed to have taken offence because the country did not accept the bribe of the promised abolition of the Income Tax; but surely that was no reason why some attempt should not be made to remedy its inequalities. The taxation of the country had been greatly increased since 1874, and it was equally clear that the number of articles which were taxed had gradually diminished. If the Income Tax had been abolished it was difficult to say on what articles money could be raised to meet the expenditure of the country.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I wish to explain. I must have conveyed a totally erroneous impression to the mind of the right hon. Gentleman. He says that I stated because the country refused to have the Income Tax repealed in 1874, therefore I am determined that no attempt shall be made to remedy the inequalities in its assessment. I am not aware that any word of my speech could in the slightest degree warrant that statement. In 1853, and on other occasions in this House, I stated plainly that it was impossible to reconstruct the Income Tax on the principle of different rates and allowances in the different Schedules; and the opinion I entertain on that subject is the opinion of the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon, as recorded in the Report of the Committee of 1861, and read by me to-night.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he had no remedy to propose for the inequalities. [Mr. Gladstone: Hear, hear!] As far as I can gather, that is the present position of the question.

Mr. WHITLEY said, the question was a very important one, and he had hoped that it would have been met by the Prime Minister in a different spirit to that in which he had addressed the House. Hon. Members seemed to think it only affected the owners of large property; but he could assure the House that those who suffered most were the owners of property in large towns. There they suffered from over-taxation, and he thought that by what the Prime Minister had said the House had been led away from the Resolution of his right hon. Friend (Mr. J. G. Hubbard). It was a very simple Resolution which dealt with an admitted grievance, that local taxation was upon the net value, whereas Imperial taxation was upon the gross value. This was a matter which he assured the right hon. Gentleman was oppressive, not upon the large owners of property, but upon the small owners. [Mr. Gladstone: I did not say so.] The right hon. Gentleman had stated that it would be a tax for many years to come. If it was to go forth to the people that the tax was likely to be continued, the country would be very much indebted to his right hon. Friend for having called attention to the subject. The other question was the difference between the taxation of settled incomes and the taxation of precarious incomes. He could well understand the difficulties to which the right hon. Gentleman had drawn attention; but, at the same time, the question was one worthy of serious consideration, and one which the country would expect the Government, if possible, to rectify; and he thought, therefore, that the Prime Minister had, if he would allow him to say so, led the House away from the issue before it. The Prime Minister seemed to lose sight of the real question of the right hon. Gentleman. It was a question which he was sure was deep in the minds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen—the owners of small property—and the great bulk of the constituencies must again and again have it brought before them. He was very much indebted to his right hon. Friend for having brought the question forward; but, considering the present condition of the House, he did not think it would be wise to press the matter any further.

Sir MASSEY LOPES said, he did not hesitate to say that no owner of landed property ever received, say, 80 per cent net of any property which he held. He paid Income Tax on the gross rental. There was no allowance for repairs, insurance, bad debts, &c. Let the House compare the difference with regard to trades. In trade they made their own returns, and received a liberal allowance for all those outgoings which, in the case of land, were never taken into consideration. The comparison between the treatment of traders and the treatment of owners of landed property was certainly a very grievous one. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] He would give an illustration. Only a short time ago he owned a poor property in the middle of a moor of about 100 acres. The buildings were very dilapidated. It was a question with him whether he should let it go down to common, or reconstruct the farm buildings. He was unwilling that it should go down to common, and he built upon it. The cheapest buildings he could put up cost him £700. He let it for £50 a-year, and now he had paid 14 years' Income Tax, but had not received a single farthing for the property. At no period had the landed interest suffered so much as during the last few years. Reference had been made to the question of subventions. He contended that the whole of the subventions had been absorbed entirely by the extra taxation for education, &c., which had been imposed upon the landowners since 1870. He would remind the Prime Minister that many years ago he promised that this question should be considered when the subject of local taxation came before them, and that relief should be given some other way. That promise had been kept dangling before them without any definite remedy. He sympathized very much with the Motion, because, as regarded the landed interest, they had still a very great grievance.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 73; Noes 35: Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 71.)

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

JAMAICA—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL —CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

OBSERVATIONS.

CAPTAIN PRICE, in rising to call attention to the form of Government in Jamaica, said, that the Forms of the House would not allow him to make the Motion which he had intended; but, if he had been able to do so, it would have been in these terms—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the people of Jamaica should be restored to a material share in the management of their own local and financial affairs."

There were many hon. Members of the House better fitted to deal with this question than himself. There was one in particular who was especially qualified to do so, the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon), whom he was glad to see present, who possessed an intimate knowledge of Jamaica, and who for years had shown himself ready to stand forward as a champion of the rights of the people of that country. But the accidents of the ballot had put this opportunity into his hands, and at another time he should be willing to second the hon. and learned Gentleman. He was afraid the subject which he had to bring forward that night was not one which would interest many hon. Members of the House. The day had gone by, fortunately, when the affairs of Jamaica could not be discussed without raising Party strife. Forty-five years had elapsed since Mr. Burge and Serjeant Mereweather had pleaded at the Bar of the House, in long and eloquent speeches, and pleaded successfully the right of the people of Jamaica to the control of their own affairs. The question in that day resulted in fierce and angry debates, and in the downfall of a powerful Ministry. In these days, he feared, it was more likely to result in a "Count out" of the House; or, at all events, in something very like apathy and inattention. Nevertheless, he felt it his duty to bring the matter forward, and he craved the indulgence of the House for some little time. The Blue Books and Papers recently laid on the Table would have shown hon. Members the state into which the finances of Jamaica had fallen during the 17 years of Crown Government, and the dissatisfaction of the people in consequence. They would have also shown that the matter had been under the consideration of the Government, and that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had taken what he was pleased to call a "new departure," and had promised the people of Jamaica that they should have some control over their own local and financial affairs. He proposed to examine what that really amounted to. There were hon. Members in that House, and he feared their name was "legion," who thought that Jamaica should have no Constitutional form of Government whatever, and they based their contention upon three grounds. First, they said that a Constitutional form of Government had been tried, and had proved a failure, and that the Assembly was effete and corrupt; secondly, that the people of Jamaica abolished their own Constitution, and, therefore, were out of Court in asking for its restoration; and, thirdly, they said that Crown Government had been tried in Jamaica for 17 or 18 years, and had proved a success. Upon all these points he joined issue with them in the most unhesitating manner, and he would ask leave to examine those allegations; because, by so doing, he should clear the ground of many and grave misconceptions with regard to Jamaica, and also because it would furnish him with arguments directly applicable to the case he had taken in hand. It was not true that the Assembly of Jamaica, which had existed for 200 years, was effete and corrupt, though vague and reckless charges to that effect had been made in Parliament. It had been stated over and over again that the House of Representatives in Jamaica tampered with the finances. He would give an instance of the wild and reckless charges which had been made against the old House of Assembly, and which were generally believed in this country. In the other House of Parliament, when the Act for the abolition of the House of Assembly was being passed, in 1866, Lord Taunton said—

> "In the first place, there was vested in the Jamaica House of Representatives a power of originating money votes without the sanction of the Crown. . . . What had been the result? They had ruined the finances of the country utterly."—(3 *Hansard*, [182] 124-5.)

That was said by a Nobleman who had been at the Colonial Office, and who ought to have known better. The House of Representatives had no such power. He (Captain Price) had here the Act of the Constitution of Jamaica of 1854, which would set the matter at rest. That Act—17 *Vict.*, c. 29, s. 23—provided—

> "That the Executive Government should continue to be discharged by the Governor in the same manner as before, and that the exclusive power of proposing any vote of money should vest in and be exercised by him on his sole responsibility."

It was, therefore, absurd to say, as Lord Taunton did, that the House of Assembly had the power of originating Money Votes. It was also a mistake to say, as Lord Grey did, that the House of Assembly had secured the right of expending the grants made for the Public Service. Not only did the Legislature of Jamaica not possess the power which was ascribed to it, but it had never sought to obtain it. An attempt was once made to endow the popular Assembly with the right of originating money grants; but the origin of the attempt was not to be found in the Assembly itself, but in the Representative of the Crown, Sir Charles Darling. That this was the case was proved by a despatch of the Duke of Newcastle, dated January 29th, 1861, from which he would read an extract—

> "I find in these Papers" (relating to the controversy which had been raised) "voluminous arguments, conducted on both sides with much ability, respecting the theory and principles of the system of government established in Jamaica by the Act of 1854, but scarcely any information as to the origin of the disagreement which has broken up the harmony with which, for more than six years, the Legislature and successive Governors of the Colony, much to the credit of all, had co-operated for the public good. . . . I regret that the controversy respecting these principles was provoked by your requiring from your Executive Committee a concurrence in what I conceive to be a very erroneous view on your part of the Governor's position in respect of his responsibility for acts done in Executive Committee."

He had quoted this to show that down to 1862, at all events, the Secretary of State for the Colonies had not considered the House of Assembly to be corrupt or effete; that he was satisfied with the working of the Constitution Act, and that harmony prevailed. But he would show what was the opinion of the Governor of the Island from that date down to within a few months of the abolition of the House of Assembly. In his speech on opening the House of Assembly in November, 1862, Mr. Eyre said—

> "The general revenue of the Island has improved, and an increase exceeding the estimates has been yielded. . . . With a flourishing revenue, I rely with confidence upon your making adequate provision," &c., &c.

In opening the Session in the following year, he said—

> "I am happy to acquaint you that the revenue of the country has on the whole exceeded that of last year."

And again, in 1864, after a lengthened tour throughout the Island, he spoke in the same way of the satisfactory state of the finances, and described the people as being

> "One and all animated by the same spirit of warm loyalty, considerate kindness, and generous hospitality."

The same people whom a few months after it suited him to describe as little less than devils, and the country as being on the brink of a volcano. With this testimony, then, what grounds were there for charging the late House of Assembly with being corrupt, and with having played "ducks and drakes" with the Public Revenues? There had, in modern times, been three crises in the history of Jamaica. There was the crisis of 1854, when the new Constitution was granted to the Island, which was brought about by the laudable wish on the part of the Representatives of the people to keep down expenditure, the Crown having insisted on the maintenance of extravagant establishments which at that time were quite unsuitable. A similar crisis occurred in 1865, when the House of Assembly was abolished. The questions which had occupied the attention of the Legislature during the two or three years before that event were chiefly questions connected with the misappropriation of the Revenues of the Colony by the Representatives of the Crown. The third crisis was that which was taking place at the present time, and this also had been brought about by the extraordinary expenditure for which the Representatives of the Crown were responsible. In connection with the extraordinary misconception existing in England concerning the Legislature of Jamaica, he would mention the remark made by the hon. Member for Bath (Mr. Wodehouse), on a former occasion, to the effect that the old House of Assembly, abolished in 1865, was "little better than a bear garden of shouting and screaming Negroes and Jews." To show how completely erroneous such an idea was, he (Captain Price) would quote what had been written on the subject by a gentleman who had a thorough acquaintance with the Island. In that account it was stated that out of the 47 Members of whom the House consisted at the time, no less than 37 were Whites, 34 had been educated in England, and a very large majority were men who had been appointed Justices of the Peace. Ten were Coloured men, and only three were Black. People in this country who had not lived in the East or West Indies were often very sensitive as to what they called a "touch of the tar-brush." And the late Mr. G. W. Gordon, of whom this House had heard so much, was generally set down as a sort of Cetewayo, when, in reality, he was only slightly coloured. It was absolutely untrue, therefore, to describe the Assembly as having been composed of Negroes; and as to the Jews, he would leave the hon. Member (Mr. Wodehouse) to discuss that matter with Gentlemen of that persuasion in this House. He (Captain Price) could not help remarking, however, that it was somewhat strange to hear from the Liberal Benches that we were to be guided in this manner by considerations of race and of creed. That might be one of the doctrines of esoteric Radicalism; but he ventured to think it was not to be found amongst the generally accepted principles of the Liberal Party. Then it had been said that the Island had voluntarily given up its Constitution. When, in a former debate on the *Florence* affairs, it had been said that the inhabitants had their Representative Constitution taken from them for reasons of State, the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had said—"No; it was surrendered." He (Captain Price) maintained that it had been taken from them by a *coup d'état*. It might be said that he ought to bring documentary evidence of such a charge; but it must be remembered that a *coup d'état* was only arranged and brought about by confidential despatches, not accessible to private Members; but he thought he could give the House conclusive evidence upon this point. He would refer to the words of Mr. Cardwell himself, in 1866, on the question of whether the Jamaica Government Bill should be a temporary or a permanent measure. Mr. Cardwell said that—

> "The view which he himself had always entertained was that a permanent measure was necessary for the welfare of Jamaica, and before the disturbances he was engaged in prosecuting inquiries, which he hoped would lead to the appointment of a Committee and consequent legislation."—(3 *Hansard*, [181] 1177.)

What did that show? If it proved anything, it proved that long before the House of Assembly ever dreamed of making even a temporary surrender of its privileges, the Secretary of State had been in communication with the Governor of the Island, with a view to overthrowing the Constitution of the Colony, and of getting its affairs entirely into the hands of the Colonial Office. But there were despatches in the Parliamentary Blue Books which would throw additional light upon this. There was the despatch of Mr. Eyre to Mr. Cardwell, of April 19th, 1865, in which he strongly condemned Representative Institutions for Jamaica. His despatch of May 6th, in which he recommended Her Majesty's Government to abrogate the existing Constitution, and also a despatch from Mr. Cardwell to Mr. Eyre, dated July 7th, 1865, in which he said—

> "If the majority of the House of Assembly could be induced to pass enactments in amendment of its own Constitution, Her Majesty's Government would be ready to give these enactments its most favourable consideration."

These despatches were written long before the matter was suggested to the House of Assembly, and conclusively point to the *coup d'état* he (Captain Price) had described, and to the fact that the Colonial Office were seeking to defraud the Island of Jamaica of its Constitutional privileges, so as to get the management of the Island into their own clutches. It was quite true, in some sense, that the Constitution of Jamaica was surrendered by the majority of the House of Assembly; but it was surrendered as a fortress might be surrendered, when starved out and incapable of further resistance. Let them look at the history of the question as known to Parliament. When the Bill was introduced, in 1866, it was represented as a temporary measure; and it passed its first and second readings and its Committee stage as a temporary measure. Mr. Cardwell, on every occasion, explained that it was necessary that the Bill should only be a temporary measure, as inquiries were to be made as to the strange circumstances of the self-abolition of the House of Assembly. On the Report of the Committee, Lord Norton—then Mr. Adderley—moved, in a very thin House, that the Bill be made permanent. Mr. Cardwell hesitated for some time, and coquetted, and, "vowing he would ne'er consent, consented," and the Constitution of Jamaica thus became permanently abolished without the slightest reference to the people of Jamaica, whose wishes had never been consulted, and without one syllable of that inquiry which Mr. Cardwell had declared to be necessary. What were the events which led up to this extraordinary act of political suicide? What had been occupying the attention of the Legislature immediately previous to this act? There were two important subjects that occupied the attention of the House of Assembly shortly before it was abolished. There was the great Tramway swindle, in which officers appointed by the Crown improperly used the public monies with the approval of the Government. For this the House of Assembly passed a Vote of Censure on the Governor, and proved themselves effective guardians of the public purse. Then arising out of this was the Espent case, which would be found amongst the Parliamentary Papers. This was a case in which a Member of the Assembly, who held an office under the Crown, opposed the action of the Governor on the Tramway matter, and was called upon by the Governor to give up either his office or his seat. He declined, and the Assembly backed him up, treating the matter as a question of "Privilege." The House of Assembly insisted that the matter should be referred to the Law Officers of the Crown, and Sir Roundell Palmer and Sir Robert Collier gave the matter entirely in favour of the House of Assembly. These were the two matters, and the only two, which seriously engaged the attention of the Legislature during the three years immediately preceding the fall of the Constitution, and in both cases the popular Chamber had been proved to be absolutely in the right. Then the disturbances occurred, and, in a moment of panic and despair, the House of Assembly agreed, under strong pressure, to make a temporary surrender of their Privileges. He did not say that they were justified in doing that. On the contrary, he thought they were wrong. But there was some excuse. They had seen that, in all their struggles, the Representative of the Crown was backed up by the Colonial Office at home. All their representations were ignored. They saw one of their Members, who had been prominent in opposing the Governor, arrested, tried by a mock court martial, and hanged. No wonder that, in utter despair, they were induced to throw up the sponge and fall an easy prey to the machinations of the Colonial Office. Thus fell a Constitution which had existed for 200 years, and against which no definite charge had ever been made. He doubted whether, in modern history, there was any parallel to this extraordinary occurrence. Certainly Ireland, though it had sometimes been quoted as a case in point, offered no resemblance, for she was not deprived of representation. Perhaps the case of Denmark furnished the nearest parallel, when, in the 17th century, her House of Representatives, worn out by its struggles with the Nobles, voluntarily surrendered its privileges into the hands of the Crown. Surely, with such an example as that before them, the people of Jamaica should have foreseen that, in making even a temporary surrender of their privileges, they were abandoning liberty, and that, in striving to escape from the Scylla of bad government, they were only precipitating themselves into the Charybdis of a Government absolutely despotic and wholly unsympathetic. But what was the form of Government which had replaced the old Constitution? That would bring him to the third argument which he had to answer, and to a consideration of the Papers now on the Table of the House. The House was asked to believe that the Government which had existed in Jamaica for the last 17 years was the most appropriate one for the country, and had been completely successful. One of the charges against the old Constitution of Jamaica was, that the House of Assembly had increased the Debt of the Colony. Lord Russell, in 1866, gave as one reason for abolishing the House of Assembly that "it had very much increased the Debt of the Island." But what were the facts? In 1866, after 200 years of Constitutional Government, the Debt of the Island was about £600,000; whereas now, after 17 years of beneficent Crown management, the Debt of the Island had been nearly trebled. The Debt in 1866 was not a large one for a Colony of the importance of Jamaica. It was one well within the powers of the Colony to deal with, and the interest upon it had always been paid to the day, and to the uttermost farthing. Let him examine the items of the present Debt. About £500,000 had been incurred in taking over the existing railway. He had nothing to say against that as an act of policy; but he objected strongly to the raising of such a loan without the consent of the taxpayers; and as to the way in which the loan was being dealt with, he would only point to the Report of the Royal Commissioners, who said—

> "We consider that financial operations of this kind tend to impair the credit of a country."

Then something like £130,000 had been raised to pay for the Rio Cobre irrigation scheme, which everyone knew was an utter failure; and a sum little short of £300,000 for the Ewarton extension of the railway. As to this last item, if they took the dictum of the Commissioners, that the necessary charges to be defrayed before any profit could be looked for would amount to about 13 per cent on the capital monies raised, they would have to look for earnings of at least £39,000 a-year; but he had it on the best authority that the receipts could not be more than £5,000 yearly. Were the taxpayers of Jamaica to have such a burden imposed upon them without their consent? On this point he had asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies the other day if he would produce the estimate of receipts on which this work was undertaken; and the reply he got was that it was—

> "Undesirable to produce Papers respecting the details of public works in a Colony, unless there has been some serious controversy on the subject calling for the interference of Parliament."

He (Captain Price) must be permitted to say that Questions of that kind were put, not as the outcome of serious controversy in the House of Commons, but to prevent serious controversies out-of-doors. He ventured to remind the hon. Member (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) that it was precisely the refusal to produce Estimates for examination in a similar case in Jamaica some years ago which led to that "serious controversy" between the Jamaica Legislature and the Crown on the Tramway Case—a controversy which shook the Constitution of Jamaica to its foundations, and brought about those State intrigues to which he had referred in the earlier part of his speech. But turning from questions of expenditure, which he hoped would be dealt with more fully by those who followed him, he would make one quotation from the Report of the Commissioners as to the education question. After stating that the expenditure in 1881 was six times as great as in 1861, though the number of children attending school, and the number of those able to read and write was only twice as great, they say—"This is a most unsatisfactory and discreditable state of affairs." But far more important than any of these matters was the discontented state of the people of the Island, in regard to which very ample evidence was forthcoming in the shape of reports of meetings which had been held in the Island, and Memorials which had been sent by the inhabitants to the Home Government from several parts of it. He believed there was not a town in Jamaica where public meetings had not been held upon the subject, and all were unanimous as to what they required. The House must remember that it was not a revival of the old Assembly that was being asked for, but an extension of the unofficial element in the Council. In November last he had the honour of presenting a deputation to Lord Derby, and his Lordship had promised that he would make some change in the form of Government, and he suggested that the unofficial Members should henceforth be elective instead of nominated. This was a step in the right direction, but a very short one, for the elected Representatives would still be in a hopeless minority, the official Members being of equal number, the Governor, as President, having two votes in addition. Lord Derby had also provided that, "as a general rule," the official Members should not be required to vote against the unofficial, providing that six of the latter were present and agreed. But the official Members were always at hand, whereas the elected Members had to come up from distant parts of the country, so that the latter would often be at a great disadvantage. Moveover, this majority of two to one, which Lord Derby required amongst the elected Members, in order to entitle their views to due consideration, would have to be increased to three to one in the case of the absence of a Member, and to as much as six to one in the event of the absence of two elected Members. The fact was, all power of legislating rested absolutely in the hands of the Crown. It was Poyning's Law over again. Lord Carlisle had been sent out to Jamaica in the 17th century to administer that law, by which the Assembly was required to pass, without alteration, laws which had been prepared by the Crown. They were to have the semblance of being Acts of the Legislature of Jamaica, when, in truth, they had been previously framed by the Ministry in this country. This was rejected by the Assembly, and the Imperial Parliament was forced to abandon it. And now, so long as the Acts passed by the Council should meet with the approval of the Governor for the time being, the pleasing fiction of their being passed by the Representatives of the people would be kept up; but, immediately that the Governor should choose to consider the measure unadvisable, he might suspend the "general rule," and, wheeling his official battalion into line, could outvote the Representatives, informing the Colonial Office of what he had done with the full certainty of being upheld by that Body. And now let him show the House how absurdly inadequate and unnatural the proposed system of representation must be as regards numbers. It was proposed to elect 9 Members, three for each "county;" but the division of the Island into "counties" was little known, and might be regarded as obsolete. The natural division of the Island was into "parishes," as they were there called, though they answered more nearly to the counties at home, some of these so-called "parishes" being as large as Bedfordshire or Huntingdon. Ask a Negro of average intelligence what county he belonged to, and he would not be able to tell you; but ask him what parish, and he would tell you at once. For many reasons it would be far better to apportion the Representatives according to parishes, or "districts" as they ought to be called; and he hoped the Government would see their way to granting the wishes of the people—namely, to have one Member for each district, with an additional one for the important City of Kingston, making 15 in all. Even then, the proportion of representation would be smaller than was allowed to many Colonies of less importance, and which had not been accustomed to Representative Institutions. Take, for instance, West Australia, with a population of only 30,000. The number of elected Members there was 14, as against 6 official and 4 nominated Members. In Natal, with a much smaller population than Jamaica, there were 23 elected Members, as against 7 official, and the same proportion existed in many other Colonies. He might be told that the movement in Jamaica was not *bonâ fide*, but was only got up among a certain class in the Island. That he denied most emphatically. He would ask the House to consider that the 9 Gentlemen who had been appointed unofficial Members of the Assembly, and who were appointed by the Governor, must be considered Gentlemen of considerable intelligence, integrity, and patriotism. They had unanimously resigned their office, because they contended they had no power whatever of representing the people of Jamaica, and because they would not be parties to such a sham. The movement was going on in every corner of Jamaica, and if there had been any unreasonable or intemperate representations made, as had been alleged, he asked Her Majesty's Government to treat them as the froth which invariably accompanied every ebullition of popular feeling, and, sweeping this lightly on one side, to look down into the clearer depths of this agitation, in order to discern there what were the real causes of those grievances of which Jamaica now complained. If they would do that he felt assured that they would see the necessity of restoring to the people such a control over their own affairs as would prevent a recurrence of those baneful results which had been brought about by Crown Government. What those results were he would sum up in half-a-dozen words, and then his task that evening was done. The results were these — the present form of Government in Jamaica had nearly trebled the Debt of the Colony; had enormously increased the public expenditure ; had made a hash of the question of public education ; had shaken the credit of the Colony, and had spread broadcast throughout the Island the gravest dissatisfaction. That was the case he had to lay before the Government, and which he asked them to meet; and the burden of proof lay upon the Government to prove that the people of Jamaica were not fit to have Representative Institutions. It now only remained for him to apologize to the House for having occupied so much of its time, and to thank the House sincerely for its patient attention. He could not hope to have interested many in this question. The subject was a dry one, and there were but few who, in these days, were interested in the affairs of Jamaica. It was but a little Island in a distant sea ; but it was an Island whose history recalled to them memories of great events connected with the discovery, the growth, and the development of the Western World. It was a Colony which had taken no small part in developing the wealth and the greatness of this Empire. Its people for 200 years had enjoyed the same Constitutional privileges as ourselves. Of these they had been wrongfully deprived. They now cried aloud to us for justice. He asked the House of Commons not to turn a deaf ear to the passionate prayer of these people—not to crush out aspirations which were ennobling, and which were the very birthright of every British citizen ; but to restore to them that control over their own local and financial affairs which could alone be adequately exercised by the chosen Representatives of a free and enlightened people.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON : Sir, at this late hour of the night, and after the exhaustive speech of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Devonport (Captain Price), I shall not detain the House at any great length. I shall not touch the historical—I had almost said, the pre-historical—part of the question. I will simply remind the House that for two centuries, down to 1865, Jamaica had possessed and enjoyed the unspeakable benefit of Representative Government. Down to that time she had been accustomed to manage her own local affairs, to make her own laws, to raise and appropriate her Revenue in accordance with the views and the wishes of her people, expressed through their elected Representatives in the House of Assembly. In the panic which arose out of the Insurrection of 1865, she was induced to part with her ancient Constitution. Seizing the occasion of the panic, the Governor (Mr. Eyre) appealed to the House of Assembly. He called upon them, in order to avert "a mighty danger which threatened the land," to "immolate themselves on the altar of patriotism." Under the influence—I may say the pressure—brought to bear upon them by the Governor, the House of Assembly surrendered their ancient Constitution. This was done without any appeal to the electors, and, as I have always considered, without any legal Constitutional right. The House of Assembly, which was elected for the purpose of making laws for the government of the country, had no right, in my judgment, without a special appeal to the people, to put an end to its existence. In doing so, however, the House was by no means unanimous. It was only after much discussion that the act of self-annihilation was carried by a majority. I have gone into this matter, because it has been objected that the Assembly, having surrendered the old Constitution, are, to use the words of the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Captain Price), "out of Court;" that Jamaica has no right now to ask for the restoration of what has been surrendered by her own Representatives. I have shown how this was done, and what led to it. But it is only due to the late Assembly to state that, in surrendering the old Constitution, they had no idea of parting with the right of self-government. When they passed the Bill putting an end to the old Constitution, they proposed another Representative Institution in its place. The old system of government had become too elaborate and too complicated for the then condition of the country; and many of the most intelligent of its inhabitants, for many years prior to 1865, had been of opinion that a simpler machinery, still representative, would be preferable. Accordingly—and I may say it was with this object in view—that the House of Assembly passed the Bill which has been mentioned, at the same time, as I have said, proposing a new and a small Representative Council. Her Majesty's Government refused to sanction the new proposal, and, instead, established the system of Crown Government, "pure and simple," which has prevailed to the present time. From the moment of its establishment the people have protested against it, and from time to time since they have memorialized the Government, praying for the restoration of Representative Institutions. These appeals have not succeeded, until necessity has brought about the modification lately proposed. Let us now see what the system of Crown Government has been, and what are its results. It was said that the affairs of Jamaica had been so grossly mismanaged by the old House of Assembly that a strong Government had become necessary, in order to save the country, especially its finances, from ruin. With the permission of the House, I will test for a moment or two this statement. Under Crown Government, a Governor was sent out with a salary of £7,000 a-year, and other officials receiving salaries, considered by the Royal Commissioners lately sent to investigate the matter of expenditure, in many instances too high. There was to be a Legislative Council composed of these officials and nine unofficial Members nominated by the Governor. The official Members had, and could possibly have, no knowledge whatever of the country, or its requirements. They had no stake or interest in it, no concern in its welfare. Their connection with it and its inhabitants was purely official. Yet these gentlemen, drawing large salaries from the hard earnings of an impoverished community, were so placed as to over-ride the nine unofficial Members, who were gentlemen belonging to the country, having a knowledge of its people and of their wants, and whose presence in the Council was intended as a means of informing and guiding the official Members in matters of legislation, and of finance especially. With such discordant elements, differences of opinion were sure to arise between the Governor and his official staff on the one hand, and the unofficial Members on the other. Conflicts of this kind from time to time did arise. The Governor presided at the Council, and, as I have been told, sat in great state on a *daïs* wearing his Windsor uniform and a cocked hat on his head; and at the conclusion of a debate he would reply all round, knocking down the arguments of the unofficial Members like "nine pins." Of course, the House will see how impossible it was that such a system could long work, especially in a community accustomed to self-government. No man of spirit would consent to retain a seat in a Council so constituted, and, so to speak, so manipulated. The House will remember the case of the *Florence*, which was discussed last Session. The case of the *Florence* brought matters to an issue. The unofficial Members refused to sanction the Vote which the Governor asked for, in order to pay, out of the taxation of the people, for the errors and blunders of the Government, over whose Members they had no kind of control. The consequence was a complete deadlock. Persons holding situations under the Government were appointed to the Council upon the distinct undertaking that they were to support the Vote on account of the *Florence*. The Vote was carried accordingly, and the unofficial Members, in a body, resigned. In such a state of things the Government could not be carried on. It was impossible to persist in a system so repugnant to the feelings, the habits, and traditions of the country, and a modification of the Constitution is about to take place. But, before I go into the subject, I wish to say a word upon the question of finance. It has been said that under the old Constitution the finances had been greatly mismanaged. Let us see what has been done in this respect by Crown Government. I had the honour, the Session before last, to move for a Return of the Revenue of Jamaica, including Ways and Means, and the Expenditure for the 15 years prior to 1865, and for the 15 years since under Crown Government. This is the result. The Expenditure for the 15 years under Crown Government exceeds by £2,500,000 and upwards the Expenditure of the previous 15 years under the old system; and for the last two years there have been deficits, and another is expected in the current year. In 1865 the Public Debt was £607,739. It is now £1,132,710. And what is there to show for this vast increase of Expenditure and of Debt? It will be said that there have been railways and other public works. I do not deny the usefulness of some of these; but even here the Expenditure has not been justified by the results. Works have been undertaken which were beyond the means of the Colony, and which, in its present condition, and for a long time, I fear, will not be self-paying. Take the case of the railways. From 1879 to 1882 no less a sum than £540,000 has been expended on railways. The House would naturally conclude that there has been a considerable amount of railway communication established. As a matter of fact, the whole railways of the country consist of about 29 miles, and it is proposed to lay down some 20 miles more. Yet £540,000 is the expenditure for railways. How such a sum could have been incurred I am at a loss to understand. Again, the hon. and gallant Member (Captain Price) has mentioned the Rio Cobre Waterworks, a good undertaking if it had paid, but it has not. The Commissioners report it as a failure. Yet these works have cost £210,800 from 1869 to 1879; and since that year £7,000 more for repairs. I could go through other items in the Public Accounts with similar results; but I will not weary the House any further with figures. The House sees the enormous increase of expenditure in a very short time under Crown Government, and if hon. Members will take the trouble to examine the Report of the Commissioners, they will see how unjustifiable much of this expenditure has been. The increase of population cannot account for it. In the last 20 years that increase has reached about 150,000, or a little over. Such an increase, I say, can in no way account for such an excess of expenditure. As in matters of finance, so in general legislation. The District Courts were among the new establishments under Crown Government. The Commissioners condemn them as a failure and as an extravagance as well. In point of fact, the whole system pursued since 1865 shows the utter absence of knowledge of the country and of sympathy with its people on the part of those who have been sent to govern it. The gentlemen who have been sent out have been persons whose lives have been spent in official routine elsewhere. They have brought with them a mere official eye to bear upon public affairs, and a determination to carry out a particular policy, utterly regardless of the feelings of the country. A Governor goes out, and, before he has been a fortnight in the place, he reports that the country is not ripe for Representative Institutions. What on earth could he know or have learnt of the place, in one short fortnight, to justify him in making such a Report? He had, no doubt, heard it from some official who had been there a little longer. In this way the Colonial Office is misled, and kept in ignorance of the true state of the Colony. This system of government by experts is new to Jamaica; and, depend upon it, it will not succeed. But it will be said that the state of things will be changed by the new scheme. I have no doubt whatever—and I am glad of this opportunity to say it publicly—that I believe that it is Lord Derby's wish and intention to act justly, even generously, towards the people of Jamaica; and I can well understand how it is that he should move cautiously in the changes he proposes, seeing that the representative system has been in abeyance for 17 years. Time, no doubt, will be required to test the working of a Representative Council under these circumstances, and with a franchise entirely new and much extended beyond the old franchise. At the same time, I must observe that self-government is not new to Jamaica. The people have been accustomed to it. The great bulk of the present population have lived under it, and its traditions remain to all. Self-government, therefore, would not be a mere experiment; and if it is to be restored at all, I think it may safely be done now and completely, not by halves. Either the people are to be trusted or they are not. If they are worthy of trust, then, I say, trust them completely. Let the representation you propose to give them be a reality. What will the new scheme do? Will it give a real representation? It simply converts the unofficial element of the Council, who were formerly nominated by the Governor, into Members elected by the people. They are still to be in a minority. The official element is still to prevail. It is true that some concession is to be given to the representative Members in matters of finance, and that in general legislation the Governor is instructed to treat them with consideration. Yet, after all, the power of the Crown remains in the Governor and the official element. So long as there is no vital question, and the representative Members behave themselves in a becoming manner—for this is really what it amounts to—they are to be considered; but woe be unto them if they should take a strong view upon a vital question of Imperial policy. Englishmen though they be, Representatives of the people, of their wishes and their interests, which they have been sent to enforce and to watch over, they are to be over-ridden, as before, under Crown Government. This for a time might not happen. Under a Governor like Sir Henry Norman—who, I believe, from all I have heard, will exercise a wise discretion and a conciliatory spirit—difficulties might not arise; but who can speak for his Successor, or for the Successor of the noble Earl now at the head of the Colonial Office? Of this there is no manner of doubt—the people of Jamaica have received the new scheme with intense disappointment. They have had experience of Crown Government, and they know how a Council, composed as the new one is to be, is likely to work. From one end of the country to the other, and among all classes of the community—Whites, Coloured, Blacks, planters, merchants, traders, peasant proprietors, and others—the Island has been ringing with one loud protest of disappointment since the announcement of the new scheme. At one meeting, among the speakers were four Black men—peasant proprietors—and everywhere, as I have said, men of every class and complexion are protesting against the new scheme. Among other things, they protest against the Governor's presence in the Council. Under the late system, it was bad enough that he should be in conflict with his own nominees. Under the new scheme, if differences arise, he will be in conflict with the people themselves, through their Representatives. Surely it is not wise to place the Queen's Representative in such a position. I would suggest that the Council should appoint their own President, and that the Governor should be kept free from political discussions, and that the right of veto should be reserved to him. If the new scheme is to have a fair trial, I believe this to be a vital point. The Governor should not be brought into the Council to overawe them by his presence, or be made to assume the character of a public debater. The people of Jamaica have never been accustomed to this sort of thing. It lowers the Governor in public respect, and does not, and cannot, advance the interests of good government. Sir, I shall no longer detain the House. I have endeavoured to lay before it, to some extent, the grievances of a country which is one of the most ancient and most loyal, as it was formerly one of the most valuable, Possessions of the

British Crown. Its prosperity has, for a long time, passed away. For many years its people have suffered under vicissitudes for which they were in no way answerable. Imperial legislation brought about suddenly a social transition which entailed widespread misfortune. Still, they have borne up, striving to do their best under the new conditions. I believe that prosperity is yet in store for them; but it will largely depend upon the wisdom displayed at head-quarters here whether, and for how long, better times shall be delayed. I undertake to say that there are no people under the sun who might be more easily governed than the people of Jamaica. They are a warm-hearted, generous people; but they love freedom, and they value the exercise of it. They are devotedly attached to the Mother Country, and are proud of being born and of living under the British Flag. When a Jamaica man proposes to visit England, he talks not of going to England, but of going "home." They send their children to this country for education, and they return with a cultured intelligence, which fits them for the various avocations of life. I have known men in Jamaica—coloured men, too—whose abilities and attainments would have done honour to any station in this country. There are such men there now. England must not turn a deaf ear to their appeals. She has not always dealt wisely or fairly by her Colonies. At one time she has spoilt and caressed them; at another she has treated them somewhat like a stepmother. She has found out her mistake. Let her not repeat it now. I have spoken of the people of Jamaica as I know them from long personal knowledge. It is the land of my birth; and although I have not now any pecuniary interests there, I feel, and shall always feel, a deep interest in her welfare, and in the well-being of her inhabitants. I trust that this discussion will lead Her Majesty's Government to reconsider the position they have taken; and if they do not see their way at the present time to give that complete representation which the people of Jamaica ask for, and to which I think they are entitled, I hope they will hold out some hope of it hereafter; and, in the meantime, announce such modifications of their new scheme as will render it less objectionable and more likely to conciliate the disappointment which it has occasioned.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he was not prepared for the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Captain Price) entering into a justification of the late House of Assembly; and he thought that, perhaps, it was fortunate he was not prepared, because, otherwise, he should have thought it his duty to detain the House by statements of a detailed character. The hon. and gallant Member opposite, and other hon. Members, had pointed out that the House of Assembly and Representative Government had lasted over 200 years, and that during that time there had only been three crises. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) would point out that, no doubt, until slavery was abolished in Jamaica, their Representative Government was a very simple affair. It was purely a White oligarchy, and, therefore, there was no reason why difficulties or conflicts should arise. The difficulties began when the slaves were emancipated in 1839. Then came the first real embarrassments in the Island. They were brought about very much by the anger of the planters at that emancipation, and their refusal, in effect, to accept offers of money to promote emigration into the Island. Then there was the crisis in 1854, and what did that arise from? That arose from anger on the part of the Assembly because England, the Mother Country, had got rid of the differential duties, and the crisis then was very severe; and, although he did not want to argue this point, he would remind the House that the action of the House of Assembly on that occasion struck most directly at the credit of the Island. If they referred to the Papers on the subject there would be found an indictment made by the Governor, in which he said the people were proposing almost to repudiate their obligations under statute, for the payment of their debt, and that it was only by the action of the Council, who refused to pass the Bill sent up to them, that the discredit of that was avoided. It was because of the action of the House of Assembly, in 1854, that the power of initiating Money Votes was taken away from them. Then the last crisis was in 1866. He would not argue with his hon. and gallant Friend as to whether the surrender was unanimous or not on the part of the

House of Assembly; but his impression was that the surrender was unanimous. At any rate, when hon. Members talked about the success of the late Assembly, they ought to lay the whole state of the case before the House; but hon. Members who had spoken that night had taken good care not to inform the House that the House of Assembly, which they seemed to consider a model that should be imitated in the new arrangements, was the result of the election by an electoral roll, which, in 1866, had a total of only 1,700 souls out of a population of over 450,000; while some Members of that House represented only four, or five, or 10 voters. That was not a model, he thought, that anyone could wish to follow. Without taking up time and arguing the matter, he must say that anybody who had studied the history of Jamaica from the emancipation in 1839 until the collapse of the House of Assembly in 1866 must see that the old system had broken down completely, and that the final collapse was the direct result of years of erroneous legislation, reckless jobbery and bribery, and the impossibility of obtaining the services of a sufficient number of competent and independent men as Members of the Assembly. That last difficulty had been one of the great difficulties of the old Assembly, and had been the cause of waste of time, of squabbling and bickerings; and that was really the indictment to be brought against the old House of Assembly; and the inhabitants of Jamaica had felt absolutely convinced of its justice, or they would not have surrendered as they did. The Black population had absolutely no interest whatever in the old House of Assembly; and, as the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) had said, during its last three years there was not a single Black man in the Assembly, although at one time there had been three. The hon. and gallant Member opposite (Captain Price) had said these men were not Black, but Coloured men; but he (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) ventured to assert that the Coloured men in Jamaica were as distinct and separate in interest and sympathy from the Black population as the White people were. In fact, he would go further, and say that the Coloured population were further removed than the White in feeling and in sympathy from the Black population. He would draw attention to the figures on this point, because nobody could judge of the question unless he was in possession of those figures. The population of Jamaica at the present day was 580,000 in round numbers. Of these, 14,400 only were White, and 110,000 were Coloured; while the Black population numbered nearly 450,000. In 1861, when the last Census before the surrender of the Constitution was taken, the White population was 13,800, the Coloured population was 81,000, and the Black population 346,000. Those figures showed that while the increase of population during the last 20 years had been only 4 per cent among the White population, it had been nearly 30 per cent among the Black population. Whenever hon. Members came forward and asked for the restoration of the old system, there had always been associated with that demand the old high property qualification for elected Members. [Mr. Serjeant Simon: Not necessarily.] On that point he should like his hon. and learned Friend, before denying it, to communicate with his friends in Jamaica. Such a high property qualification would exclude anything like Black representation in the Assembly. As to the general question, it must be remembered that the result of establishing a high franchise in Jamaica would be that political power would be at once handed over to a particular class; while, on the other hand, if the franchise were made low, that would let in the agitator, and would lead to the disturbance of all social and industrial interests, bribery and jobbery, and, in the end, to riot and bloodshed. As to the want of education, he would point out that some of the items which had led to increased expenditure since 1866 were items which he might boast of. One of these items was education, which had risen from only £3,000 in 1864 to £26,000 in 1880. [Captain Price: With what result?] With a great result; for the Negro population had risen greatly in the social scale. No doubt, faults in the system had been discovered; but Inspectors were not sent to praise a system. They did not, however, say that good work had not been done; and he must confess that he considered the Report of the Commission on the Island very satisfactory. The Commission were sent out as critics, to put their hands on weak points. Another item of increased expenditure was that for immigration; and public works and railways were other elements. He did not deny that there had been increased expenditure, but there had been a large increase of population; and, at the same time, the income had greatly risen. The hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury had referred to there having been deficits during the period of Crown Government; but he (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) had only been able to find two or three years of deficit. Up to the time of the assumption by the Crown of the Government of the Island, he thought it would be found that a deficit was always the order of the day, and that the Expenditure always exceeded the Revenue. As to the Debt, no doubt there was an increase in that; but that was owing to the works of which he had spoken, and the Debt in Jamaica was by no means larger in proportion than the Debts of many of the surrounding countries. When the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite talked of the credit of the Island having gone down under Crown Administration, he did not know what the test of credit was. He was not a mercantile man, nor a man who had influence in the City; but he had always been told that the rate at which money could be borrowed was the real test of credit; and, if that were so, he must inform his hon. Friends that the credit of the Island—that credit which existed in the money market—was better under Crown Administration than it was before, and the last Government Railway Debentures were issued at 4 per cent. He would now leave the subject of the defence of the Crown Government, or the attack upon the old state of things, because, as his hon. and learned Friend behind him had acknowledged, the Colonial Office had come to the decision that a change must be made. Now, it must be obvious to everybody who considered the history and antecedents of Jamaica, with its population of different races, different sympathies, and different interests, that what Jamaica wanted could be summed up by saying that it ought to have a form of Government in which the Crown would in ultimate resort remain supreme. There was too much risk of collision between classes—too much risk of excitement and agitation—to allow it to be arranged that the Crown should not be supreme in the last resort. But there ought to be a strong Government for all classes and interests, and that Government should have the confidence of the entire community. Now, he denied that the old Government of Jamaica—the Government which ceased in 1866—had the confidence of the entire community. He denied that totally, and he declared, emphatically, that that Government had not the confidence of the great masses of the people of the Island. Under these circumstances, the Secretary of State had proposed, and was about to put into the form of an Order in Council, a new form of Government for Jamaica. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) would ask, was that new form of Government a sham, or was it not? He would, in a very few words, state to the House what were the provisions for this new form of Government; and he thought hon. Gentlemen would come to the conclusion that what was proposed was not a sham, but a real *bonâ fide* extension, in the words of the Motion on the Paper—

> "To the people of Jamaica, of a material share in the management of their own local and financial affairs."

First of all, he would take the nominated portion of the Council, which would partly consist of *ex officio* Members, who, by virtue of their office, would be Members of the Council. One of these would be the senior military officer in command, and he was not an official who would necessarily be at the bidding and order of the Governor. Indeed, the senior military officer was a thoroughly independent man, and just as likely to take a view contrary to that of the Government as favourable to it. There would be 4 *ex officio* Members, and then there would also be certain other nominated Members. These nominated Members were not to exceed 9 in number, at the option of the Governor; and he might say that Sir Henry Norman, than whom a better man could hardly be found, was naturally anxious to give the largest possible interpretation to the instructions which the Government gave him, and he was determined not to appoint more than 6 official Members at first, and it was hoped that it would never be necessary to appoint more. Sir Henry Norman was authorized to appoint 9; but he was not going to appoint more than 6. There would be, it was true, 7 at first; but that was because there was a person already there who would be retained; but when a vacancy took place it would not be filled up; and, therefore, there would in future be not more than 6, so as to insure that there should not be a majority of official Members. The nominated Members would form the official side, and then there would be the elected side. There would be 9 elected Members, and the franchise would be a much lower one than under the old form. The franchise had been recommended to the Government by the Royal Commissioners—all of them residents in Jamaica—and the franchise which had been adopted on their recommendation was one that would give about 15,000 electors.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, continuing his remarks, said, the 9 elected Members would be chosen by an electorate of 15,000. They would not be elected by counties. His hon. and learned Friend behind him had amused himself by laughing at the geographical knowledge of the Colonial Office for adopting counties; but it was not they, but the Royal and Resident Commissioners, who had adopted election by counties. However, the Government had overruled that, and agreed that it would not be satisfactory to take counties, the population of which was so unequally distributed that it would not be at all a good arrangement. Nine districts would be taken without breaking up any parishes—in some cases they would be single parishes—and each of these nine districts would send one Member. He now came to the important matter of the powers of these elected Members. It would be embodied in the Order in Council, and not merely confined to the instructions given to the Governor, that whenever 6 of the elected Members should be united in opposing the passing of any law or Resolution affecting taxation or finance, they should have their way, and the official majority should not be employed to overpower them, except in any case where the Governor might consider and declare that the matter was of paramount importance to public or Imperial interests, and might so report to the Home Government. The same rule would apply to Ordinances apart from finance—the Governor would be directed by instructions, not embodied in the Order in Council, but contained in a document sent side by side with it, and kept on record that wherever the elected Members were united on a question of legislation, the official Members should not be employed to form an adverse majority unless he felt himself in a position to come forward and publicly state that it was a matter of absolute Imperial and paramount public importance. Now, that was not a sham concession; it was a real and vital concession, because nobody could pretend for one moment that the Secretary of State would send out to Jamaica, or that a man of the character of the Governor would desire to carry out an arbitrary act by defining a matter of genuine local concern only as a matter of paramount public importance. If such a thing were ever to be attempted, this House would take care that such an attempt was not successful. The fact of having to go through such a form—of having to make a declaration of this sort—was absolutely a check upon the Governor. It was clear that the Governor would not use the power of putting in operation the official vote in a matter where he had to make so solemn a declaration, unless he felt himself absolutely compelled by circumstances to do so. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) believed he was right in asserting that this scheme formed a distinct move in the direction of restoring control over their own affairs to the people of Jamaica. It would be a very great mistake to take too large and sudden a step all at once; and he believed it would also be a very great mistake at present to enlarge the numbers, as had been suggested by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite. If the people of the Island had a majority in the elected Members, there was no good to be got by increasing the number to 14; whereas the experience of former periods had shown the difficulty of finding efficient and proper men to fill the places. He cordially agreed with the eloquent peroration of his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Serjeant Simon), that the people of Jamaica had proved their loyalty on many occasions, and he only hoped that they would now prove their common sense, which had also been proved already in many cases, and would see that this was a scheme which, if honestly worked, as it would be, would give them, for the present, a very considerable and a very important advance in the control and management of their own local affairs.

MR. WODEHOUSE said, that as the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite had made a pointed reference to him, he hoped he might be allowed to contribute a few words to the discussion. So far was he from agreeing with those who condemned the Government for the insufficiency of their concessions to the demands of the Jamaica Memorialists, that he was more inclined to wish that the Government had been somewhat less yielding to those demands. The substitution of elected Members of the Legislative Council for nominees of the Crown had been spoken of as an insignificant and unsubstantial concession; but it was the grant to Jamaica of a privilege not possessed by Colonies of such importance as Ceylon, Hong Kong, the Mauritius, the Straits Settlements, and Trinidad. Trinidad, which had always been a pure Crown Colony, was second to none among the West Indian Colonies for good government, progress, and general contentment. If, then, Trinidad, Ceylon, and the other Colonies which he had named could flourish and be content as Crown Colonies, why should not Jamaica? To listen to some of the speeches which had been delivered that night about the ancient Representative Institutions of Jamaica, one might suppose that there was some innate superiority in the people of that Colony; but those Representative Institutions were a mere accident of history. He would explain what he meant. During the 17th and 18th centuries, down to the time of the War of American Independence, England freely granted Representative Institutions to all her Colonies, even to the smallest of them. So long as she retained a strict monopoly of their trade, she granted them the fullest measure of self-government, and was indifferent to the cruelties they practised on aboriginal races. But after the War of American Independence, and when the conscience of England had been awakened about the treatment of barbarous races, she was no longer willing to leave such large powers in the hands of Colonists. Jamaica, being a Colony of ancient foundation, acquired her complete Representative Institutions as a matter of course, in common with much smaller Colonies. The existence, therefore, of ancient Representative Institutions was no proof of superiority. The old Colonies were in no degree better than our more recent acquisitions, such as Ceylon and Trinidad. A great deal had been said in condemnation of Crown Government, and it had been unfavourably contrasted with the former Government of Jamaica; but with regard to that ancient Constitution, which disappeared in 1866, he would only ask hon. Members to read the debates which took place in both Houses of Parliament on the Jamaica Government Bill of 1866. Not a voice was lifted in any quarter of either House of Parliament to utter a single friendly word for that Constitution—from Whig and Tory alike there was an unanimous chorus of unmitigated condemnation. Secretaries of State and ex-Secretaries and private Members, who knew the West Indies well, united to declare that the Constitution had lived too long, because it had only lived to be the curse and bane of the Colony, and that the only act of real wisdom which illuminated its long career was the act by which it put an end to its own mischievous existence. The hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite had referred to some remarks of his (Mr. Wodehouse) as to the composition of the Jamaica House of Assembly previous to its extinction. If he had unwittingly exaggerated the extent to which that House was composed of Black or Coloured men, he regretted his error; but, whatever might have been the predominant hue and complexion of its Members, that Assembly bore an evil name throughout the West Indies for disorder and gross mismanagement of Public Business. However, it might be said that there was no question now of restoring the old Constitution, and that all that was asked for was such an increase of the elective element in the Council as would give them a majority over the official element. He trusted that no such concession would be made. Let them suffer the elected Members to have a majority in the Council, and then, while they would leave them free from all real responsibility as to the consequences of the votes they might give, they would arm them with the power of obstructing and paralyzing the whole administration of the Island. Of all Colonial Constitutions, the worst and most prolific of trouble were those intermediate Constitutions, which had neither the strength of pure Crown Institutions, nor of what was called Responsible Government — that was, Constitutions in which controlling power was dissociated from true responsibility. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) had said, a little while ago, that if the new scheme of Government was found on trial to give an inadequate measure of control to the popular element in the Legislature, there would be no reluctance in the Colonial Office to reconsider it; and he added that it was of the utmost importance that, in the meantime, all parties should combine to give the scheme a fair trial. But when the hon. Gentleman himself thus held out the expectation of readiness on his part to re-open the question, he might rest assured that the scheme would not have a fair trial. Similar language had been addressed to the Transvaal Boers, in regard to the Pretoria Convention, when it first came into operation, and the House knew what sort of a trial that Convention had had, and what its fate had been. He (Mr. Wodehouse) anticipated a continuance of what was called "Constitutional agitation" in Jamaica; and, for his own part, he believed that there was no Colony in which the Government should make concessions to agitation with more care and circumspection than in the Colony of Jamaica. Agitation was an old story there; and he hoped the Government would be slow to surrender an effective control over the affairs of the Island. Lord Derby had told a deputation introduced to him by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Captain Price) that the proximity of Jamaica to the United States was a reason why stringent Imperial control over the Island should be only provisional and transitory; but he (Mr. Wodehouse) should have thought that the proximity of the United States rather pointed to an opposite conclusion. Jamaica was so situated that it might easily become the scene, or the occasion, of international complications; and when the Canal through the Isthmus of Panama was constructed, the importance of the geographical position of the Island would be greater than it was at the present time. The hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite had spoken of the patriotism of the unofficial Members of the Council who had resigned their offices in connection with the *Florence* case. He (Mr. Wodehouse) believed that one of those gentlemen, Mr. Michael Solomon, was in this country the year before last; and on his way home through the United States he was reported to have expressed to New York journalists the opinion that the real solution of the troubles of Jamaica was to be found in the annexation of the Island to the United States. He (Mr. Wodehouse) could not pretend to vouch for the accuracy and authenticity of that statement, which he had read in *The Pall Mall Gazette;* but if it were correct, the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite might form his own estimate of the depth and fervour of the Imperial patriotism of the gentleman in question. As he had said, he did not vouch for the authenticity of the report; but, be that as it might, he maintained that, whether they looked at the past, the present, or the future of Jamaica, there was every reason why Her Majesty's Government should not be too ready to yield to the clamour of agitation there, and why the House should not hastily approve such views as those which had been advanced by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, he asked the indulgence of the House while he said a word in defence of an absent man. [*Cries of* "No, no!" *and* "Hear, hear!"] He had no right to address the House again, and could only do it by the indulgence of hon. Members. A most serious charge had been made against a gentleman whom he had the honour to know—Mr. Michael Solomon. When that gentleman was in England two years ago, which was the time referred to, he (Mr. Serjeant Simon) had a conversation with him respecting Representative Government in Jamaica; and, speaking of the franchise, he (Mr. Serjeant Simon) remarked—"You will be obliged to have a large and a widely extended franchise; what do you say to that?" In reply, Mr. Solomon made this observation. He said — "Every shilling I have in the world is in Jamaica. I would risk all, and have universal suffrage, rather than live under such a system as the present." Mr. Solomon, then, he thought, was not the kind of man who would be likely to express such a sentiment as that which had just been attributed to him.

Mr. W. REDMOND said, he did not wish to prolong the discussion at that hour of the night; and he merely rose for the purpose of saying that he was extremely sorry that the Forms and Regulations of the House would not allow a Division to be taken on a Motion advanced by the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price); because, if a Division could have been taken, it would have afforded him (Mr. Redmond), and many hon. Members who sat near him in that quarter of the House, much pleasure to have gone into the Division Lobby and supported the Resolution of which Notice had been given. They would have done so, because this question was one that involved the principle of self-government, the principle he (Mr. Redmond) and hon. Gentlemen with whom he sat were charged to support, not only in the case of their own country, but in the case of people all over the world who were asking that right. What was the state of the case as to Jamaica? Why, some 17 years ago the Representative Government of that Colony was abolished. The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) had made a very strong point of the fact that the Representative Assembly of Jamaica was abolished by the almost unanimous vote of that Assembly itself. But the hon. Gentleman had completely nullified that statement by going on to say distinctly that that Assembly was one which did not possess the confidence of the people of Jamaica; and he had also gone on to show that the old Body, which abolished itself by its own vote, did not, as a matter of fact, represent the people of Jamaica, but merely some 1,700 voters. The House therefore saw that, in abolishing itself, the Assembly was not speaking on behalf of Jamaica, but simply on behalf of some 1,700 people who had the right of voting for the Assembly. That brought them to the conclusion that the majority of the people of Jamaica had never surrendered the right which had been theirs to some extent in the past, and which ought to be theirs again—namely, the right of self-government and the guiding of the destinies of their own country. The hon. Member who spoke last (Mr. Wodehouse) seemed to have a decided objection to any Black or Coloured persons occupying a position in any Legislative Assembly. Well, in many respects, Black people were defective; but, at any rate, they were not defective in the love of liberty—a quality which appeared to be not yet born in the breast of the hon. Gentleman.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at half after One o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 28th April, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Benefices (Tiverton Portions) Consolidation Amendment * (72); Public Health (Confirmation of Byelaws) * (73).

Royal Assent—Bankruptcy Appeals (County Courts) [47 *Vict.* c. 9]; Isle of Man (Harbours) [47 *Vict.* c. 7]; Dublin Museum of Science and Art [47 *Vict.* c. 6]; Trustee Churches (Ireland) [47 *Vict.* c. 10]; Army (Annual) [47 *Vict.* c. 8]; Local Government Provisional Orders [47 *Vict.* c. iv]; City of Norwich (Mousehold Heath) Provisional Order [47 *Vict.* c. iii]; Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order [47 *Vict.* c. ii].

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF BERBER.—QUESTION.

The Earl of GALLOWAY said, he wished to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which he had given him private Notice. The Question was as to the correctness of a Reuter's telegram, dated Cairo, April 26, 8 p.m., which he (the Earl of Galloway) had seen in *The Observer* of yesterday, and in that morning's papers, to the effect that the reply of the British Government had been received to the proposal to send an expedition for the relief of Berber, and stating that such an expedition would not be possible at the present time, and could not, in fact, start for four months hence; that this decision had been communicated to Hussein Pasha Kalifa, Governor of Berber; and, at the same time, he had been told that he might withdraw from the town if he was in a position to do so. If that telegram were correct, would the noble Earl have any objection to state to the House what ground there was for saying that such an expedition was deemed by the Government to be impossible?

EARL GRANVILLE, in reply, said, it would be very inconvenient to answer the Question until the Government had received official intimation of the receipt of the reply. He hoped, therefore, that the noble Earl would postpone the Question.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, he would postpone the Question until to-morrow.

NAVY — LIEUTENANTS OF OVER TEN YEARS' SENIORITY—HALF-PAY.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF BELMORE asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, with reference to the promised increase of pay to the lieutenants of the Royal Navy of ten years' standing and upwards, How it is proposed to extend the benefit to those officers when on half-pay? He thought he might say, on behalf of those whose cause he had advocated, that the increase promised by the Admiralty to these officers when on full pay was substantial, and, as far as it went, satisfactory. He hoped that if the noble Earl held his present Office much longer, he would see his way, before he left it, to extend the benefit to lieutenants of eight years' standing and upwards, who ranked as field officers.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, in reply, said, that lieutenants of over 10 years' seniority who had seven years' service in that rank, three of which had been at sea, would be entitled to the highest rate of half-pay—namely 8*s*. 6*d*. a-day. He would add that that rate was the same as that allowed to Commanders, with the exception of the first 100 on the list.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

REPLY TO THE MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON reported, That his Grace and the Duke of BEDFORD waited on Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany with the message of the 31st of March last, and that Her Royal Highness had returned the following answer, viz.:—

MY LORD DUKES,

I beg you will express to the House of Lords my true gratitude for the message of condolence on the death of my beloved husband, which has been transmitted to me through your Graces.

The House may rest assured that I find great consolation in such an exhibition of their sympathy.

BENEFICES (TIVERTON PORTIONS) CONSOLIDATION AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend certain provisions of the Acts third and fourth Victoria, chapter one hundred and thirteen, and thirty-second and thirty-third Victoria, chapter ninety-four, in relation to the consolidation of benefices called "Medieties" or "Portions," and to extend the same to the parish of Tiverton in the county of Devon—Was *presented* by The Lord Bishop of EXETER; read 1ª. (No. 72.)

House adjourned at Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 28*th April*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Education, Science, and Art (Administration), Mr. Dawson, *disch.;* Mr. Sexton, *added.*

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee—Resolutions* [April 24] *reported.*

PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Easton and Church Hope Railway.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—Customs and Inland Revenue.*

Ordered—First Reading—Gas Provisional Orders (No. 2) (Emsworth Gas, &c.) * [181]; Water Provisional Orders (No. 2) (Alperton and Sudbury Water, &c.) * [182].

Second Reading—Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [3], *debate further adjourned;* Irish Land Court Officers (Exclusion from Parliament) [89], *debate further adjourned.*

Committee—Representation of the People [119] [First Night], *further proceeding deferred.*

DEATH OF H.R.H. THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

REPLY TO THE MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE.

THE MARQUESS OF STAFFORD, having been appointed, together with the Earl of MARCH, to attend upon Her Royal Highness The Duchess of Albany, with a Message of Condolence from this

House, appeared at the Bar, and reported that Her Royal Highness had been pleased to give the following Answer:—

Claremont,
April 26, 1884.

My Lords,

I beg you will convey to the House of Commons the assurance of my deep gratitude for the Message of Condolence on the death of my beloved Husband, of which your Lordships have been the bearers.

Such an expression of sympathy is greatly valued by me. *HELEN.*

To
The Marquess of Stafford
and
The Earl of March.

QUESTIONS.

——o——

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—BALTINGLASS UNION.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If, as President of the Local Government Board (Ireland), a charge of misconduct on the part of Mr. Dagg, Returning Officer, and George Driver, Poor Rate Collector, has been brought under his notice, in regard to the election of a Poor Law Guardian for the electoral division of Rathdangan, in the union of Baltinglass; whether the complainants have applied to the Local Government Board for a sworn investigation; and, whether their application will be complied with?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board think it necessary that a sworn inquiry should be held in this case to investigate complaints made both by the Guardian returned and by the defeated candidate. The inquiry will be held on the 7th May.

LAW AND JUSTICE — THE OXFORD COUNTY COURT—THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. ONSLOW asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can now make any further personal explanation on the subject of the claim against him for flowers supplied during the Oxford Election; or, whether he would prefer that Notice should be given of a Question on the matter?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, if the House desires a personal explanation on a matter of this kind, and thinks it consistent with the dignity of Parliament to receive it, I shall be delighted to give it. With the help of my family, I have now investigated the matter as far as I can, and brought all the knowledge I can to bear upon it. A good many things have happened since 1880, and it is rather difficult to trace out the whole of this profound mystery. I learn from my private secretary that, last year, he received a claim of £4 15*s.* without any statement of what it was for; and with the discretion which becomes a good private secretary he wrote to ask for particulars. Then a bill was sent in some time early in the year, and it was put aside—[*Laughter.*]—hon. Gentlemen laugh too soon—to be paid at the end of the current spring quarter. It was actually filed, with others, to be paid in the month of April, with the rest of the small bills of the establishment. As far as I can learn, this was the only bill that reached me on the subject; and it was filed with the rest of the bills to be paid in April. In the meantime, it appears, proceedings were taken in the County Court at Oxford. The hon. Member wishes to know why I never heard of them; and I will explain. He will remember that the House rose for the Easter Holidays on Tuesday, the 8th of April. I left town early on the morning of Wednesday, the 9th of April. It appears that a summons was sent to my house on that Wednesday; and I naturally asked why I did not receive it. It appears that the summons was delivered to a young footman at my house, and, with the intelligence characteristic of the race, he left it on the hall table. It appears also—as the hon. Member desires that Parliament should be informed of this—that the second housemaid, with the assiduity peculiar to that class of persons, hid it away with the advertisements and newspapers, from among which it was unearthed this morning. That was how I did not come to know of it, and how this profound and important mystery came about. But the hon. Member would like to know about the flowers themselves. The mystery of the flowers, as far as I can remember or ascertain, is this. I was residing at Oxford at the time of the election in March or April four years ago. I am informed by my family that we were walking together through the market, when we saw some nice fresh flowers which they thought they would like to have, and these flowers appeared to have been ordered, I am informed by my son, for himself and the rest of the family, and they were supplied to us for our own use during the fortnight or three weeks we were there. I do not know whether the hon. Member for Guildford is in the habit of indulging in flowers for purposes either of personal adornment or of entertainment; but, if so, he will probably find that they are not very cheap things at this time of the year. That is really all that I know. If he supposes that these flowers were bought with some dark design of corrupting the constituency of Oxford, I can assure him that is not the case; they were supplied entirely to my own family, and not to the electors; and while I am sorry to think that my connection with the town of Oxford should have terminated, the fact is, though the vase is shattered, the scent of the flowers will cling to it still.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS, 1866-9—LEGISLATION.

Mr. STANSFELD asked the Secretary of State for War, When he proposes to introduce the Government measure for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, 1886-9?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that as soon as the state of Public Business appeared to afford any prospect of making progress with it, he proposed to introduce a Bill which would be substantially in the same form as that of last year (the Detention in Hospitals Bill), with the exception of the 5th clause, which provided for examination in certain circumstances which had not been previously provided for. It would virtually repeal the greater part of the Acts.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF gave Notice that he should move the rejection of the measure on the second reading.

Mr. PULESTON asked whether, in view of the recent Returns, the noble Marquess had not seen fit to modify the provisions of the measure of last year?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, it would be more convenient that he should postpone any explanation until he moved for leave to introduce the Bill.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—CASE OF JAMES GAFFEY, CO. ROSCOMMON.

Mr. SEXTON (for Mr. Healy) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that James Gaffey, of Scardane, county Roscommon, a tenant of Captain W. J. Burke, J.P., obtained, with the consent of the landlord, the benefits of the Arrears Act on paying half-a-year's rent, but that the landlord afterwards executed against him an old decree for rent wiped out by the Arrears Act; that the tenant tendered the sheriff, who came to eject him in June 1882, the half-year's rent from November 1881 to May 1882, which the Arrears Act did not extinguish; that this was refused; that Gaffey was thereupon evicted, and has since been homeless; whether the Government gave the sheriff an armed force to carry out such eviction; and, whether there was any ground of legality for it; and, if not, will the Government proceed against the landlord, or do they intend to take any steps?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It appears that before any order for payment was made by the Land Commission a representation had been made to them by the landlord complaining of the proceedings under the Arrears Act instituted by his agent and the tenant, and insisting on his decree. The Land Commission, notwithstanding, made the order for payment; and I am advised that nice questions may arise between the landlord and the tenant, who, if the proceedings were irregular, has his full remedy by action, and can enforce his restoration to his holding. Under these circumstances, it is not a case in which the Government should interfere. Four policemen attended at the eviction, at the requisition of the Sheriff.

PARLIAMENT — PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—WESTMINSTER HALL (THE WEST FRONT).

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he is now able to state to the House how it is proposed to treat the west front of Westminster Hall?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I am unable to state as yet what the Government propose to do with the West Front of Westminster Hall; nor, in fact, has Mr. Pearson sent in his final Report and drawings. I hope, however, to be in a position to submit a Supplementary Vote for this purpose before the end of the Session.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF RATE COLLECTOR FOR THE BOYLE UNION.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether John M'Williams was elected rate collector for the Croghan division of the Boyle Union, on 5th April, by a majority of three votes, at a cost to the ratepayers of eightpence in the pound on his collection, notwithstanding that his opponent, Mr. Mahon, offered solvent security for the collection of the rate at fourpence in the pound; how many ex-officio guardians and how many elected guardians supported the two candidates respectively; whether it is the fact that the late rate collector, Mr. Corry, resigned before the amount of his warrant for seed and poor rate was collected, at the instance of Mr. M'Williams, in order that the new appointment might be timed to take place on the same day on which the ex-officio guardians would muster for the re-election of the Chairman of the Board, Colonel King-Harman; whether the father of Mr. M'Williams was a rate collector in the Boyle Union, and absconded with the moneys of the Union; and, whether the Local Government Board will, under the circumstances, sanction the election?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers this Question, I would ask him, Whether he is aware that the advertisement for the collectorship did not mention the poundage rate as 8*d.*; and whether the day fixed for filling the office was not the 8th of April, whereas the day fixed for the election of chairman was the 29th March?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Mr. M'Williams was elected to collect the rates in the Boyle Union at a poundage rate of 8*d.* The arrangements for the election were made by the Guardians, and publicly advertised. The Board did not think it necessary to accept the candidate who offered to collect for 4*d.* in the pound. For Mr. M'Williams, who was elected, there voted 19 *ex-officio* and eight elected Guardians, making, in all, 27. For Mr. Mahon there voted two *ex officio* and 22 elected Guardians, making a total of 24. It is stated that the former collector resigned before he closed his collection. He was over 90 years of age, and unable to discharge the duties of the office. The Local Government Board knew nothing of the suggested arrangement as to the time of his resignation. With regard to the father of Mr. M'Williams, the records of the Local Government Board show that, in 1862, the rates outstanding in his district were collected and lodged by his sureties. It is therefore probable that he had left the Union. The Local Government Board did not think that such an occurrence, which happened 22 years ago, in any way affects his son's appointment, whose election has been duly sanctioned.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I beg to give Notice that on going into Committee of Ways and Means I will call attention to the action of the Local Government Board, in permitting the Orange *ex officio* Guardians to override the will of the elected Guardians of the Union by appointing the son of a swindler—[*Cries of* "Order!"]

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Mr. Speaker, I ask you whether such language is in Order?

Mr. O' BRIEN: To do at 8*d.* in the pound what another solvent man offered to do for 4*d.*

Colonel KING-HARMAN: I ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether the hon. Member is in Order in referring to a gentleman, unjudged and unconvicted, who has been duly elected to an important and responsible office, as the son of a swindler?

Mr. O'BRIEN: I was referring to a fact admitted by the Chief Secretary for Ireland in this House only a moment ago—namely, that this man's father disappeared with the moneys of the Boyle Union. I am impugning the action of the Local Government Board in permitting the election of such a person at the rate of 8*d.* in the pound, to do what a solvent Nationalist offered to do at 4*d.*

Mr. SPEAKER: It is very inconvenient, when Notices of Questions are given, that insinuations reflecting on the character of individuals should be made. I have not an opportunity of knowing the exact terms of a verbal Notice; but

I have heard enough of the Question to request the hon. Member for Mallow to expunge language which he knows would be disallowed by the Clerk at the Table in a written Notice.

MR. O'BRIEN: I respectfully submit that I have not used one word which might not be submitted to the Clerk at the Table, and which I have not a right to have inserted in the Notice Paper of the House.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I would like to ask, with regard to the insinuation that Mr. Corry had not closed his account before resigning, whether the amount of rates left outstanding was but 8*s*. 9*d*.?

MR. TREVELYAN: Perhaps the hon. and gallant Member will put the Question on the Paper.

MR. O'BRIEN: I may say that my Question does not impute that Mr. Corry disappeared with the funds of the Union, but simply that he timed his resignation so as to have the election of his successor on the day that the *ex officio* Guardians could muster for the election of Chairman.

CRIME (IRELAND)—THE TYRONE SHOOTING CASE.

MR. SEXTON (for Mr. HEALY) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether the recognizances of M'Kelvey, the Orangeman, who absconded in the Tyrone shooting case, have been estreated; and, whether any steps have been taken against his bailsmen?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in reply, said, an order had been made for estreating the recognizances in this case, and it would be enforced.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT LONDONDERRY.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Government, being aware of the evidence of Sub-Inspector Dunning, at the magisterial investigation in Derry in November last, in which he stated that he believed that the shot which took effect on Kelly came from the roof of the Corporation Hall, any prosecution has arisen therefrom; whether Sub-Inspector Bernard also states on oath at the same investigation that the first shots which were fired came from the Corporation Hall windows; whether a man named Rankin, who was charged with having flung missiles from the roof of the Hall on the passing processionists, was produced before the magistrates, and his case, on the application of the County Inspector, not decided, as it was then stated by the County Inspector a more serious charge would be preferred against him; whether he has since been produced on that more serious charge; whether a young man named Waller, the son of a City official, has been charged with having firearms on the roof of the Hall on the 1st November; and, if the Government have taken any steps to bring to justice those who can be sworn to and who were identified by Sub-Constable Daly as having flung missiles at the processionists, and having fired revolvers on the occasion, or if it is the intention of the Government to institute further inquiries into the matter, and prosecute those who were then and there identified as taking part in the Town Hall affray?

MR. TREVELYAN: Both Sub-Inspector Dunning and Sub-Inspector Bernard stated as mentioned in the Question; but only as matter of belief, and were not able to identify anyone. A man named Rankin was charged with having flung missiles from the roof of the Hall, and the case was adjourned, as it was stated a more serious charge might be preferred against him. The matter has been inquired into, and no evidence can be procured sufficient to sustain the charge. It was stated that Waller, who is the son of a rate collector, had a revolver on the roof of the Hall; but it was not shown he in any way used it. No person has been identified by Sub-Constable Daly as having flung missiles, or fired revolvers. Several persons, both in the Lord Mayor's procession and in the Corporation Hall, were alleged to have fired shots and thrown missiles; but no sufficient evidence has, up to the present, been obtained to justify a prosecution against either party, save in the case of Doherty, who has been convicted for the shooting at Durnion.

CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether there are any, and, if so, what grounds why the Civil Service Commissioners have not more clearly defined the examination courses in Mental and Moral

Philosophy, Jurisprudence, and Political Economy, in the preliminary India and Class I. Examinations; and, whether it would be possible to make the Royal University Degree courses and the Civil Service requirements in these subjects more closely approximate, so that Irish candidates for Civil Service appointments shall labour under no disadvantages as compared with candidates from English Universities in presenting themselves before the Civil Service Examiners?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, I will answer the Question for my right hon. Friend. I have received a Memorandum from the Civil Service Commissioners in this matter, which states that the examination in these subjects left no candidates from any particular part of the Kingdom at a disadvantage. It has been purposely left open, so that candidates, wherever trained, might enter under the same conditions. There is no approximation to any course in any English University, any more than to any Scotch or Irish University.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CASTLEBLAYNEY PETTY SESSIONS DISTRICT—CATHOLIC MAGISTRATES.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many Catholic magistrates are there in the P. S. District of Castleblayney, county Monaghan; is it the fact that, although the vast majority of the magistrates are non-Catholic, another Protestant magistrate has been appointed within the last few months, and that the Lord Chancellor has it in contemplation to still further increase the disparity, by creating another non-Catholic justice in the town; is he aware that a strong feeling prevails amongst the majority of the inhabitants of Castleblayney on the subject; and, is it the case that there is no Catholic in the town fit to be made magistrate?

Mr. TREVELYAN: There are no Roman Catholic magistrates in the Petty Sessions district of Castleblayney. On the 9th of January last, there being then much need of a magistrate in the district, a gentleman in every way qualified for the Commission of the Peace was appointed. He is a Protestant. The name of no Catholic gentleman has been submitted to the Lord Chancellor either then or since.

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND) ACT—PROSECUTION AT MULLINGAR.

Mr. O'BRIEN (for Mr. Harrington) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a prosecution under the Public Health Act instituted by the Board of Guardians at Mullingar against a millowner in that town named Scott; whether Colonel Cooper, J.P., an ex-officio member of the Board, opposed the prosecution, and declared that, in his opinion, the matter complained of by the sanitary officer of the Board was not a nuisance; whether, when the Guardians, at a subsequent meeting, came to consider the propriety of appealing from the decision of the local magistrate, Colonel Cooper again opposed the prosecution, and proposed an amendment to the resolution of the majority of the Board for that purpose; whether it is true that, notwithstanding this opposition and the fact of his being a member of the Board, which was plaintiff in the case, Colonel Cooper took a seat on the Bench with the County Court Judge on the hearing of the appeal, and by his vote nullified the judgment of the County Court Judge, and rendered the prosecution abortive; and, whether, if these facts be true, any representation will be made to the Lord Chancellor of Colonel Cooper's conduct on the occasion?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The facts appear to be as here stated. Colonel Cooper and the Chairman differed; and the case was adjourned till next Sessions. It was arranged that, in the meantime, the defendant should increase the height of the chimney, and change the fuel for his furnace. Mr. Cooper appears to have acted within his legal right in taking part in the adjudication, though it might have been more judicious, as he was the only magistrate sitting with the Judge, to have abstained from voting. It is not a case in which any representation should be made to the Lord Chancellor.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Does the right hon. Gentleman lay down that Colonel Cooper is at liberty, as a magistrate, to carry a job which he failed to carry as an *ex officio* Guardian?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, it was a matter that rested with Colonel Cooper himself.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE POLICE FORCE AT OMAGH.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that, in the town of Omagh, the county inspector of constabulary, the sub-inspector, and the head constable are all Protestants?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I understand that two of the officers mentioned are members of the Church of Ireland, and one is a Wesleyan Methodist. The Inspector General informs me that all these officers were sent to Omagh in the ordinary course of filling up vacancies, and irrespective of their religion.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—HYDE PARK CORNER—THE WELLINGTON STATUE.

Mr. PULESTON asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he is prepared to confirm the statement made in the Report of the Committee on the Wellington Statue, that the Duke did not sit to the sculptor, and that Copenhagen was dead before the statue was commenced; whether the order for a new statue has been given to Mr. Boehm; and, if so, whether such order will be countermanded; and, whether he will advise the reference of the whole matter to a Select Committee of this House? He might say, in explanation, that he had no intention in putting the Question of casting any reflection upon the distinguished character of Mr. Boehm as a sculptor.

Sir ROBERT PEEL asked when it was proposed to take the Report of the Vote?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I received on Saturday a letter from the present Duke of Wellington, to the effect that a letter had been laid before him by the Duke of Rutland, from his father to Mr. Wyatt, the sculptor, written in 1838, offering to show himself on horseback to that gentleman; and he adds that he thinks it probable that this took place. He says, however, that the head of the statue was taken by Wyatt from a bust of the Duke by Nollekens, who had modelled the Duke at the time of Waterloo; and he adds that in some important respects the statue does not represent the dress which the Duke wore at that battle. There is no doubt that the horse Copenhagen died three years before the statue was commenced, and that a well-known horse, called Recovery, was the model for the statue. In any case, the present Duke's opinion is not altered as to what should now be done; and he has renewed to me his approval of the scheme now before the House. No order has yet been given to Mr. Boehm for the statue. As all the facts are before the House I think there is no necessity for a Committee. The Report of the Vote will not be taken to-night.

Mr. PULESTON: Does the Chief Commissioner confirm the statement in the Report that the Duke did not sit to Mr. Wyatt; and has the right hon. Gentleman's attention been called to the Report of the Committee of 1839 to this effect—

> "His Grace has been so kind as to comply with our wishes in sitting to the artist in the clothes he wore at Waterloo?"

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I think there is no doubt that the Duke did sit, not for the statue, but for the sketch to Mr. Wyatt, in 1838 and 1839. But it is equally true that Mr. Wyatt found it more convenient to take the head from the bust that had been made by Nollekens.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—CONVICT PRISON WARDERS.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether any action has been taken; and, if so, of what nature, by the Home Office authorities, in reference to those grievances of the Convict Prison Warders, respecting which the House of Commons was informed in February 1883, that it was "hoped a decision would shortly be arrived at?"

Mr. HIBBERT (for Sir William Harcourt): A Departmental Committee, of which the Earl of Rosebery was Chairman, was appointed in January, 1883, to inquire into the subject, by whom a number of Governors, warders, and other witnesses were examined, and all the Petitions presented by warders carefully considered. The main objects desired by these Petitions were four in number—(1) the eight hours' system; (2) an increase of annual leave; (3) a readjustment of pay and allowances; (4) increased superannuation. After full consideration by the Home Office and the Treasury of the recommendations of the Committee, the following concessions have been granted:—(1.) An increase of staff has been experimentally made in three large prisons as regards night duty, which has much diminished the amount and length of hours on this duty. This has been found to work well, and the Secretary of State hopes that it will be generally introduced. (2.) The higher ranks of subordinate officers have had an addition of leave, which also involves an increase of staff. (3.) It was thought that certain officers acting as principal warders, but not paid as such, should receive some pay for the higher duty. This has been accorded, the number of principal warders having been increased by an addition of 22 such officers. The total increase of expenditure on account of these changes will be £3,478. (4.) The Treasury are of opinion that if it be desirable to alter the general terms of retirement for the convict service it should be done by special legislation. This the Secretary of State is not prepared at present to undertake.

In answer to Mr. R. H. PAGET,

MR. HIBBERT said, that his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department stated last year that the Report was a confidential document which he was unable to lay on the Table.

AFRICA (WEST COAST) — THE RIVER CONGO—RUMOURED DISTURBANCES.

MR. A. H. BROWN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any truth in the report that fighting and disturbances have taken place on the Lower Congo or the adjacent district?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There have been disturbances at Maculla, Cabenda, and Nokki, particulars of which will be found in the further Papers relating to affairs in the Congo district, which will be laid before the House.

MR. BOURKE: When?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Very shortly.

HARBOURS OF REFUGE ON THE NORTH-EAST COAST—REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE.

MR. RAMSAY (for General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When will be made public the Report of the Sub-Committee on the Northern Harbours of Refuge?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The Report has been agreed upon by the Sub - Committee. It has now been printed for consideration by members of the General Committee, and I hope it will not be long before it comes to my hand.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CRIMINAL TRIALS — CHALLENGES OF JURORS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the case of James Johnston, a Protestant, tried in the Commission Court, Green Street, Dublin, on a charge of having murdered Philip Maguire, a Catholic, the Crown, in view of the fact that the murder had proceeded from party feeling, arising out of difference of religion, removed the venue from Cavan; but, in Dublin, counsel for the prisoner challenged every Catholic juror who came up to be sworn, and counsel for the Crown, on the other hand, so acted that the jury was exclusively composed of Protestants, the prisoner being also of that creed; whether this jury having, after four minutes' consideration, declared the prisoner not guilty, the Crown immediately thereupon entered a nolle prosequi in the cases of three other persons sent up to be tried on the same capital charge; whether, upon the trials, which closed on Wednesday last, in the same Court, of Catholic prisoners charged in what is known as the Barbavilla conspiracy case, the Crown, acting by the same agents as in the case last cited, made no objection to Mr. Amos Vereker, a juror who admitted that he was a personal friend of the gentleman whom the prisoners were charged with conspiring to murder, and a member of the same Orange lodge with that gentleman; whether the Crown, however, challenged thirty-two jurors, thirty of them being Catholics, and one of those Catholics a gentleman who holds the commission of the peace; and, whether the courses pursued by counsel for the Crown in the two cases cited were authorised by their instructions?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is the fact that the Crown, for the purpose of securing an impartial trial, changed the venue in the case of James Johnston from Cavan to Dublin. Counsel for the prisoner exercised their right of challenge to the full extent, and it is believed challenged Catholic jurors. The Crown has no control over the action of the prisoner's counsel. The fact that the jury was composed of Protestants was not due to any action of counsel for the Crown. One juror, a member of an Orange lodge, was ordered by the Crown Solicitor to stand aside, as the prisoner was an Orangeman. The other gentlemen composing the jury were persons to whose impartiality no exception could be taken. Upon a verdict of acquittal being given, the Crown did enter a *nolle prosequi* against the other prisoners, as the one against whom the evidence was strongest had been acquitted. With respect to the trial of the prisoners in the Barbavilla conspiracy case, the counsel for the Crown were not aware that Mr. Amos Vereker was an Orangeman when he was called, and the objection to his serving was taken by counsel for one of the prisoners. When that objection had been taken, the regular and legal course was followed of appointing triers, who found him to be impartial. He was then challenged by the prisoner, and accordingly did not serve. Among those ordered to stand aside by the Crown were five Protestants, including one Orangeman. One of the prisoners was a Protestant and Orangeman. The religion of the jurors called in no way influenced the action of those representing the prosecution. It is not known that any Catholic ordered to stand aside was a Justice of the Peace. He may have been so; but we have not been able to ascertain whether it was so. Counsel for the Crown had no special instructions in this matter. They acted on their own discretion and responsibility with the sole object of securing an impartial trial.

Mr. SEXTON: Is it within the competence of counsel for the Crown, when a magistrate comes forward to serve as a juror, to order him to stand aside?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Is there the slightest foundation for the insinuation that the gentleman against whose life the attempt was made, Mr. Barlow Smythe, was or ever had been an Orangeman?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he did not know.

An hon. Member: Who said so?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I never said so.

Mr. SMALL: After the prisoners had exhausted their challenges could not the Crown go on challenging, and thus secure that Catholics shall not go on the jury?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It would be a gross impropriety if a man who impartially was believed in by the Crown should be ordered by them to stand aside on account of his religion.

ARMY—EXAMINATIONS FOR PROMOTION—OFFICERS FAILING TO PASS.

Colonel COLTHURST asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is aware that the Lords of the Admiralty have decided to allow those officers of Royal Marines who qualified in each subject but failed in the aggregate (at the examination for promotion held in January 1884) to pass; and, whether he will grant the same indulgence to those officers of the Army who, at the same examination, qualified in each subject but failed in the aggregate?

Earl PERCY asked, whether a major in the Royal Marines, who was suspended for not passing his examination in June, 1883, passed last January, and was reinstated?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I am informed that the statement of the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Colthurst) is correct; but that the Lords of the Admiralty have intimated that the indulgence now granted is not to be taken as a precedent for future examinations. I am not prepared to adopt the course which has been taken by the Admiralty; but some points raised by the noble Earl the Member for North Northumberland (Earl Percy) are still under consideration, and as soon as a decision has been arrived at I will inform the House.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, STROKESTOWN UNION, CO. ROSCOMMON.

Mr. LYNCH asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that, on the 3rd inst., the Irish Local Government Board received from Mr. Thomas Holden, of Strokestown, county Roscommon, a declaration made in the presence of Mr.

Richard Hague, a Justice of the Peace for said county, in which declaration Mr. Holden charged Mr. Flynn, clerk and returning officer of the Strokestown Union, with having acted illegally in reference to the recent election of a Poor Law Guardian for the division of Ballygarden, in the said Union, by having refused to record in favour of the said Thomas Holden, eight votes tendered for him on the part of six voters who had duly paid their Poor and Seed Rates, and by having allowed to the other candidate, Mr. Cox, seven votes on the part of four voters whose Seed Rates are still due; whether the returning officer, after having agreed with Mr. Holden to appoint a day to decide on the votes objected to—to submit the proxy votes, 40 or 50 in number, to the scrutiny of Mr. Holden, subsequently refused either to go over the objections or exhibit the proxy votes, and declared Mr. Cox elected by a majority of six votes; and, whether the Local Government Board will order a scrutiny or a new election?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It is the case that the Local Government Board received a declaration from Mr. Holden containing complaints of the character mentioned as to the actions and decisions of the Returning Officer at the recent election. The complaints having been referred to the Returning Officer, he furnished an explanation which appeared to the Board to be satisfactory; and this explanation was sent to Mr. Holden, who has not since made any further communication or complaint on the subject. If he shows any ground for questioning the accuracy of the statements in the explanation of the Returning Officer, or affords any sufficient reason for doubting the validity of the Return, the Local Government Board will make further inquiry; but at present they cannot order a new election.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—POSTAL ACCOMMODATION IN LEITRIM.

Colonel O'BEIRNE asked the Postmaster General, If the Post Office authorities have received a memorial from the inhabitants of Buncreeragh, Moher Gregg, and other townlands in the district of Augh-a-Cashel, county Leitrim, praying that a post office may be established in that district; and, if it is contemplated to establish a post office in that district, in view of the fact that the nearest post office is over five miles off?

Mr. FAWCETT: I have carefully considered the Memorial to which my hon. and gallant Friend refers. I regret that the correspondence is not sufficient to warrant the opening of a post office. In order, however, to meet the wishes of the Memorialists as far as possible, I have given instructions that there shall be a delivery from Drumshambo to the districts referred to three days a-week.

IRISH CHURCH ACT—IRISH GLEBE PURCHASERS.

Mr. BERESFORD asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any reply has been received by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, in answer to the questions submitted by him to them with reference to the case of the Irish glebe purchasers, in fulfilment of the understanding given to the deputation which waited on him on 31st January last, and referred to in his Letter to the honorary secretary of the Glebe Purchasers' Association?

Mr. TREVELYAN: His Excellency has not yet received their Lordships' reply to his letter; but I understand that it may be expected within the present week.

INDIA—THE BANDA AND KIRWEE PRIZE MONEY.

Sir JOHN HAY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the sum of £276,000, with interest, retained by the Indian Government as proceeds of the movable estate of the captured Ex-Princes of Kirwee, and not yet distributed to the Forces of the Crown, ought to be carried over to the Consolidated Fund, under the Act 1 Vic. c. 2, sections 2 and 12, if not divided as prize money to the Troops; and, whether, in reference to the payments to India, on account of the Grant in Aid for the Afghan War, he proposes to recover that sum from India for the public Exchequer?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): The money referred to by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay) in the first part of his Question represents, I presume, the value of the promissory notes issued by the East India Company and held by the Raos of Kirwee. On the rebellion breaking out, the Indian Government, on the 9th of January, 1858, gave the usual notice that these notes, the numbers of which were known, had been stopped. The captors of the Raos claimed to have the value of these notes distributed as prize money. The Indian Government refused, and it has been decided by the Board of Treasury, after hearing counsel in 1869, and subsequently in the Law Courts, that the captors' claim was inadmissible. The cancelled notes were never found by the capturing force, and never formed part of the booty. They never passed into the possession of the Crown, nor has the Crown any right to them. I do not propose to take any steps to recover the amount from India.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS — RATHDRUM UNION, CO. WICKLOW.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that, at the recent election of Poor Law Guardians for Rathdrum Union, county Wicklow, voting papers were not in some cases distributed to persons entitled to vote whose political opinions were known to be on the popular side; whether it is true that voting papers were not supplied to two voters named Kane and Toner in the Newcastle Electoral Division of the Union; whether, when they went to the workhouse, a distance of fourteen miles, and applied for them, they were refused by the returning officer on the ground that the application was too late; whether such refusal was in accordance with the law; whether the returning officer, Mr. Bernard Manning, is the person who acted as returning officer in the election of a guardian for the Killiskey Electoral Division of same Union in 1882, when it was found on a scrutiny, that forty-seven votes were received by him in the Conservative interest in excess of the lawful number; and, whether, if it should appear that the returning officer has not properly discharged his duty on the present occasion, he will, as President of the Local Government Board in Ireland, take any and what steps to secure the holding of elections for Poor Law Guardians in Rathdrum Union in an impartial manner?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I must ask for further time for inquiry into the matter.

Mr. W. J. CORBET: I will postpone the Question till Thursday.

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND) — VESTED AND NON-VESTED SCHOOLS.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the National Education Commissioners have made a rule under which assistance is refused towards the erection of any school, even though vested in local trustees, if the teachers employed in it are religious men or women; and, if so, what is the reason of the rule?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Schools for the erection of which grants are made constitute what are called vested schools. Since the year 1855 a rule has existed under which Convent schools receive aid only as non-vested schools. Hence the principle of building grants since that year does not apply to them.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: My Question does not refer to Convent schools, but to schools belonging to local Trustees who employ as teachers Christian Brothers.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have given the hon. Member the answer I have received; but I can gather myself there are few such schools, and I take the answer of the Commissioners to mean that, but I will refer back to them.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I shall renew the Question on Thursday.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.

Mr. GORST asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he can now announce a date for the Second Reading of the Merchant Shipping Bill; and, if not, whether he will indicate a day upon which he will be prepared to make such announcement?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I propose to ask the House to proceed with the second reading on the first Government night which the exigencies of Supply may leave free after Mr. Speaker has been got out of the Chair on the Representation of the People Bill.

EGYPT (ARMY OF OCCUPATION).

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON asked the Secretary of State for War, If the Egyptian Government has any control over the movements of the British troops stationed in Egypt and supported by Egyptian revenues?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: No, Sir; it has not. I should, perhaps, explain that Egyptian revenues are only charged with the excess of cost of the maintenance of the troops in that country over and above what they would cost in this country.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE HIGH SHERIFF OF DROGHEDA.

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. John Maugan, the present High Sheriff of Drogheda, is the holder of a licence to sell beer, cider, and spirits, "to be consumed on the premises;" and, whether, since section 13 of the 3rd and 4th William 4, chapter 68, enacts that a sheriff or sub-sheriff shall not be capable of "receiving or holding" such a licence, what action the Government intend to take in the matter?

Mr. SEXTON asked whether the Statute referred to was not obsolete?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It is not obsolete. The case stands thus—The 13th section of the 3 & 4 *Will.* IV. c. 68, does enact that no Sheriff shall be capable of receiving or holding a licence to sell beer, cider, or spirits by retail, to be drunk or consumed on the premises. There is nothing to prevent such a person being appointed Sheriff; but, on becoming Sheriff, he is disabled from acting under his licence. As it is probable that Mr. Maugan, if he has so acted, has done so in ignorance of the law, his attention will be called to the matter.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL—FLOODS PREVENTION—LEGISLATION.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether the subject of Floods Prevention is dealt with in the County Government Bill, which he stated was prepared; and, whether he would have any objection to lay it upon the Table, so that it may be well considered in the Country?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The Local Government Bill, as at present drawn, does not deal with the subject referred to by the hon. Baronet. It was contemplated that that question would be dealt with in a separate Bill. It is not deemed desirable to introduce the Local Government Bill until there is some probability of its receiving the attention of Parliament.

IRELAND—EXCISE BONDING WAREHOUSE, LIMERICK.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is a fact that the Government are going to close their Excise Bonding Warehouse, Henry Street, Limerick, against the public, and hand it over for the exclusive use of one distiller in that city; and, if so, what warehouse they will substitute in place of it for the general body of traders in that district?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): No, Sir; a proposal on the subject of the Excise bonding warehouse in Henry Street, Limerick, which is not the property of the Government, but is in a very bad state of repair, has been made to the Board of Inland Revenue, and is under their consideration. There are two sides to the question, and the matter will not be decided hastily.

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES (IRELAND) INQUIRY COMMISSION.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can now communicate the names of the gentlemen appointed to serve on the Queen's Colleges (Ireland) Inquiry Commission?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Government are still in correspondence with regard to the selection of the Commissioners. At a late hour on Thursday night, in answer to the hon. Member for Longford's (Mr. Justin M'Carthy's) Motion for certain Returns, I stated I did not expect to be able to name so early a day as to-day; and the hon. Member put off his Return for a week from that date. I hope to be able to state the names in a day or two.

In reply to a further Question from Mr. Sexton,

Mr. TREVELYAN was understood to say that one gentleman had been decided upon.

Mr. SEXTON: Can he be named now?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I do not see him in his place. I think I had better not name him.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF KHARTOUM AND BERBER.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the information that Khartoum is hemmed in by insurgent Arabs and that General Gordon's palace is daily riddled with Arab bullets, that General Gordon has telegraphed that the situation is desperate, that General Gordon has asked that voluntary subscriptions for £200,000 and 3,000 nizams are necessary for his release, and that Hussein Khalifa, with his garrison and over 2,000 refugees, mostly women and children, are in great peril of massacre at Berber, Her Majesty's Government will now state that a relief expedition is being prepared for the relief of Berber and Khartoum? He would also ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether Her Majesty's Ministers have decided to send an expedition to save General Gordon and to relieve Khartoum; and, if he cannot now inform the House at what time Her Majesty's Ministers will be able to make such a statement? He would further ask the Premier, Whether it is true that the Government have ordered the abandonment of the garrison of Berber; and, whether the people of that town are now retiring upon Korosko?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Apart from the addition which the hon. Member has made *vivâ voce*, the two first Questions are mostly repetitions of Questions which I answered on Thursday last, and I have nothing to add to the answers I then made. In truth, as regards Berber, there are very special reasons for not making any addition to those answers, because we have no final intelligence with regard to that place; and we might, by giving an answer, be compromising the interest either of those persons who are in the place, or of those who have quitted it. As regards the addition made in the last Question of the hon. Member, I have to say that no such instruction has been issued by the Government.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Has the garrison left Berber? Berber is evacuated.

Mr. GLADSTONE: We have no decisive and final intelligence on that subject. We are informed that a certain portion of the troops and other persons have left Berber; but we do not know anything more, and no account is given of the garrison.

Mr. E. STANHOPE: Will the right hon. Gentleman inform the House whether General Gordon has been consulted with regard to the evacuation of Berber in any way?

Mr. GLADSTONE: This Question proceeds, I think, on a misapprehension. There has been no power of obtaining an answer from General Gordon since the new intelligence was received that Berber was in difficulties.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I wish to ask the Prime Minister, seeing that he did not answer the last part of my Question, Whether he can inform us at what time Her Majesty's Ministers will be able to make a statement in regard to the despatch of an expedition; and perhaps the Prime Minister or the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will tell us what is the date of the last despatch or message from General Gordon?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I thought the hon. Member would see that it would be quite impossible to make any answer to that Question, or to the request for such a statement. I have already stated that we hold ourselves responsible with regard to the security of General Gordon. We have heard nothing to the effect that General Gordon is insecure, and it is perfectly impossible for me to make any such answer as the hon. Member seems to expect. I may say, with regard to the Question so obviously put without the object of obtaining information, I must, if the hon. Member persists in putting it, most reluctantly fall back on the privilege which belongs to any Member of this House, and not affect to give an answer to such a Question.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: The Prime Minister has just informed the House that communication with General Gordon is cut off——

Mr. GLADSTONE: No.

Mr. ASHMEAD - BARTLETT: I understood him to say that; and I beg to ask the Prime Minister, or any Member of the Government, if the communications with General Gordon are not cut off, how the Government are going to fulfil the responsibility which they state they feel themselves to be under with regard to him? In view of the statement of the Prime Minister, I shall feel bound on an early occasion to call attention—I shall not do it to-night—to the abandonment of General Gordon by the Government in the only way open to me.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked whether, in the event of a sufficient sum being raised by public subscription, in response to General Gordon's appeal to organize a volunteer force to proceed to his relief, Her Majesty's Government will afford all necessary facilities for the expedition? He would mention that he had already an offer of £1,000 in one sum for the purpose.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member has kindly made me aware of the practical and philanthropic view with which he puts his Question. I am very glad to receive in any way a further expression of his views if he see occasion; but, for the present, I must only say to him that, in our opinion, the safety of General Gordon being a matter which would involve us in an obligation to consider the question in a practical view, we do not see how we could devolve that upon any volunteer effort. It appears to me that it is a matter which would devolve upon us.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR asked whether the obligation which the Government have accepted, in respect of the safety of General Gordon, extended to the garrison and the population of Khartoum?

MR. LABOUCHERE: I would also ask whether Colonel Stewart has not reported of these people that "their political creed is to side with whichever party is strongest;" and, whether this garrison is not partly composed of troops whom Colonel Stewart, writing on April 28 last year, described as—

> "Plundering and harassing the population, being no better than highway robbers, and being held in universal detestation and abhorrence?"

MR. GLADSTONE: I must say that this latter Question of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) is a reasonable one. The Questions which have come from the other side of the House have been put with a view of obtaining some declaration from the Government in favour of the interests of the garrison at Khartoum, and the Question now put from this side of the House is asked for a contrary purpose. The duty of the Government is to abide by the statements which they have already made. It is their belief that it would not be conducive to any of the interests involved if they were to go further.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Has the Government, in abandoning Berber, acted under military advice; and, if so, is there any objection to lay on the Table the opinions of distinguished military officers who were consulted?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: My right hon. Friend has already stated the reason why the Government do not consider that it would be desirable to make any statement with reference to Berber. As to the advice on which the Government have acted, we have, of course, availed ourselves of the best advice which was obtainable; but I think it would be altogether without precedent and extremely inconvenient that we should undertake to make public the advice which we have received. The decision is one for which the Government is responsible; and the advice, and the grounds upon which it was given, are altogether different questions.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, he should not have asked the Question, had it not been stated that distinguished military advice had been given that the road to Berber was open some time ago. He wished to know whether it was true that Osman Digna was now threatening Suakin with 2,000 men; and, if so, whether the Government contemplated dispersing the Arab tribes by an armed force?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, the Government were in constant communication with Colonel Ashburnham, and they had received no information that such was the case.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE SOUDAN)—VOTE OF THANKS TO GENERAL GRAHAM, ADMIRAL HEWETT, AND THE OFFICERS.

MR. ONSLOW asked, Whether it was the intention of the Government to move a Vote of Thanks to Admiral Hewett, General Graham, and the Officers under their command for the recent operations in the Soudan?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: My right hon. Friend stated, a short time ago, that this subject would be considered by the Government in connection with that of the rewards or honours which might be conferred upon the officers and men who took part in the operations in the Soudan. This part of the Question is now under the consideration of the First Lord of the Admiralty and myself; and as soon as we have come to a conclusion as to the steps to be taken—and we hope to come to a conclusion shortly—we will communicate our intentions to the House.

MR. ONSLOW: The noble Marquess does not say whether the Government intend to move a Vote of Thanks or not. I would remind him that there is nothing in the Standing Orders of the House to prevent a private Member doing it; and also that a Vote of Thanks takes precedence of any other Motion. If the noble Marquess will not state positively to-night whether he intends to move a Vote of Thanks, I beg to give Notice that I shall do so myself.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. CORRY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, seeing that his proposals on Thursday did not enable the House to arrive at any decision on the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, he is now prepared to name an early day for the Second Reading?

MR. T. A. DICKSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill was not reached on Thursday or Friday last, he will state what arrangements he proposes to make in order that the House may have an opportunity of arriving at a decision on the Second Reading of the Bill?

MR. R. POWER: Before answering these Questions, will the right hon. Gentleman permit me to ask if he has seen the report of a public meeting of the St. David's Temperance Society, held at Cardiff on the 15th instant, under the chairmanship of the Roman Catholic Bishop, at which the Rev. Father Richardson made the following statement respecting Sunday closing? He said:—

> "It had become a practice for women to get in on Saturday night as many barrels of beer as they could smuggle past the police, and that such places existed all over the town. Yet the police did not, or could not, or would not, or dare not, find them out. A more terrible sight could not meet the eyes of a clergyman than the scenes which were to be found in such places. The room was full to suffocation; there was a cask in the corner of the room, another stowed under the stairs, and probably another elsewhere. The neighbours handed their jugs over the backyard walls, and they were supplied more freely than they could be in a public-house. They saw young girls sitting on the knees of young men, with their arms round their necks, and both the girls and the young men the worse for drink. Not only that, but little children were taken into the room and dosed with beer until they became drunk. A more abominable effect of closing public-houses he could not conceive possible. It was one of the most terrible things that afflicted the town. This was the result of Sunday closing."

And the Rev. Father Butler added his testimony to the like effect, as follows:—

> "Father Butler, in seconding the resolution, wondered that the Sunday Closing Bill for Wales had not been called Sunday opening. Whereas there were only five clubs before the Act came in force, there were now 30. In his district, the place was infested with them. They were paying, and consequently increased. They promoted drunkenness among young people, and caused people to drink who never drank before, and people who did drink before to drink more. If the Act were repealed, and repealed it must be, things would get better. He thought it was a misfortune that the Act ever passed. There was now more drunkenness, more sin, more iniquity of every kind committed in Cardiff than ever there was before."

And whether the right hon. Gentleman thinks that great haste is required for legislation to place Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Belfast under a Sunday Closing Law similar to that which, according to the testimony of the Catholic clergy of Cardiff, has produced such evil results in that town?

MR. GLADSTONE: My attention has not been called to the various statements referred to by the hon. Member for Waterford; but it is a fair subject for discussion on the Bill in question; and I hope, therefore, it may be the means of making us still more desirous of providing time for the discussion of it. With regard to the two other Questions, the House is aware that, on Friday last, owing to a proceeding in which the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) took a principal part, not only was the Bill not reached, but the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill was not finished. I am extremely disappointed with the proceedings, because the effect was not only to make it impossible to proceed with the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill, but also to render it doubtful whether any good can be achieved either for that or any other Business, at a Day Sitting, by an exact repetition of those proceedings. The Government will, therefore, carefully look out for the first opportunity that may offer itself to call the attention of the House to the Rule whereby Bills are prevented from coming on again.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. BRODRICK asked the Prime Minister, Whether there was to be a Morning Sitting to-morrow?

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, that, as already announced by his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson), there would be a Morning Sitting to-morrow for the discussion of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill.

Mr. BRODRICK asked the right hon. Gentleman, whether he was aware that there was on the Paper for to-morrow night a Motion of vital and paramount importance to the elementary school teachers throughout the whole Kingdom; and, whether he proposed on every Tuesday and Friday after Easter to put down measures of national importance, without regard to the rights of private Members, in order to secure the freedom of Government nights for measures of Party urgency?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I believe the House is extremely anxious to have a decision on the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, and I do feel it my duty to ask for a Morning Sitting to-morrow. I am informed, and believe, that there will be ample time for the discussion of the subject to which the hon. Member refers at the Evening Sitting.

Mr. BRODRICK: May I ask if the right hon. Gentleman will give any facility for making a House in the evening?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I cannot undertake to depart from the established usages of the House with regard to the making of a House.

Mr. BRODRICK: I beg to give Notice that on the Motion for a Morning Sitting to-morrow, I shall move that the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill be put down for Thursday.

EGYPT—MR. O'KELLY, M.P. FOR ROSCOMMON.

The O'DONOGHUE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any confirmation has been received at the Foreign Office of the report that Mr. O'Kelly, the Member for Roscommon, had been arrested by the Egyptian authorities?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Foreign Office was informed on March 10 that Mr. O'Kelly was said to be in the Nile Valley with the intention of going to join the Mahdi. On the 24th of the same month Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed that Mr. O'Kelly was at Dongola, and that orders had been sent by the Egyptian Government to prevent him proceeding further on his journey. I have no other information.

Mr. PARNELL: With reference to the reply of the noble Lord, I beg to ask the noble Lord, whether he is aware that Mr. O'Kelly's expedition to join the Mahdi was undertaken in consequence of an engagement or commission for that purpose which he received from a newspaper?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; I have received no such information.

Mr. PARNELL: Will the noble Lord telegraph to Cairo to ascertain whether it is the fact that Mr. O'Kelly has been placed under arrest by the authorities at Dongola?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have no objection to communicate with the Secretary of State on the subject.

FRANCE AND ANNAM (TONQUIN).

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will explain his assertion, as given in *The République Française*, that correspondence of a strictly confidential character has taken place with the French Government on the subject of Tonquin, seeing that, since M. Challemel-Lacour was French Minister in London, no communication has passed on that subject?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The hon. Member has made a mistake in taking the account from *The République Française*, and not from *The Times* newspaper. If he had referred to *The Times* he would have seen I never used the expression "confidential correspondence." I said that certain confidential communications had taken place, and that was perfectly correct.

EGYPT—THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE.

Sir **STAFFORD NORTHCOTE**: I beg to ask the Prime Minister, Whether there is any truth in the report that negotiations are going on for the purpose of assembling a Conference on some of the affairs of Egypt; and, whether it would be possible to state the purposes for which that Conference is to be assembled?

Mr. **GLADSTONE**: I think that is a Question which I may fairly ask the right hon. Gentleman to place on the Notice Paper. I will communicate with my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the subject.

EGYPT (THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE) —THE 60th RIFLES AT SUAKIN.

Sir **WALTER B. BARTTELOT** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there is any truth in the report in the papers, to the effect that the 60th Rifles, at Suakin, have insufficient camping-ground and are in want of water, and that that gallant regiment is thereby being reduced to a condition anything but creditable to the authorities?

The Marquess of **HARTINGTON**: I have not seen the statement referred to by the hon. and gallant Member. But the hon. and gallant Member for Thirsk (Colonel Dawnay) has given me private Notice this evening that he will put a Question to me to-morrow upon the same subject, and I will make inquiries and give all the information we have.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—MORNING SITTINGS AND SELECT COMMITTEES.

Sir **BALDWYN LEIGHTON** asked Mr. Speaker, Whether, when hon. Members are engaged on Private Bill Committees, they have the right to call on the Chairman to adjourn the Committee, so that they may attend in their places in the House, when a Division takes place at a Morning Sitting; and, further, if so, whether the same right will extend to Standing Committees, so that Members engaged on Private Bill Committees can have them adjourned for the purpose of attending such Standing Committees?

Mr. **SPEAKER**: I do not think I am called upon to answer theoretical Questions; but I assume from the statement of the hon. Baronet that a case is likely to arise immediately. In answer to the hon. Baronet, I have to say that there is no inherent right in a Member to call upon the Chairman of a Private Bill Committee to adjourn the Committee, in order that they may attend the House, when a Division takes place, or for the purpose of attending a Standing Committee.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL PROPOSALS—PROPOSED RESTORATION OF THE GOLD COINAGE.

Mr. **ARTHUR O'CONNOR** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he proposes, during the next three months, to exchange full-weight sovereigns against light-weight half-sovereigns?

The **CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER** (Mr. Childers): May I ask the hon. Member to repeat the Question to-morrow? I have had no Notice of it.

ARMY—FALL OF BARRACKS AT PORTSMOUTH.

In reply to Colonel Makins,

The Marquess of **HARTINGTON** said, he had just received some information upon the subject of the accident at Portsmouth; and from that it appeared that one man had his leg broken, and two others were reported to have been hurt. The accident was caused by a brick wall and some iron girders falling down. He had no other information beyond that.

NOTICE OF MOTION.

THE INCOME TAX.

Mr. **J. G. HUBBARD** gave Notice that he would, on the first available opportunity on the introduction of the Inland Revenue Bill, move—

> "That it is expedient that, at the earliest opportunity, the administration of the Income Tax should be amended conformably with the definition of annual value as legally determined by the House of Lords."

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[Bill 119.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

COMMITTEE. [FIRST NIGHT.]

Order for Committee read.

Mr. RAIKES, who had given Notice of the following Motion :—

> "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to make provision for the redistribution of seats between the existing constituencies, and for the representation of populous urban sanitary districts at present unrepresented, by the transfer to them of seats from the less populous borough constituencies,"

said, that on the last occasion that he had had the honour of addressing the House upon this subject, he had expressly to remark upon the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister through serious indisposition. He was now very glad to be able to congratulate the House upon the re-appearance of the right hon. Gentleman, and was confident that with him in his customary place they would find their discussions much more profitable and practical. There had been a disposition in some quarters to represent the Amendment he was about to move, and also another of which Notice had been given by the hon. Member for Knaresborough (Mr. T. Collins), as merely repetitions of the Motion of his noble Friend the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners); and he wished to state to the House the reasons which led him to believe that it should be regarded from a different point of view. The Motion of his noble Friend the Member for North Leicestershire invited the House to reject the scheme because it was incomplete, whereas his own Motion was to invite the House to complete the scheme; and it seemed to him that, although it might be supported by those who supported the previous Motion, it really was the converse of that proposition, and was in no degree bound to defeat the Bill, or cause its rejection, or even its delay. They all knew very well that the question of redistribution as connected with the representation of the people had been, as a rule, considered inseparable; and it was only when in the hands of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister that there had ever been an attempt made to sever the two questions. He was of opinion that there could not be a more fatal mistake made by those who were anxious for a really good Reform Bill than to attempt to separate the question of the franchise from that of redistribution. The question of redistribution must always be one of extreme difficulty; it bristled, in fact, with difficulties, for it was impeded by all sorts of personal and local considerations. It could only make progress when strengthened by the motive power of an extension of the franchise. The Bill now before the House was going to give an enormous addition to the county electorate; in fact, the Bill appeared to proceed very much on the familiar doctrine of the rights of man. That principle was to be so far restricted that a vote was to be given, not to every man, but to every man who lived in a house. In the opinion of those who carried the second reading of the Bill by so large a majority, every householder ought to have an equal right to vote, whether he lived in a borough or a county. But on the same principle every man who had a vote ought to have a right to an equal vote—that was, a vote having about the same amount of influence in returning a Member of Parliament. At the present time the value of a county vote and of a borough vote was about the same. In England and Wales the present borough electorate numbered between 1,500,000 and 1,600,000 voters; the county electorate numbered about 900,000. The borough electorate returned 297 Members and the county electorate 187, which was a tolerably fair division according to the number of voters. But this Bill would add 1,300,000 voters to the county electorate of England and Wales, and there would then be 2,200,000 voters returning 187 Members, while 1,600,000 returned 297. Such would be the anomaly and injustice created by a Bill which professed to adjust the franchise with a special view to fairness. The necessity of a Redistribution Bill in regard to Ireland was, at least, equally necessary. They had to bear in mind not merely the question of the share of representation which Ireland should possess as compared with the other parts of the Kingdom, and the propriety of so altering the franchise as to swamp the only class in Ireland attached to the English connection—they had to consider the extraordinary anomalies which had been perpetuated in Ireland in consequence of the unwillingness of the Government of 1869 to complete the task of their Predecessors. Thus there were at present 16 towns of less than 10,000 inhabitants who returned a Member each, while large counties of 200,000 persons, like Galway and Mayo and Donegal, only returned two Members each. The senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) in his latter days had become enamoured of the Act of Union, and said he would take his stand upon it in considering the proportion of representation to be allowed to Ireland. The Prime Minister was equally positive in his declaration that he was not prepared to diminish the share of Ireland's representation in that House. The present 105 Members sent from Ireland consisted of 100 Members as fixed by the Act of Union, and five added by the Act of 1832. There would, he thought, be no disposition to act in a manner that might appear harsh towards Ireland, by making an enormous reduction in its representation. But there would probably be but one opinion in that House—however that opinion might be expressed in the Division Lobby—that if five Members were added in 1832, these might well be surrendered now to Scotland, who was under-represented. As to Scotland, there was a special necessity for the question of redistribution to be dealt with without delay. The Scotch borough representation was full of extravagant eccentricities of grouping. He should like to give the House one or two examples. He found that the Falkirk district had boroughs in three counties—Stirlingshire, Lanarkshire, and Linlithgowshire. The Stirling group contained boroughs situated in Stirlingshire, Perthshire, Fifeshire, and Linlithgowshire. The Kilmarnock Burghs included Kilmarnock, in the county of Ayr; Dumbarton, in the county of Dumbarton; Renfrew, in Renfrewshire, and another town in the county of Lanark. Those who formed those constellations had, no doubt, their own reasons for so disposing of them, and for making political districts overlap each other. Probably those very astute politicians thought that by throwing as many difficulties in the way of a new classification they would perpetuate the arrangement they were then making. He believed this matter was not dealt with at all in the Reform Bill of 1867. The question of Scottish borough constituencies, he thought, was one which required the attention of the politician, even in a greater degree than the arithmetician or the statistician. At all events, the question was one so congenial to the tastes of the right hon. Gentleman himself that he sincerely hoped he would be the person who would provide the house with a scheme for reforming it. Coming to the case of Wales, the first thing that struck the observer was the great disproportion in the representation of Wales. At present Wales contained 12 counties, represented, he thought, by 30 Members. Those Members represented in each case a constituency, taking it on an average, of at least 10,000 less than a constituency in England. They found in Wales some of those extraordinary anomalies in the way of borough representation which existed in a more glaring manner in Scotland. They found mere villages grouped together; and he believed the smallest borough in the Kingdom was to be found in Wales—the borough of Radnor, which had very recently the honour of being represented by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War. He need not add that this seat had for long been a safe Liberal preserve. Other examples were to be found in the petty constituency of Haverfordwest, surrounded, or, he might say, hemmed in, by the Pembroke district of boroughs, which contained from 20,000 to 25,000 persons, and which embraced four or five large towns, and in the Carnarvon district of boroughs, with 30,000 inhabitants, of which two-thirds resided in two considerable towns, while the remainder were divided among four or five small villages. It was not until such constituencies were analyzed that it was found they contained three or four towns containing less than 3,000 inhabitants, and which yet enjoyed the borough franchise by the mere necessity of having to be squeezed together in order to make up a tolerably adequate group of boroughs. If a limit was recognized below which a place should not be considered entitled to distinct urban representation, then the total number of Welsh district boroughs would be greatly abridged, and an opportunity would be afforded for the representation of important places, which were not at present represented. Then take the case of England. In the small boroughs there was not any marked preponderance of one political Party over another. As a matter of fact, 56 boroughs in England below 10,000 of population were still returning Members to the House of Commons. Those who had seen the very interesting and important Return obtained some time ago by the hon. Member for East Staffordshire (Sir Michael Bass) of the urban sanitary districts which were at present unrepresented in the House would have seen that their number was 187, containing a population exceeding 3,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), in his speech on the second reading of the Bill, told the House that he had been at the pains to ascertain that there were at least 30 constituencies among the county divisions returning 60 Members to Parliament, in which the urban element would predominate over the agricultural. Therefore, they were brought face to face with a state of things in which they would not only disfranchise the existing constituency by adding 1,300,000 voters to the present total of 900,000; but they would also, in the case of 30 counties and 60 seats, disfranchise the agricultural element by the preponderance of the urban element. In addition to that, they had also to consider that those persons in those populous districts who were to be placed on the register in this enormous number would be smarting under a sense of the injustice which excluded them from the urban representation, while it was preserved for the small and decaying towns at present enjoying the privilege. He did not wish to be suspected of a too great desire to obliterate all the tiny constituencies which existed in this country. They had given variety and interest to the character of the House, and they knew that the Prime Minister himself had represented one of those constituencies. But he wished the House and the country to know that as they proposed to go to work under this Bill immense masses of people would be enfranchised on the ground that they were householders; and, therefore, they must make up their minds to such a clean sweep of little constituencies as was not paralleled even under the Reform Bill of 1832. Then there was the case of London, which had six boroughs—Westminster, Marylebone, Finsbury, Tower Hamlets, Hackney, and Chelsea—containing a population of 2,500,000, and represented by 12 Members. If they took the electoral unit at 50,000, these boroughs would be entitled to 50 Members. But if they were to take the number at half that, and to adopt the extraordinary theory of the Prime Minister that, inasmuch as they were near the centre of affairs, and were familiar with Imperial questions, their representation should be less than that of persons removed from the centre of affairs, and who were presumably unfamiliar with Imperial questions. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No, no!] The right hon. Gentleman certainly laid great stress upon that point —that London could not expect to be represented in the same ratio as districts distant from the Metropolis. But supposing they gave London North of the Thames, say, 18 additional Members, increasing the number to 30. They had then to consider that in the South of London there were Lambeth, Southwark, and Greenwich, which contained among them another 1,000,000 of people. These places were at present represented by six Members; but, according to the population scheme, they were entitled to 20 Members. Liverpool, which is the largest borough in the Kingdom, and had a population of 552,000, according to the rule laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, ought to have 10 Members; while Manchester, with nearly 400,000 inhabitants, was clearly entitled to seven or eight Members; and on the same grounds Birmingham ought to have a similar number, and populous boroughs like Wednesbury and the district of Swansea ought to have additional representation. This would give a large increase to the representation of large and populous districts, in addition to the increased representation of Metropolitan constituencies and large and important divisions of counties. This would involve the transfer of close upon 100 seats if justice was to be done under the Bill; and he thought that in a question of the kind an attempt should be made to meet the difficulty as fairly as was possible. The question was whether it was the intention of the Government to do justice, or to make the Bill a mere mockery to the people whom they had announced their intention of enfranchising, but whom they were about to treat as though, like the tailors in the proverbial saying, it required nine of them to make a man. He did not remember a case in which the House had a stronger right than they had on the present occasion to ask that the Government should lay their cards on the Table. The Government might, perhaps, hope to pass this Bill without giving to the House any further light as to their intentions on the question of the redistribution of seats in all places which would be affected by the Bill. The question of proportional representation was, nevertheless, closely connected with the present proposal, though it had been said that the matter could not be dealt with in the Bill as drawn; but he could certainly see no reason why it should not be enacted in the event of the Bill passing that no person should be entitled to give more votes than any present elector had now a right to give. It seemed to him that the country could not accept with satisfaction or confidence a scheme like the present, which was going to give this enormous representation to new voters, who would outvote the old voters without leaving them one shred of their political power. His noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) said the other day that he did not care about checks and guarantees. Neither did he to any great extent; but it was not as a check or guarantee that he would stipulate for the representation of minorities—it was a matter of simple common justice. The future of the country was greatly bound up with the question of the representation of minorities. He could not contemplate without a shudder the prospect of a future electorate unredeemed by any variety, unbroken by any streak of light to recall the bright past upon which they were now turning their backs, and he would entreat the Prime Minister not to let himself be remembered as deserving an apostrophe to be found in some of the best known lines of Pope, when he wrote—

> "Thy hand, great Anarch, lets the curtain fall,
> And universal darkness buries all."

The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Instruction with the exception of the words, "by the transfer to them of seats from the less populous borough constituencies."

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to make provision for the redistribution of seats between the existing constituencies, and for the representation of populous urban sanitary districts at present unrepresented."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, it may be generally convenient that we should state at this moment the view the Government take of their position in respect to this Motion. In the first place, I perfectly understand the reason why the right hon. Gentleman has dropped the words from the close of his Motion, "by the transfer to them of seats from the less populous borough constituencies." The right hon. Gentleman was in a painful state of mind. He told us at the close of his speech that he could not contemplate with anything else than a shudder the state of things likely to be produced if 2,000,000 more persons were added to the constituencies of the same stamp of people as those who have been already found by experience to be perfectly well qualified to exercise the franchise; but, being in this shuddering state of mind, he desires that this Motion should not present to the view of the country any painful ideas; and, therefore, he held out a pleasant conception of populous urban sanitary districts at present unrepresented, and dropped the disagreeable suggestion of the means by which those wants were to be supplied—namely, by taking away seats from other people. So far from complaining of the length of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, he exercised a great indulgence to the House in not making it longer; but upon the topics on which he founded himself he might very well have occupied the whole evening. What were those topics? There was not one word in the speech which did not belong to debates which have already been engaged in. There was not an argument on Ireland, Scotland, or Wales, on Birmingham, Manchester, or Liverpool, or upon proportional representation, not a solitary sentence which did not aptly belong to debates we have concluded, and upon which the House has pronounced a very solemn judgment after two nights on the introduction largely given to the subject of redistribution, and after five nights on the Motion of the noble Lord, almost wholly given to redistribution. The right hon. Gentleman, before we are allowed to advance an inch—being one of those who have been responsible for the conduct of the Business of the House—steps into the arena, and again proposes to begin from the beginning and discuss the entire question. I think it fair to the right hon. Gentleman to place before the House what I believe to be the construction put, at least by the majority of the House, on this proceeding. I myself was once so bold, and perhaps so rash, as to frame a general definition of what might be called obstructive speaking; and I defined it to be "speaking which is not addressed to carrying conviction to the minds of the House." But though it is not addressed to that end, it occupies the time of the House, and is, therefore, naturally construed and taken to be adopted and addressed for the purpose of consuming that time. I frankly own that is the construction which I, for one, and others on this side of the House, have placed on the speech of the right hon. Gentleman; and I think very possibly some Members sitting on the other side may do the same. My object is not to go over the speech of the right hon. Gentleman in detail, and I shall not detain the House five minutes on that part of the matter. He began by deploring the enormous disadvantage under which we should place the subject of redistribution by separating it from the franchise. The right hon. Gentleman desires a sincere and genuine reform. He has had great experience of sincere and genuine reform. He sits in the region and belongs to the school which have made sincere and genuine reform the great business of their political life; and, therefore, he comes forward as a prophet and as an authority to expound to us this subject, and to tell us how we are to prove ourselves sincere and genuine reformers. I believe there are some of us who are not entirely disposed to yield to the right hon. Gentleman a monopoly of that claim; and it certainly is the conviction of the responsible Government that the truth will be found by turning inside out and upside down everything said by him on the subject. The mode to insure an absolute and effective redistribution of seats is to pass, and to pass promptly, the measure before the House. The right hon. Gentleman said—"What a cruel thing; you are actually going to pay off the county voters with such a share, it may be one ten-thousandth or one fifty-thousandth of the power over the representation; whereas in a frumpery borough a man no better, perhaps, was possessed of one five-hundredth." He thinks that is a very clever argument, and I admit that is a very sad state of things; but I want to get forward, if the right hon. Gentleman, instead of stopping us, will assist us; I want to propose a measure for the better redistribution of the areas, and for equalizing the share of representation, as well as we are able. What is the position of the right hon. Gentleman? He says, because it is so hard that one man should have a one ten-thousandth part in the representation, while another has one five-hundredth part, therefore, he will stop the Bill, leaving the poor man with no share at all. That does not shock the right hon. Gentleman, nor cause him to go through the shuddering operation. Then he speaks of the unequal distribution as between different parts of the country, which I have said has been very fully considered upon the Motion of the noble Lord; and, again, will be largely considered at the proper time. But as the right hon. Gentleman insists upon debating again that question decided by the House after the devotion of so large a portion of time to that purpose, and as, while he has completely, no doubt, escaped a difficulty in connection with the Forms of the House by the phraseology of his Motion, the Motion is exactly the same as that of the noble Lord—What is our purpose, and what does common sense require us to do? Are we to play into his hands? No, Sir; we cannot consent to do that—we cannot, and we will not. I speak for the Government—and I rather think I am speaking for many others; they cannot, in that state of the Bill, debate the question which it was the very last operation of the House to settle. Such proceedings are fatal to the conduct of Business, and if they continue and receive the countenance of the House, and become systematic, will reach a point at which they will constitute a betrayal of the trust of this House; and for us, with the views we take, it would be a betrayal of our trust if we were to consent to be drawn afresh into a discussion of the details of redistribution. That much is necessary to say to show that it is from no disrespect that we decline, if we do decline, to enter into this consideration at the present stage. There may be Gentlemen on both sides of the House who have not been able to deliver their views on the subject of the Bill. ["Hear, hear!"] Very good; there will be very fair opportunities for considering these matters and speaking upon them when the Lord Mayor moves that this House do resolve itself into Committee upon that day six months. That is what I call an honest Motion of a fair stand-up fight. Let the Motion by all means be made; if it is made, I trust the sense of the House will be taken upon it. What we say is that this Bill for the enlarging of the franchise, although an imperfect one—that is to say, a measure which, in the ordinary course, requires to be followed up by another measure, which we wish to introduce at the earliest moment—yet, as it stands, it is a good, and a great good in itself. That is the issue that we have not yet been able to decide. I thank the Lord Mayor for having given us the opportunity to decide it, as we shall, when we come to the discussion of his Motion. I think that will be an opportunity, if hon. Members are so minded, for renewing the discussion on the principle of the Bill, and that is the intention of the House in allowing the principle to be raised on the Speaker leaving the Chair. But, Sir, as to the side issue, I hope we shall not be drawn into it; and if the right hon. Gentleman thinks it right again, after the discussion of the other night, to refuse to allow us to advance a single inch, and endeavours to lead us back into the labyrinth of the infinite and innumerable details of redistribution, we will not be parties to any such proceeding, and we must decline to enter into it.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Sir, the House of Commons has just been treated by the Prime Minister to the first application, in its most rigid and barbarous form, of the *clôture.* The Prime Minister, no doubt, Sir, is vastly dissatisfied that his celebrated weapon for muzzling the House of Commons has not yet been put into practice by the Chair, and he has taken the opportunity of giving the strongest hint in his power to those who sit beside him to manufacture an amount of mechanical "evident sense," so sonorous and so terrifying, that you, Sir, may be intimidated into giving regard to it. After one speech only from a Member certainly as much entitled to speak, and I may say more entitled to speak, on the subject than nine-tenths of the Members of the House—a speech dealing with the whole matter of redistribution as plainly and as concisely as it could be dealt with—the Prime Minister says—"I decline to argue the matter; I decline to debate the question; I myself shall keep silence, and I peremptorily order all those behind me to keep silence too." I congratulate the Liberal Party on the servility to which they have been reduced. Four years of unmitigated adulation has reduced them to a state of servility which I venture to say would be degrading to a Hottentot Parliament. I shall be curious to see whether this peremptory injunction—the most peremptory injunction that any Prime Minister, including even Lord Chatham himself, ever issued—will be abjectly obeyed by every Member of that noble army. At any rate, if it is, it will be an interesting and instructive lesson to the country as to the state to which Parliamentary Institutions are reduced. But, after all, what has the Prime Minister said on the question? He has charged the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) with deliberate Obstruction—that is to say, resistance to the will of the House otherwise than by argument, as he defines it; and he has declared that the right hon. Gentleman in that able speech has been resisting the will of the House otherwise than by argument. Well, I should like to know has the will of the House been declared as to redistribution being included in this Bill? The House has not had an opportunity of giving a judgment in the matter. The Amendment of the noble Lord (Lord John Manners), which was rejected by a majority of 130—a majority which the Prime Minister never seems to be tired of bragging about—did not raise that question. Redistribution was only one small item in that Amendment. The decision of the House was that it would not negative the second reading of the Bill; but the House has had no opportunity yet of coming to a decision, "aye" or "no," as to whether the measure should include redistribution. This is the first opportunity we have had of deciding whether these two questions should be combined, or dealt with simultaneously or separately. The Prime Minister tells us—"We are very anxious to deal with the question of redistribution; but we utterly decline to discuss it, no matter how it might be brought forward. We wish to pass this Bill through the House without debate, and then deal with the question of redistrition." There would be something to be said for that argument if the Government were going to deal with the question of redistribution. For myself, I say that if I knew they were going to deal with that question I should take no part in the discussion at all, for I should not attach the slightest consequence to the Bill. As I said in the country, the other day, it is a Bill which anybody could bring in, and which any Minister could pass if he had a servile majority behind him; but no matter how servile the Liberal Party, or how peremptory the Prime Minister's mandate, the question of redistribution is not going to be dealt with. He has said something about dealing with it next year. Where will the Prime Minister and his Government be next year? He would be a very bold man, indeed, who would hazard a conjecture. I should say they may be possibly at Khartoum; but it is very long odds that they will not be on the Treasury Bench. At any rate, hon. Gentlemen like the Members for Newcastle (Mr. J. Morley) and Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who express such confidence now that the Prime Minister would be on the Treasury Bench next year, did their utmost to tear him off the other night. Only by a majority of 15 did the right hon. Gentleman retain his place on that Bench, and only by that majority did the House consent to vote Supplies to the Government. Under these circumstances, the promise of the Prime Minister to deal with redistribution next Session is the most wild and frivolous promise ever given to the House of Commons; and there is not the slightest security, good, bad, or indifferent, that it will be redeemed. The right hon. Gentleman cast the most unjust aspersions on the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge, because he said he wanted a genuine and sincere Reform Bill. I charge the Government that it is they who are insincere on this question—they, who are dealing with a little bit of the subject, and who utterly refuse to deal with the real difficulties which surround it. Why are the Tory Party to be called insincere in the way they deal with Reform? They passed a much larger Bill than the Prime Minister has ever done, and in face of the opposition of the Prime Minister. Many of those who now sit round the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge were then in Parliament. Why are they, who supported the late Lord Beaconsfield in carrying that measure through the House, to be taunted with insincerity? The Reform Bill of 1867 dealt so completely with Reform that those who supported that measure have a perfect right to ask now for a Bill which deals completely with the question. If the Prime Minister will say he will produce a redistribution scheme directly this Bill passes, he will find that the latter will slip forward much more rapidly than it is otherwise likely to do. Why is not the whole Reform Question to occupy the attention of the House this Session? Why is Parliament only to deal with the subject piecemeal? Why does not the Prime Minister decide to put off the Redistribution Bill till 1887? Why do not the Government announce their intention of dealing with the question completely this Session? They have a majority of 130 at their back on this subject. They do not know that they will have that majority next year. Why is the question of redistribution to be shelved, in order that the Home Secretary may destroy the Lord Mayor? The only valid reason that has been given by the Government for not dealing with redistribution is that they would have no time to deal with other matters. Why should not the Home Secretary be allowed to destroy the Lord Mayor next year? Why not give the unfortunate man one year longer? The Government must be perfectly well aware—I defy them to contradict me—that if they chose to deal with redistribution this year, and to sacrifice their other measures, there would be ample time to do so. This Bill would pass through the House by the end of the month of May if we knew that redistribution was to follow, and the Government would have June and July to deal with the question of redistribution. The Government have never given an honest reason for postponing the question of redistribution, and, in the absence of an honest reason, we have a right to say that they do not intend to deal with it in this Parliament. There can be no question whatever that the Party manipulators and Party jerrymanders who have influence on the Treasury Bench have made up their minds that the most favourable electorate to which the Liberal Party can appeal will be an electorate unredistributed. Her Majesty's Government are perfectly well aware, with the experience they have had of General Elections, that almost the entire county rural population is dead against them; that every single county which seceded from the Opposition at the last Election will be won back; and they hope and intend, if we are frightened by the attitude of the Prime Minister, to swamp the county constituencies with what they trust will be an overwhelming body of voters who are not rural, supposing that those voters will be on their side. That is a trick to which the Party on this side of the House, I do not imagine, can lend themselves for a moment; and not only is it a trick of an utterly impolitic nature, but it is one which Her Majesty's Government absolutely refuse to debate, or discuss, or explain. The Prime Minister has done a most unusual thing—made a speech only about 10 minutes' long. That is his contribution to the discussion, and he has ordered the Liberal Party not to speak even for that length of time. He expects that those who do not serve under his banner will adopt a similar attitude. I cannot imagine for a moment that the Leader of the Opposition will take part in the practices of the Prime Minister. I imagine that the right hon. Gentleman, with his experience of this House, has seen the Prime Minister try this game on more than once, and try it on unsuccessfully; and I cannot help thinking that a Party which numbers 250 Members of the House of Commons will know how to make the Prime Minister emerge from this obstinate and solemn silence, and debate this question of redistribution, not so much because we want to have it debated, as because the country wants it. Why should the Prime Minister be allowed to do that which no Premier has ever done before? Why should he be allowed to introduce a Reform Bill without redistribution? The Reform Bill of 1832 contained an immense measure of redistribution, and that of 1867 included a large measure of a similar kind. It is perfectly idle to say that redistribution is not necessary now. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) has proved that a larger measure of transfer of seats will be rendered necessary by this Bill than by any Reform Bill ever introduced before; and to put off that question without giving any security that it will ever be dealt with is a condition that all the rights of minorities must be availed of to their last extremity, in order to break down. There will have to be a great deal of busy manufacture of "evident sense" before hon. Members on this side of the House will give up their attempt to prove to the country the hollowness and utter insincerity of the position taken up by Her Majesty's Government. I only want to say one word with reference to what fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge as to minority representation. He quoted me to the effect that I did not care for checks and guarantees. Well, I said I did not care for the particular kind of checks and guarantees which were involved in the popularly received notion of minority representation, because I know perfectly well that if the majority is bent upon having its way, those checks and guarantees will be swept away in a few hours. But your real checks and guarantees will be found in a measure of redistribution. That is why, attaching as I do enormous importance to this question, I cannot support a Bill which does not deal with redistribution, or a Government which refuses to do so. With respect to the minorities in the country—whether Conservative or Liberal—the real protector is the House of Lords. That is the Assembly which will prevent injustice being done to any class without the consent of the people of the country. I have always looked upon that House as the only efficient protector of the rights of minorities. At any rate, it is one which has lasted the longest and, as far as I can judge at present, seems to possess every element of endurance.

But I did not intend, if the Government had made any statement on the question of redistribution which could have been construed as in any way affording a satisfactory assurance that the question would be dealt with this Session, or that the Bill would not come into operation until it was dealt with—I did not intend to take any part in the debates in this House, or to have interposed to prevent the Speaker leaving the Chair; but I do believe now, seeing the attitude taken by the Prime Minister—which is an attitude that the House would never have tolerated from anyone but the Prime Minister—that hon. Members on this side of the House ought to persevere in the use of all their rights, and refuse, in the strongest possible manner, to become partners in the servility of the Liberal Party.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE: I do not know if the speech we have heard from the Prime Minister this evening is a type of the sort of speeches we are to hear from time to time in these Reform debates. But it seems an amazing assumption that the Prime Minister should be entitled to get up and tell the House of Commons that he will not himself discuss, and that so far as his authority goes he will not allow them to discuss, one of the most important questions connected with the representation of the people. The right hon. Gentleman has said that an ample opportunity was given some time ago for the discussion of this question. He said that a further opportunity was to come very shortly upon the Amendment to be proposed by the Lord Mayor of London. The Prime Minister's speech reminds one of the nursery story, *Alice in Wonderland*. Wonderland was a land where there was always jam yesterday and jam to-morrow, but never jam to-day. The Prime Minister declines to discuss redistribution now, because, as he alleges, it was discussed on a previous occasion, and partly because it is going to be discussed when some other Amendment comes before the House. It is incorrect to say that redistribution was discussed in the former debates, because the Prime Minister would not discuss it, and only gave the House a hazy sketch of his own personal opinions about the subject—opinions which were promptly repudiated by Liberal Members, and did not find support from the right hon. Gentleman's Colleagues. Practically, what took place in those debates enforced my hon. Friend's claim to bring this matter before the House now. It is precisely because the Government have shown that they have no distinct and definite purpose with regard to redistribution—and, if they ever had any such purpose, have quarrelled upon it—that it is necessary to bring this matter before the House. When the Lord Mayor's Amendment comes before the House the right hon. Gentleman may, with perfect justice, appeal to that majority of 130, of which the Home Secretary is never tired of boasting in his country excursions. But the Government having shown itself either unwilling or unable to lead the House on the question of redistribution, is it not the duty of the House to declare, before it goes into Committee, that this question must be incorporated in the Bill? There is one matter that has been referred to here again and again with regard to the effect of this Bill. We had certain figures put before the House by the Premier as to the number to be enfranchised under this Bill; but we have no satisfactory statistics. The only thing we know is that in the figures the Premier gave to the House he was quite wrong. The right hon. Gentleman said, in what have since been called the round figures of a rhetorical speech, that in Ireland 400,000 people would be enfranchised; in Scotland, 300,000; and in England, 1,300,000. These are, I believe, the figures originally given. The argument of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) was based upon them; and one of the right hon. Gentleman's Colleagues got up and said that they were erroneous to the extent of no less than 80,000 in the case of Ireland, where the number to be enfranchised would be 480,000 instead of 400,000. Whether the same margin is to be allowed in England and Scotland we have no means whatever of knowing; but, if so, the matter becomes serious indeed. When the Prime Minister was speaking I ventured to differ from him as to the proportion of agricultural voters to be added to the constituencies. I ventured to say that certainly not more than 500,000 out of 1,300,000 added in England and Wales would be engaged in agricultural pursuits. The whole number of agricultural labourers in England

and Wales is 870,000; and when you deduct the number who are already on the Register, and the number who will not come upon the Register under this Bill at all, 500,000 would be the full extent of their enfranchisement under this Bill. Who are the other 800,000? They are the urban population, who are, practically, to invade the counties, and who are relied upon to change the character of the representation of these counties. Now, Sir, it is a very serious question for the House of Commons whether it should allow half a Bill to be taken in one Parliament, when, according to the Prime Minister, the only matter which prevents its being made a complete Bill is the fact that to do that you must give up the whole Session to it. As the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) has said, the only measure which disputes the time of the House with this Bill is the Home Secretary's Bill dealing with the Government of London, for the President of the Board of Trade has not yet settled his differences with the opponents of the Merchant Shipping Bill. But is there any reason why either measure should not be put aside in favour of this Bill? If they are not put aside, what will happen? The new electors under this Bill will not come upon the electoral roll until January, 1886. Why will the Liberal Party be asked next year to pass a Redistribution Bill? Will it be to take away the Party advantage which the Franchise Bill gives them? It is scarcely conceivable that when they have passed a Bill which gives them the control of 30 additional county constituencies, and of 60 seats, they will address themselves to pass a Bill which deprives them of that advantage. It is the manipulation of those constituencies which the Government has in view. Suppose the question goes over to another Parliament? Suppose those 30 constituencies should be dominated by the new Radical vote? Who can expect that the 60 Representatives of those counties would support any alteration in distribution? If the separation of the urban and rural populations were proposed, what would be the answer? It would be—"We get two votes for the county constituency; if we divide it into two portions, rural and urban, our opponents would get in for one of the divisions." I believe that a new Reform Bill is an early necessity; but it would have been better to let the question sleep for a while until other matters have been dealt with which it is quite competent for the House to discuss. There are matters of reform in the House itself which would be more useful for the country than the Parliamentary franchise. I therefore protest against this Bill because, while its first result will be to strengthen the Party opposite in 30 county constituencies, the effect then will be to disincline them to measures of redistribution which are necessary for the completion of the work, but which will probably, and I think certainly, deprive them of the Party advantage they have gained. These are matters about which there may or may not be differences of opinion between the two sides of the House; but surely they are matters it is reasonable to discuss. The right hon. Gentleman has been for weeks past denouncing his opponents for Obstruction which prevents this question being brought forward. Yet, what is his attitude the moment he is here? At an early period in the evening we are able for the first time to pass to a large question of this kind. We demand to know, as we are entitled to be told, whether the Government have any definite kind of purpose upon the matter, and the moment that real opportunity occurs up jumps the Prime Minister and says—"We will have no discussion at all." The right hon. Gentleman says we must go on to another Amendment, and then, of course, he will decline again, and decline upon much better grounds. I, for one, think that before any extension of the franchise is allowed to pass into law we should have some distinct scheme from the Government and a pledge that they will act upon it, or by some means or other an appeal to the people should be insisted upon. To alter the constituencies by this measure, and then to appeal to the people, will practically be to have arranged the constituencies for yourselves, and to have defeated any hope of a real scheme of redistribution. Not only will you have 187 Members representing 2,250,000 of voters and 280 representing 1,500,000, but of these 187 who would then represent the agricultural interest 60 seats would be elected by constituences which would have been swamped by the invasion of urban voters. However impatient the Prime Minister may be, surely he cannot expect this measure will pass without resistance. Should it do so, the agricultural constituencies of the country would be absolutely betrayed by their Members. Neither the Prime Minister nor any of his Colleagues will venture to deny that you have a fairer representation now than you would have under this Bill if you pass it without redistribution. Why, then, should we pass a Bill of this kind to make anomalies worse, and to prevent their being remedied in any honest manner? A few years ago the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board published a book upon Parliamentary Reform, and in that book he quoted with approval certain observations that had been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) at Rochdale. The right hon. Baronet said in his book—

> "Many, indeed, view the assimilation of borough and county franchise as an immediate and pressing question, chiefly because that assimilation is a necessary first step to a just distribution of political power. They agree in the view put forward in 1859 and 1860 by Mr. Bright at Rochdale. Mr. Bright said that while to give a man a vote may be to please his sentiment of independence and equality, yet as regards legislation and government, the giving a man a vote or the giving 1,000,000 of men votes is of no value whatsoever unless what I should call the soul of the representative system be equitably adjusted."

Again he says—

> "At Liverpool an aristocracy working with and through a mock representation is the most complete instrument ever devised to squeeze wealth from the toil of a nation under pretence of governing it."

In his words a mock representation, says the right hon. Baronet, it is from the context clear that Mr. Bright was speaking not of the deceptions of the franchise partly redressed in 1867, but of those of the distribution of political power which are greater now than they were at the moment at which he spoke. These points were put forward by the right hon. Baronet as being essential; and our complaint against this Bill is that while not carrying out a complete reform it will make a complete reform almost impossible. Under these circumstances, there will be no reluctance on this side of the House to face such unjust charges as the Premier has made against us for very obvious and transparent reasons. These charges are made to prevent Members of the Tory Party from showing to the country what a sham the Bill is, and that it is a mere political expedient, whose objects are, first, to secure the present Ministry in power until 1886, because they will be able to urge that it would be premature to appeal to the country before the new constituency has been properly registered; and, secondly, to throw enormously increased weight into that class of the representation which they now hold in their own hands. For whom are the denunciations intended which have so undeservedly been uttered this evening? Members on the Opposition Benches will not be thereby deterred from discharging their public duties. I suppose they are intended for Liberal meetings. They supply a kind of oratory useful in the Provinces. It is useful to withdraw attention from questions of foreign or commercial policy by general denunciations of Obstruction. It is to the country that the Conservative Party desire to appeal, and the Prime Minister may be quite sure that every charge of that kind made in the spirit and with the temper which has been displayed this evening will encourage rather than discourage the Party on this side of the House to carry the controversy beyond the walls of this House, and to those constituencies to which they will force the Government to appeal before this Bill passes through Parliament.

Mr. BRODRICK said, he thought that the exceptional action of the Government would lead to the necessity of adopting some exceptional measures. That was not the first occasion, within his (Mr. Brodrick's) own short Parliamentary experience, on which the Government had endeavoured to stifle debate, and to gag their own Followers who were anxious to express their own opinions to the House. There was a large number of Gentlemen opposite who were anxious to speak on the second reading of the Bill, who were unable to do so. They had risen like a flock of birds at each stage of the debate; but they had now been removed, and were not allowed to speak. He maintained that it was absolutely impossible that the debate could be satisfactorily continued solely from one quarter of the House, and without any answer from the Government. It had been pointed out by the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) that if the Bill was carried without redistribution, the practical effect would be to deprive agricultural constituencies of one-half of their representation; and, in the face of such a statement, the agricultural constituencies had the right to insist that they should receive explanations of the course the Government intended to take in order to avoid such a consequence. Appeals had also been made to the Government to give a reply upon the question of minority representation, and to furnish assurances which would enable the debates to proceed without difficulty, and yet they had not hitherto attempted to reply to these criticisms or the speech of the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) on the predominance that would be given to Irish representation. If Her Majesty's Government did not intervene and take part in the debate and answer the arguments addressed to them, there was but one course open to the Opposition, and that was to move the adjournment of the debate. That course he proposed to take. He had no doubt that the Prime Minister and his Supporters would endeavour, throughout the length and breadth of the land, to saddle the Opposition with Obstruction; but he, for one, did not care a rap for such a charge under the present circumstances. It was a canon of Parliamentary discussion that the arguments of your opponents had to be fairly answered unless they were stated at such a length that it was obvious they were put forward for the purpose of Obstruction. They had had speeches that evening by three Gentlemen holding high position in the House, and not one of them had received any reply except the determination expressed by the Prime Minister, that he would do his best to prevent any reply being made. Under these circumstances, the continuance of the debate would be simply a Parliamentary sham; to carry it on from one side would be simply playing into the hands of the Government by reiterating arguments that were not answered and letting the Opposition talk itself out. He felt personally very strongly on the matter, as he represented a county which, in respect of population, Income Tax, and registered electors, was properly entitled to more Members than any other county, and more than the whole Principality of Wales; and, whatever standard was adopted, the county of Surrey would be entitled to from 22 to 29 Members, instead of 11 as at present, and therefore he represented a strong interest on the question of redistribution. Under these circumstances, he would not submit to being told by the Prime Minister that he was guilty of Obstruction in bringing that question before the House. It was an ill-chosen time for the Government to intrench themselves in the reserve of silence at the opening of these discussions on the Reform Bill, and was eminently calculated thus to give a handle to and provoke scenes that all must desire to avoid. Hitherto there had been nothing done by the Opposition in the discussion of the measure that was not perfectly legitimate, and he challenged the Prime Minister, in the whole of his Parliamentary experience, to tell him of any Reform Bill of similar magnitude which had passed its various stages with less discussion. Why, the Reform Bill of 1867 occupied eight nights in the discussion on the second reading; and on the last night of the debate on the present Bill, great influence had to be exercised on the Opposition side of the House to prevent the debate being prolonged. Seeing no indication on the part of the Government of their intention to conform to ordinary Parliamentary practice, he begged to move that the debate be adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Brodrick.*)

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Brodrick) seems to me to be extremely indignant without cause, and has taken an unusual course; but it appears to me that the position that my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government has taken is one which is perfectly feasible and defensible. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, if they wish to be answered, and have a debate upon the subject, perhaps hon. Members will allow me to state why I think so. Practically speaking, the question now sought to be raised has been already debated, having been under discussion for seven nights. ["No, no!"] If you insist on having debate, do let a speaker on this side of the House finish a sentence; it is not encouraging to be interrupted in this way when one is making a simple statement. When the Bill was introduced, there was very little said by the Opposition on the question of principle. During the two nights devoted to the introduction of the Bill, and the five spent on the second reading, every possible reason was alleged why this Bill should not proceed singly, and why it should be connected with a Redistribution Bill. The knowledge of everyone in and out of the House will confirm the statement, that the staple of the seven nights' debate was the propriety and necessity of joining redistribution with franchise; and, therefore, to assert that, for seven nights, this question had not been discussed is to assert what is contrary to everybody's knowledge. In point of fact, the noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) raised that distinct issue by his Amendment, and it was upon that Amendment, and not upon the question of extending the franchise, that the debate proceeded and the Division was taken—that Division which the last speaker will not allow me to be proud of. After seven nights' debate, on the question whether the franchise must be connected with redistribution, there was a Division taken by this House of an overwhelming character; the meaning of that Division—and no one can deny the proposition—was that the House was not of opinion that it was expedient to connect these two measures immediately in the present Session. ["No, no!"] The Opposition themselves tried to represent that it was not a Division against the principle of the Bill, but that it was a Division against the separation of redistribution from the question of the franchise; that was the light in which they desired it to be viewed. This House pronounced in favour of separation—["No, no!"] Do let me make my statement; you may contradict it in debate, but do not endeavour to clamour people down; you insist on our speaking, and the moment we make a statement you contradict it by clamour. I repeat the statement, that the Division on the noble Lord's Amendment was substantially a Division on the question whether redistribution should be connected immediately with the extension of the franchise. ["Oh, oh!"] The noble Lord did not demand that the two measures should be combined in the same Bill; he was more moderate than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Raikes). The noble Lord said he would be quite satisfied if we laid our redistribution scheme on the Table to be debated afterwards; but the House rejected that demand by 130; and now the right hon. Gentleman advances the demand that they shall be taken in the same Bill. Is that a reasonable course after the issue has been raised and a Division taken upon it? The last speaker is indignant, because we do not desire to give any encouragement to that course of proceeding. We say that there has been seven nights' debate, practically upon the necessity and propriety of combining inextricably together, at the same time, the questions of redistribution and of franchise. We say that, after full and ample debate on the subject, the House has given a decisive voice upon it. It was said by the hon. Member who has moved the adjournment of the debate (Mr. Brodrick) that my right hon. Friend has ordered hon. Members on this side who are anxious to speak to be silent. I do not observe that my right hon. Friend or anybody on this Bench is able to order hon. Members on this side not to speak, when the Government do not want them to speak. If such orders were given, they would not be obeyed. The real truth is, that hon. Gentleman who sit on this side of the House are as little disposed to play the game of delay as if they sat on this Bench. They knew perfectly well what was the intention of a Motion of this character, which is a reproduction, and nothing but a reproduction, of the point already decided. We have said, both in and out of the House, that we are willing that this issue shall be judged by the arguments we have advanced. Hon. Members say they have not spoken enough on the question of redistribution and the franchise being joined together; we think we have; if they have more to say on the subject, we must let them say it. We can only listen, for we do not desire to reproduce the arguments which for seven days we offered. We think that seven days' argument on this question, followed by a Division with a majority of 130, is quite enough, and that all beyond that is simply a waste of time. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) invites us to go into the question of minority representation.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I have done nothing of the kind.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: No; he has settled that for himself. He says that the House of Lords represents the minority in this House.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No, I did not.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: However that may be, they may represent the Conservative minority; but they are not very admirable Representatives of a Liberal minority. How often have they ever been found to be so? However, I am not going to be led into that question. What we say is, that this House has decided that it will not connect in one Bill, neither in the manner proposed by the noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire, nor in that proposed by the right hon. Member for Cambridge University, the two questions of the franchise and of redistribution. They have determined, by that majority, that they will take the two questions separately, one after the other. That was the question debated for seven days; that was the question then decided. In our opinion we have said all we desire to say, all that requires to be said; and we will be no party to a further waste of time by reviving a discussion practically identical with that which has occupied seven days of the time of this House.

Mr. GIBSON: Sir, I was in hopes, from the earlier utterances and the earlier tone of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, that he was going to perform the function unfamiliar to him of pouring oil upon the troubled waters; but, whether he got some practical suggestion which we could not witness, or whether the strength of his nature asserted itself, I do not know, but, unquestionably, towards the close of his speech he adopted a tone and used expressions that I do not think are calculated to restore harmony to our proceedings, or to promote an easy transit of this Bill through its present stage. To my mind, my hon. Friend who moved the adjournment of the debate (Mr. Brodrick) was not only within his right, but acted discreetly and with wisdom in the course that he took; and I, unquestionably, if this debate is allowed to close without some speech more in accordance with what the House has a right to expect, shall support him when he goes into the Division Lobby. I venture to think also that my hon. Friend will be followed there by every Member of the House of Commons who feels himself at liberty to support the requirements of public discussion and the decencies of ordinary Parliamentary debate. What has been the course adopted in reference to this, the greatest Bill introduced into Parliament during this century—a Bill which will not only reform the constitution of Parliament, but which will change almost all the constituencies and make an absolute revolution in Ireland? On this, the second most important stage of this great and vast Bill of stupendous dimensions, a Bill for which you have demanded the sympathy of Parliament and of the country, on the ground of the grandeur of its conceptions and the vastness of its scope—on the very first day of this stage, when one who is not a novice in Parliamentary debate, but one who for many years has been an honoured and distinguished Member of this House, who presided with dignity in the Chair as Deputy Speaker for a long period, and who made a speech which attracted attention on the second reading of this Bill, and commanded even the respect and attention of the Liberal Press—when he, with the weight of his authority and with a gravity of diction which the subject requires, gravely moves an Instruction to the Committee, how is he met? He is met by the Prime Minister in a speech of unrivalled shortness. I believe the space of time occupied by the right hon. Gentleman was within 10 minutes. But did he, in that time, condescend to use one single argument or one word of courteous recognition that it was a matter as to which those who felt strongly had a right to their opinions? Not at all. The Prime Minister would not attempt to argue the matter himself, protested against it being brought forward, and urged, as a piece of advice, that his followers should not be led into argument upon it. Is that the way to meet an important Motion, one as to which men feel strongly, and on which they have a right to hold very strong opinions? Both right hon. Gentlemen, the

Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Home Department, have stated that this matter has been fully threshed out in the seven days' debate on the second reading; but that stage of the Bill only occupied a part of seven days. Sometimes those days were very short periods, especially when the debate did not commence until 8 and 9 o'clock. And why was that? Because the Government, in the earlier hours of the Sitting, would not give clear and frank answers to Questions addressed to them about Egypt. Those seven days, of course, were taken up in debating the Motion of my noble Friend (Lord John Manners), but the debate also turned upon the whole scope of the Bill; and any hon. Member who rose addressed his observations exactly as they struck his mind in reference to the measure. Some dealt with the Irish Question, some with redistribution, some with proportionate representation, and some with other points. Compare the period of seven days with the time occupied in discussing other Parliamentary Reform questions, and you will see an immense moderation of debate shown. ["Oh, oh!"] How many days were occupied in the debate on the introduction of the Reform Bill of 1832? I believe more than have been taken up by the whole discussion on the second reading of the present Bill. Take the Reform Bill of 1866, which was not so large a measure as the present Bill, and on which the Liberal Government of the day were signally defeated. Two days were occupied on the introduction, and eight days were taken up on the second reading. The debate on the Motion to go into Committee on that Bill extended over four days, and the catastrophe which overcame the Government did not take place until the Bill had been in Committee four days. Now, what is the case with regard to the present Bill? On this, the first night of the discussion on the Motion "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," the Prime Minister says that he will not debate the first Instruction to the Committee which has been presented in a serious Parliamentary speech; and he invites all his Followers to enter with him into an absolute conspiracy of silence. Is that treating the House of Commons, the Opposition, and the rights of debate with that fair and legitimate courtesy which we have a right to expect? One of the Resolutions on the Motion to go into Committee the Prime Minister picks out, and says that it should be discussed, and that the speeches should be reserved for it. On turning to the Notice Paper, I find that the Resolution stands there in the name of my right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor of London. What it that Motion? I was surprised when I saw what it was. I think I may clearly assume that the Prime Minister was not joking. The Motion is absolutely, Sir, that you do not leave the Chair for a period of six months. Is not the Prime Minister playing with the House in making that suggestion? The right hon. Gentleman could say, with greater force upon that Motion than he could upon the Motion now before the House, that the question had been discussed and affirmed on the second reading. Then, again, what was really the nature of the argument of the Secretary of State for the Home Department? He used the words, "the game of delay." Were there ever words more ludicrously absurd addressed to that House? Everyone knows that when the right hon. Gentleman was speaking at Derby he did not venture on that kind of rhetoric, or say that there had been any delay in regard to this Bill. He talked very glibly about Obstruction, and the inconvenience of putting Questions, and said how they could be shortened; and yet, this very evening, he has given an answer occupying nearly a quarter of an hour with reference to his domestic affairs. If the truth is confessed, it seems to me that the Government are rather afraid that the Bill is going forward a little too quickly. Everyone knows that great pressure was used to enable the debate on the second reading to close at the time it did; and that there were many hon. Members on both sides of the House who desired to deliver speeches which they had carefully prepared and thought out, and which their constituencies expected them to deliver. It is, therefore, simply absurd to talk about the "game of delay," and to use the expression "waste of time." Both right hon. Gentlemen opposite have suggested that this is a topic of Obstruction; but the Conservative Party are not going to be, in the slightest degree, frightened by that. One hears of the cry of Obstruction every day. We are getting almost tired of it. We cannot take up a letter written by any of the Prime Minister's Private Secretaries that does not contain some reference to it. I believe that those who have put down Amendments have not the faintest desire unduly to prolong the time for discussing the Bill at this stage, and, therefore, the charge of Obstruction cannot be brought against them. It is suggested by the Government that the Opposition have started the Egyptian troubles in order to kill the Reform Bill. That, I think, is one of the Derby prophesies. I never retort; but if I were to do so, I would suggest that the Government are trying to flog up an interest in the Reform Bill in order to kill the interest in Egypt. I have had no desire since I entered Parliament, and as long as I have the honour of a seat in Parliament I hope it will continue to be so—to prevent a debate taking its natural course without prolixity. I very much regret that the Prime Minister did not try to meet the Motion of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Raikes) in a manner more respectful to the House, and less hurtful to hon. Members on this side. We had a right to think that the question would be adequately debated, while those who entered into the discussion would make short speeches. I hope even now that some observations will be made by the Government which will indicate a desire and a permission that this debate should proceed like every other debate conducted with propriety in the House of Commons, and if some such indication is not given I shall be obliged to support the Motion of my right. hon. Friend.

MR. GLADSTONE: I will endeavour, in the few observations I shall make, to avoid all heated expressions. I may not be very successful in pouring oil upon the troubled waters, but I will not add to the heat. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) and some others entirely misrepresented the words used by me, and put into my mouth words I never uttered, and which I entirely repudiate. The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) did fairly represent what I said—that we, the Government, intended not to debate redistribution on the present occasion, and I advised all who would listen to my advice that they would act wisely if they did not debate it. That is now said to be an outrageous proceeding, and the minority say that they must have recourse to extraordinary measures, and that it may have the effect of stopping discussion on the subject altogether. There are, no doubt, very serious differences of opinion between us. We think we have introduced a Bill of great simplicity and moderation; that we framed it so as to conciliate all that can be conciliated; and it may be that proposals might be made in Committee which we should endeavour to meet in the same spirit in which we have framed the Bill. That is our case for claiming that this Bill should be fairly dealt with and fully discussed. "But," says the right hon. Gentleman who has made this rather remarkable Motion (Mr. Raikes), "this is a debate in extreme circumstances." "And," says the right hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down, "Look at the moderation of our proceedings as regards this Bill compared with what has been done on former occasions." I accept that challenge. What Bills does the right hon. and learned Gentleman refer to? What examples does he quote to justify what he is now doing, except a reference intended to show that upon two former occasions his own Party have done still worse?

LORD JOHN MANNERS: The right hon. Gentleman himself, in 1832, belonged to that Party.

MR. GLADSTONE: I was not concerned in any of those proceedings. I certainly belonged to that Party when it was a very different Party indeed from what it is now—when it was a Party under Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Aberdeen. I have never been ashamed before Liberal audiences to refer to my connection with that Party. I have always said that, though I may have given votes at that period which I now regret, that that Party, in its high and honourable conduct, in its patriotism, in its contempt for un-Parliamentary proceedings, in its incapability of condescending, by indirect and unworthy means, to obtain its ends, was as pure and high-minded a Party as ever sat in this House. Now I come back to matters of fact. All that the right hon. and learned Gentleman can do to show the moderation of his Party is to point to what they did on two former occasions. The hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick) was much bolder. He referred to the Reform Bill of 1867, and he told us that it was debated for eight nights.

MR. BRODRICK: That I believed so; I meant the Reform Bill of 1866.

MR. GLADSTONE: No doubt the hon. Member believed so. The Reform Bill of 1866 was killed by Obstruction. It was killed by Obstruction at a period when the art of Obstruction was not nearly so fully developed into a fine art as it is now. It was then in a rude state. There was not the smallest idea of that Obstruction which is now pursued. The only idea of Obstruction then entertained was direct Obstruction by waste of time on the measure itself, whereas now an indirect method is adopted. I will come presently to the Bill of 1867. It is natural enough that we should look back to the course taken in years when Obstruction was not practised. In regard to the Bill of 1830, I do not believe that seven nights' debate was too much, or that it was an obstructive debate. It was the first time when a Government, except when Mr. Pitt was hardly out of his nonage, had taken up a measure of Parliamentary Reform, and the Bill then introduced went so far beyond expectation that the effect produced in the country was, according to the familiar expression, "a revolution." The right hon. and learned Gentleman should have told us what happened on that Bill. There were two nights on the introduction and seven nights on the second reading—that is, one week and one day—because the measures of the Government were then allowed to go on from day to day. The second measure of 1831 was introduced in one night. The Bill which finally passed was introduced in one night. The Bill of 1854 was introduced in one night. The Bill of 1859, when the Liberals were in Opposition, was introduced in one night. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: And debated eight nights on the second reading.] The Bill of 1860 was introduced in one night. The Bill of 1867 was introduced in one night; and the solitary example that can be quoted on the other side is the brilliant precedent of 1866, when the methods of Obstruction were most successfully pursued to their conclusion. The hon. Member for West Surrey said that eight nights were spent by the Liberals on the Bill of 1867. [Mr. BRODRICK: I did not say by the Liberals.] There were two nights, not eight nights. That was the way the Liberals treated their responsible opponents. One night was spent on the introduction, two nights on the second reading, one night on going into Committee, and of that one night a portion was occupied by a Motion of a Conservative Member. Now, that being so, I am not so sensible of the great moderation of hon. Gentlemen in spending only seven nights on the discussion of this Bill on the introduction and second reading. The Bill of 1867 was a Bill of the most insignificant character as regarded its operative power ever introduced into Parliament; but it was a Bill that contained a principle of enormous consequence that might have been debated for a long time. This Bill is really a sequel to the Bill of 1867. It simply applies in the counties the principle of the Bill of 1867, not as it was introduced, but as it was finally passed, and as it was supplemented by the Bills of 1868 and 1869. Under these circumstances, it does not appear to us that spending seven nights before the second reading on a Bill which is in the nature of a sequel, is a great proof of moderation as regards the consumption of the time of Parliament. However, we did not complain on that occasion. We heard the question of redistribution discussed through those seven nights. It is impossible to deny that, by far, the greater portion of those seven nights was spent in discussing that point. The question of minorities and other matters occupied not, I believe, four-fifths of a night. At the close of those seven nights, the House by a majority of 130 decided, what?—that it would refuse a Motion which simply asked that the Government plan of redistribution should be laid before it, not that it should be embodied in the Bill. That was the last act of the last night on which the Bill was before the House. That being so, this is the very next night on which we approach the subject, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Raikes), in the face of that majority, will not allow us to discuss the question of the Speaker's leaving the Chair, but insists that we shall again discuss the question of the insertion of redistribution in the Bill, which is a larger demand than that which the House rejected by a majority of 130. There is no reason for being hot about that matter, but we entertain a very strong opinion upon it. We think that there is evidence which appears to be conclusive upon a certain point which I need not again develop. What I have said is that we are not bound to play into your hands by creating a debate for you. The majority has decided that the scheme of redistribution should not be produced, and, therefore, *a fortiori* should not be embodied in the Bill. You, the minority, thereupon immediately make a Motion insisting that redistribution shall be placed in the Bill; and not only does the minority stop, and arrest entirely, and bring to a deadlock, the Bill approved by the majority, but it actually insists that the majority shall, by making speeches which it does not want to make, provide material for the minority. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said he believed I was in joke in referring to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor. For my part, I believe the right hon. and learned Gentleman must have been in joke throughout his whole speech. We are only using such means of defence as we have — very feeble, and ineffective means, I am sorry to say—in declining to supply to hon. Gentlemen opposite pabulum and fodder with which to spin out speeches for which otherwise they could not possibly find material. I think our proceedings are moderate, and that the proceedings on the other side of the House are immoderate, and we must assert the view that we take, by refusing to agree to this Motion.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister says it cannot be expected that the Government should play into the hands of their opponents. I think that we may also fairly say that we cannot be expected to play into the hands of the Government. We cannot approve the very remarkable position taken up by the right hon. Gentleman in not only objecting to my right hon. Friend's (Mr. Raikes's) proceedings; but in picking out among the Amendments the one which he considers the best suited for discussion, from the point of view of the Government, and recommending us to delay further discussion until we come to the Amendment of the Lord Mayor.

MR. GLADSTONE: I did not recommend that course to the right hon. Gentleman or his Friends, but to those who sit on this side of the House.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I thought that the recommendation of the right hon. Gentleman was addressed to us as well. It may suit the purposes of the Government very well to take the issue upon that Amendment; but then they will say, if you vote for it, you will kill the Bill. My right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge asks the House in his Amendment to discuss a definite proposition, and I deny that his arguments are so trivial that they do not merit an answer. He says—"Bring forward your proposition, and let us discuss it." That proposition may be a good one, or a bad one, and the House may or may not entertain it; but I absolutely deny that, by what the House has done up to this point, it has pronounced on the question of redistribution. I absolutely deny that the argument of my right hon. Friend is of so trivial a character as to justify the Prime Minister in getting up and saying that he is not going to make any answer himself, nor that anyone on that side will. I assert that is not the way in which this matter should be treated. The right hon. Gentleman acknowledged that there were many hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House who desired to take part in the debate on the second reading, but who were induced to abstain from doing so, in order that time might not be lost. I spent myself many uncomfortable quarters of an hour in using efforts to induce hon. Gentlemen sitting on this side of the House to keep silence. I cannot go into these comparisons with regard to how many days were spent on this occasion and on that; but even, according to the statement that has been made, there have been many occasions upon which an equal length of time has been spent. But there is always something peculiar in these cases; and, in this case, we are dealing with a measure of which the larger part is kept and buried in darkness. My noble Friend (Lord John Manners) in his Amendment on the second reading said—"We ask the House not to go on in the dark, but to insist upon having the whole plan of the Government." The Government said—"We will not produce our whole plan, and if you agree to the Amendment of the noble Lord you will stop the Bill." Consequently, many hon. Gentlemen felt that they could not vote for the Amendment of my noble Friend, because they were told that by so doing they would prevent the further progress of the Bill. But the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University says—"You have chosen to take that position, and as you have chosen to say that you will not have the whole plan of the Government produced, let me at least point out the consequences, that this matter cannot be dealt with without dealing with redistribution," which is not raised in the question of my noble Friend. My right hon. Friend asks to be allowed to prove that redistribution must come, and that power shall be taken to include it in the Bill. That proposal is not met by arguments, but by a refusal on the part of the Prime Minister to enter into any discussion, as if the subject were not worth consideration. I think myself that, under the circumstances, the course proposed by my hon. Friend the Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick) is not unreasonable as marking our sense of the manner in which the Government are inclined to treat this question, and if he goes to a Division, I shall support him. I still hope, however, that the arguments of my right hon. Friend may be answered. Anyhow, whether they are answered or not, I think it is right that we should put on record our protest against this manner of conducting a Bill of this enormous importance.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 71; Noes 108: Majority 37.—(Div. List, No. 72.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. ELTON, in supporting the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Raikes), said, he hoped that, without laying himself open to charges of Obstruction, he would be permitted to make a few remarks on the intimate connection between the questions of redistribution and the franchise. The Prime Minister had held it out, as a bid to the Irish Party, that no reduction should be made in the number of Representatives to which Ireland was to be entitled; and he had also, in the course of his Mid Lothian campaign, promised that Scotland should have several more Members. In the present political complexion of Wales, it was not to be supposed that any Members would be taken from the Principality to make up the required number, nor was it to be supposed that the large towns of the North of England would lose any of their Representatives. Therefore, he was led to the conclusion that the South and West of England would be called upon to make up the deficiency which would ensue in carrying out that arrangement, by giving up some of their Members. Being connected with that part of the country he was naturally alarmed, and therefore earnestly protested against such a course being adopted. It was because this plan had been suggested, that he thought the House was entitled to fuller explanations of the policy of the Government than it had yet received. He maintained that the House ought not to pass this measure without getting a clue to the redistribution scheme, and that it was unwise to blindly increase the power of the Irish Nationalist Party. He thought the Prime Minister might have moderated his wild denunciations of those who only wished to secure what they thought to be right.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER said, he rose, in his capacity as a Scottish Member, to say a few words on a Bill in which Scotland had, at the present time, a more than ordinary interest, and, also, because he felt very doubtful whether, under present arrangements, Scotland would ever receive the additional Members to which the Prime Minister had acknowledged she was entitled. The reason why he claimed for Scotland an interest in the Bill beyond that possessed by England or by Ireland was that, in any scheme of redistribution, or, to speak more correctly, in any fair scheme of redistribution, she alone could claim, in her capacity as a separate country, a considerable number of additional Representatives. He said advisedly as a separate country, because, although there were many populous places both in England and Ireland which were insufficiently represented at the present time, a remedy for the evil might easily be found, he thought, within the limits of those countries themselves. The Government ought to take Members from the small, decaying boroughs, and give them to the populous city or county. Scotland, so far as he was aware, had never been considered to be over-represented. On the contrary, there were many places in Scotland either insufficiently represented or not represented at all. No one, he thought, would be found to deny that upon any fair computation, whether based upon either population, property, or taxation, Scotland was entitled to at least some 10 or 12 additional Members. The question then arose whence those Members were to come, and where they were to be found. Many people in Scotland, including the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), were simple and sanguine enough to believe that Ireland might, in that respect, be made to satisfy all the just claims of Scotland. He (Major General Alexander) honestly confessed that he had not shared those opinions. How the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, and those who agreed with him, could have been so simple as to suppose that Her Majesty's Government for a moment seriously contemplated the withdrawal of a single Representative from Ireland passed his comprehension. When, some months ago, the right hon. Gentleman opposite the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the gratuitous announcement that he was prepared to govern Ireland, not with cold justice, but with "sympathetic" justice, he (Major General Alexander) was convinced there lurked danger in that mysterious phrase; and he accordingly told his constituents that whatever "sympathetic" justice to Ireland might be supposed to mean, he would not be far wrong in assuming that it meant the greatest possible injustice both to England and to Scotland. A few weeks before the opening of Parliament the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), the man who, beyond all others in the Cabinet, was to manipulate the constituencies, let the cat out of the bag, and told them just what they might expect with regard to the maintenance of Irish Representation in that House. That statement shocked and alarmed even Liberal Scotch Members; and the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy himself wrote a letter to *The Scotsman*, saying it had always been understood in Scotland that, in any scheme of redistribution, Scotland should gain, and Ireland, with a diminishing population, certainly lose some of her Members. But the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board well knew that any measure of Reform which did not include Ireland would encounter serious opposition in the House, and so he deliberately bid for the support of the hon. Members from Ireland. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was at present the master of many legions, and he would be master of many more when this Bill passed; and they could scarcely wonder if he used the power which was gratuitously and recklessly thrust into his hands by Her Majesty's Government. Before the Prime Minister introduced the Bill, he was informed that a certain number of the Scottish Liberal Members were inclined to withhold their support from the second reading of the Bill, unless they got a distinct guarantee from the Government that the claims of Scotland to additional representation would be allowed. He would ask those hon. Gentlemen whether the vague declaration of the Prime Minister, admitting that Scotland was entitled to such increase, really afforded any indication whatever, in the way of guarantee, that Scotland would obtain her just rights in this respect? The Prime Minister admitted that he was only speaking for himself, and that he could not be supposed to be binding his Colleagues, or that he could expect them to acquiesce in his views. The Prime Minister, however, had not given any satisfactory indication as to the source from which the additional Members for Scotland might be expected to come. Ireland, it was said, was quite out of the question; and for this reason. The people were expected to require a larger share of representation, according to the proportion of their distance from the seat of Government. He would ask whether the Prime Minister had ever seriously considered to what extent the logical application of that principle might carry him? Might not Orkney and Shetland, for instance, or the sparsely-populated county of Sutherland urge distance from Westminster with as much propriety as Ireland? The Prime Minister proposed to satisfy the claims of Scotland, either by the immolation of certain small boroughs in the South of England or by adding to the already unwieldy number of Members in the House. But he (Major General Alexander) would predict that Scotch Members would have to wait until the Greek Kalends before either of these objectionable alternatives were realized for the enlargement of the representation of Scotland in the House of Commons. Exactly four years ago the Prime Minister said, in Mid Lothian, that if Scotland were represented according to her population, she would have 70 Members instead of 60. Were those words to be acted upon? The answer to that question depended in great measure on the action of the Scotch Members, both Liberal and Conservative, and especially of Scotch Liberal Members. He had not, however, much faith in Scotch Liberal Members, not even in the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy himself. They would have, it was true, the benefit of his voice, but could they at a critical moment depend upon his vote? He (Major General Alexander) exhorted the Scotch Members, without distinction of Party, to stand shoulder to shoulder upon this occasion, to press vigorously on the Government the claims of Scotland to additional representation, and so take advantage of an opportunity which in the lifetime of the present generation might possibly never recur.

Mr. RANKIN said, he regretted, on personal grounds, that he was unable to follow the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Raikes) into the Lobby. But political duty must be placed before private feeling. As the Representative of a small English borough (Leominster), he (Mr. Rankin) deemed it his duty to say a few words on this subject. In introducing this measure the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister appealed to the Members who sat for small boroughs not to be selfish; and if it was only the Members themselves who were concerned, he (Mr. Rankin) would be ready to agree. But it was the constituencies that had to be considered; and, in his (Mr. Rankin's) judgment, they could not be fairly taunted with selfishness, if they made some struggle for existence. As representing one of the small boroughs of the West of England, he should endeavour to withstand every attempt to bring about their political extinction. He voted for the Amendment moved by the noble Lord on the Front Opposition Bench (Lord John Manners), because it asked the Government to place the whole of their redistribution scheme before the House; but he was unable to support the present Amendment, which evidently aimed at taking Members from the smaller constituencies and giving them to the large ones. That was a method which, on behalf of his own constituency, he could not altogether agree to. If Ireland was to be left unaltered as to her representation, it was manifestly unfair to deprive the small and loyal English boroughs in the South and West of England of their Representatives. Ireland had 16 boroughs where the number of electors was under 500. In England there were only 23 boroughs with less than 1,000 electors, and none with less than 500. Dealing evenly and justly between the three countries, and taking the four tests of population, taxation, number of voters, and rateable value, the figures worked out in the following manner:—

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.
Population	490	70	98	658
Taxation	526	72	60	658
Number of Voters ..	547	65	46	658
Rateable value ..	534	72	52	658
Mean of the above 4 ..	524	70	64	658
Present state	493	60	105	658
Difference of	31	10	41	

Showing, as a conclusion, that England should gain 31 Members; Scotland should gain 10; and Ireland should lose 41. All he (Mr. Rankin) asked for was justice between the three countries, and that the English small boroughs should not be sacrificed to meet the wants of the larger centres of population, when the Irish constituencies were left undisturbed. Small boroughs had, in times past, been the means of bringing into public life many men of eminence who otherwise probably would not have succeeded in obtaining seats in the House of Commons, as, for example—

LEOMINSTER.

Date.
1705. Edward Harley, Esq., Auditor of Imprest (afterwards Lord Harley).
1841. James Wigram, Esq., appointed Vice Chancellor.
1847. H. Barkly, Esq., Governor of British Guiana.
1852. Gathorne Hardy, Esq.

ABINGDON.

1710. Sir Simon Harcourt, Attorney General.
1847. Sir Frederick Thesiger, Attorney General.

TAVISTOCK.

1831. Lord John Russell.

CALNE.

1826. James Abercromby, Esq., Judge Advocate General.
1830. Thomas Babington Macaulay.
1859. Robert Lowe.
Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.

WOODSTOCK.

Lord Randolph Churchill.

Again, it might be urged that the possession of Members by small towns had a tendency to keep up centres of population in the country districts; and that, in his opinion, was a very desirable object to be encouraged. He feared, moreover, that if they ceased to have Parliamentary Representatives, their interests would be liable to be overlooked, if not sacrificed.

MR. WHITLEY: After what has been said, we can hardly expect hon. Gentlemen opposite to listen to anything in the shape of argument; but I am one of those, Mr. Speaker, who believe that the House does not realize sufficiently the importance of the measure before it, or the importance of the Amendment moved by my right hon. Friend (Mr. Raikes), and I regret this very much. I think what the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said some time ago has been forgotten—namely, that the Bill before the House was the most important that had been discussed since 1867; and I think it strange that the Government should find fault with us for endeavouring to bring before the House and the country the reasons why we think it inexpedient to pass this measure without a redistribution scheme. Representing, as I do, a very large constituency, largely composed of the working classes, I should be the first to welcome the admission of the working classes to the franchise. I believe they would exercise the franchise with wisdom and discretion; but, at the same time, I think it is important, with a measure which seeks to enfranchise 2,000,000 of our fellow-subjects—a larger addition than has previously been made to the franchise at any time—that we should consider well the point at which we have arrived. There is one point which it seems to me has been lost sight of in the discussion. It is continually said—"Why do you on that side fear a greater admission of the working classes to the franchise?" In answer, I deny that we have any such fear. But the House forgets that, in all former extensions of the franchise, the distinction was kept up between the county and the borough; and, whether the Reform Bill was passed by Liberals or Conservatives, it was always felt that one part acted as the counterpoise of the other. Now, however, for the first time, we are going to pass a measure which destroys all distinction, and makes an equal franchise. The question, then, the House and the country have to face is this—Are we to say that multitudes, and multitudes only, are, in the future, to exercise a controlling voice in the destinies of the country? The Prime Minister said that the object of the Bill was to strengthen the foundations of the country, and, by the addition of a large number of capable citizens to the franchise, to add to the greatness of the country. I agree in the wish that the foundations of the country should be strengthened by the admission of large numbers of our fellow-citizens to the franchise; but I think, when you are embarking for the first time on a new enterprize, and when the result may be perilous on account of the addition of numbers, we have a right to consider well our position, and to see whether the change should not be made in such a manner as to secure that which the Prime Minister said he desired. But to-night we have not one word from the other side as to any safeguard in the admission of these numbers. We have no statement whatever, and, therefore, we are driven to rely on former statements. The hon. and learned Attorney General, speaking some months ago to his constituents, said he could be no party to a measure which would destroy the rural votes of the country. But, under this Bill, will there be any guarantee that the rural votes will not be destroyed and out-numbered by the working-class vote of the great manufacturing centres of the North? For my own part, I believe the greatness, the wealth, the prosperity, and the contentment of the country depend on all classes being represented and having a vote, and, with that vote, the exercise of real electoral power. We were told by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War that, if he believed it would disfranchise the present voters, he would be no party to a scheme of electoral districts. To my mind, those were very assuring words indeed; but very soon afterwards, on the next evening, up jumped the right hon. Gentleman opposite the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), and told the House he was in favour of the principle of electoral districts, or, if the matter was left in his hands, he would manipulate a plan better still. I should be very sorry, for my own part, to leave the destinies of the country to the manipulation of the President of the Board of Trade, or to any other individual. I believe it is not the duty of this House to commit the destinies of this country to one individual; but I am prepared to entertain some form of redistribution of electoral power combined with proportional representation. Everyone, both on this side and the other side of the House, has a duty to perform; and I feel we should be failing in our duty if we did not insist, as far as possible, that we should have some statement from the Government on the question of redistribution. What will be the effect if we pass this Bill without any such scheme? Does anyone believe that, if the House passes the Bill, there will be a Redistribution Bill in the present Parliament? We do not think so. We believe there will be a Dissolution; and then do you think that the New Parliament will, immediately after its own Election, vote its own Dissolution? Nothing of the kind. For my part, if the Bill applies equally to the whole country, and if any scheme is propounded which can guard the interest of the rural population in which my right hon. Friend (Mr. Raikes) is so deeply interested, I should welcome the admission of the working classes to the franchise. I have trusted the working classes, and I know them well, and I believe they would exercise the franchise with wisdom. But it is a very different thing indeed when you come to transfer the voting power of the country to one class—namely, the working men. We do not believe this Bill will be of value to the labourer and the agricultural interest; and when you speak of the agricultural labourer being benefited by the measure, we do not believe they will be anything of the sort. We believe that they will be trampled upon and swamped by the vote of the great masses in the large towns, and that the labourers and the agricultural interest and the tenant farmers will feel that, while you have given them the promise of a vote, you have not given them any electoral power at all. I shall vote against the Bill, because I believe that will be the effect of it. I believe it is a dangerous measure in the interests of the country, which I am sure all love so well. I believe it is the duty of the Government and this House to strengthen the national institutions of the country. I believe that, in strengthening and expanding the boundaries of the Constitution, we are doing much to preserve our greatness in the future; because I am anxious to remove every complaint which could possibly arise. I do not object to any extension of the franchise in reason; but, at the same time, I ask the House to pause before it passes this Bill, which may be of advantage to enormous classes, but may destroy other classes. The greatness and prosperity of the country do not depend upon the simple mass of people, but upon all classes having a thorough and proper representation. Those measures are the wisest which secure the equal rights of all. Because I believe this measure will sacrifice the rights of many of our fellow-countrymen, I, for one, will not consent to pass this Bill, unless it is accompanied, as I have said, with a scheme of redistribution or some scheme of proportional representation by which the interests of all classes can be secured. For these reasons I shall vote against the Bill.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, that, being among those hon. Members who had been crowded out on the second reading, he was anxious now to say a few words. As one of the few Members of that House who had steadily opposed and had voted against the Bill of 1867, he wished to enter his protest against this measure. In doing so he should be only proving his consistency. His view at the time was that Lord Beaconsfield made a mistake in bringing in the Reform Bill of 1867; but, owing to the course which was taken by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister and his Friends, the Bill left the House as a Household Suffrage Bill pure and simple; but he had never attempted—not holding that there existed such a thing as finality in matters of Parliamentary Reform — to say that finality was reached when the measure of 1867 was passed. He was not, however, unreasonable, and did not stoutly oppose all necessity for change; but he thought the time had come when, if hon. Members thought the time had come at which a new Reform Bill was necessary, it should be passed—if passed at all—with certain Provisos by which the rights of property, intelligence, and, he might add, the just representation of the agricultural interest, should be preserved. The main fault that he found with the Bill was that it would enfranchise numbers at the expense of intelligence and property, and that it would intensify what already existed—namely, the inequality between representation and taxation. Let the House consider what it was about to do. If the Bill was passed it would increase the number of persons exercising the franchise from 2,000,000 to 5,000,000, of whom 4,000,000 would belong to what were described as the wage-earning or working classes; and what did they pay in the way of taxation? They contributed, undoubtedly, to the Customs Duties paid on tobacco, tea, and alcoholic spirits; but those were about the only forms of taxation which they bore, and the result of passing the Bill would be that the upper and middle classes would pay at least two-thirds of the taxation, and would be numerically not more than a fifth of the electors. He had no distrust of the working class as a class; but he could not help thinking that to put so great a power into their hands would not only offer to them an enormous temptation, but would have the same effect upon those men who led or professed to lead and guide them—among them being Mr. George and Mr. Davitt, whose examples would not, he hoped, be followed. He hoped there was no danger, and he had sufficient confidence in his countrymen to believe there was no danger, of anything approaching to revolution; but he looked with apprehension on a proposal which would put the greater part of the political power in the hands of the working classes, leaving the middle and upper classes to pay the greater part of the taxation. That apprehension was heightened when he considered the extreme Democratic views which had been advocated by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade and by some hon. Members supporting Her Majesty's Government; for instance, the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) had declared himself in favour of free education, a free breakfast table, and——

Mr. SPEAKER, interposing, said: I am sorry to interrupt the noble Lord; but the noble Lord is going rather far from the Instruction to the Committee.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: I beg pardon if I have exceeded my bounds; but I understood I was at liberty to debate the whole question.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not in Order to refer to the whole question of the Franchise Bill, which is not now before the House. The Motion before the House is, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee," which is a substantive Motion by itself; and the discussion ought properly to be confined to the terms of that Instruction, which are the provision for the redistribution of seats and the representation of populous urban sanitary districts at present unrepresented.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, there had been very few opportunities of getting a hearing on the principle of the Bill, and he thought he might conveniently do so now. He had in vain attempted to speak on the second reading, and he was naturally not desirous of postponing his remarks until the third reading, or to some future stage of the measure. The state of Ireland was very far from satisfactory. They had not yet done with the Coercion Bill; it came to an end next year, and when that took place they would see the effect its removal would have. The land legislation of 1870 was by no means a success, otherwise further legislation would not have so soon be deemed necessary. Nor had the Disestablishment of the Irish Church had the desired effect of reconciling the people to their condition. Looking at the facts as they were, he could not say that recent legislation had done anything towards creating a better feeling and a more contented feeling throughout the country than that which existed in former days. He would not refer to the legislative Business alone in that House. Wherever they went, they had heard a great deal lately in the speeches of right hon. Gentlemen about the House of Commons not being what it used to be; that the Business of the House was interrupted in every possible way; that personalities and trivialities were indulged in; that there was a plague of Questions; and that there must be a very great change, for things could not go on much longer as they had been going on. A system of deterioration, almost of decay and a want of tone, had undoubtedly come upon them, and deserved the utmost consideration. But his point was, whether that state of things would improve under their new Franchise Bill. He believed the result would be quite the contrary, and he looked forward with dread to the change. He was lately comparing the opinions of Mr. Walter Bagehot, who died only a few years ago, as expressed in the last edition of his works, with the opinions of the present Liberal Party. Mr. Bagehot was considered a representative Liberal a short time ago; but now his opinions would be more suitable to the Opposition Benches, for he was opposed to the indiscriminate extension of the franchise. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) very properly dwelt upon the great change in the constitution of Parties since the carrying of the 1867 Redistribution Bill. He (Lord Eustace Cecil) confessed to sharing those feelings which the right hon. Gentleman had expressed with so much eloquence. He also had seen great changes. Within a very short time he had seen, on his own side of the House, surrender and compromise over and over again; and he had seen even a new Party arise there—a Party which had been termed the Tory Democratic Party. He knew what a Tory Party was, and what was a Democratic Party; and he understood opinions which, if expressed on the other side of the House, would be called Radical; but a Tory Democratic Party was an entirely new feature in political life. Again, he had also seen many changes on the other side of the House. He had noticed that there now was, in particular, on the Ministerial Benches, a want of that independence which they used to look for in all quarters of the House—a want he very much grieved for. Whether it was due to the action of the Caucus or not he could not say; but, undoubtedly, there was a lack of independence such as existed in former days, and which they had witnessed on that very evening. That was not the only occasion on which they had observed it. Both inside and outside the House, hon. Members submitted to the lash of the whip directly and indirectly, and in a manner that they would not have submitted to in former days. Were these things to be better in the future? He believed they would be worse, and that so-called Members of Parliament would sink their opinions, and become mere delegates. He deplored the absence of independence, as well as of dignity, and consideration for others, in their remarks. Now, he would come to the question of redistribution. Those who represented agricultural counties; who had always had among them farmers descending from the ancient tenantry, who had been upon the land for generations past, they, as well as the tenants, felt that they were to be swamped out of existence. He would like to call the attention of the Prime Minister to some language used by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War on March 24, admitting that this measure, if it passed into law, would terminate the supremacy which had till then existed in the county elections in such tenant farmers. In other words, the existing tenant farmers would be swamped; and yet those tenant farmers were just as fit as a class as the working classes, into whose hands the Government proposed to place so much power. Formerly the tenant farmers had some sort of counterpoise given them; but now they were to be deprived of what they had enjoyed for centuries, without any countervailing advantage. There was nothing in the shape of redistribution, as far as they had yet seen, that could be counted on and worked out, further than this—that they knew that the small agricultural boroughs of the

South of England, which had represented the tenant farmers and the agricultural class, were to be taken away and given to Scotland, to Ireland, and to the North of England. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon had told them, the other day, that 35 constituencies, represented by 60 Members, were to be taken away from the counties and given to the urban population. When they looked at the number of county Members in England, Scotland, and Ireland as compared with the number of urban Members, they would find that both in Ireland and in Scotland the county Members exceeded the borough Members; but in poor England the county Members were in a minority of more than 100. The fact was that the English counties were most unjustly under-represented; and before the electorate was so largely increased as was now proposed he thought that the Prime Minister was bound first to redress that inequality as a mere matter of right. It would be something if the right hon. Gentleman would give the House some information — something that could be weighed and examined—as to what was to be done, for at present he had told them nothing. The Prime Minister had only said—"Put your trust in the people." He (Lord Eustace Cecil) would ask the right hon. Gentleman to trust the House of Commons, which represented the people; and if he did not put his trust in it, then he would ask him to dissolve it, and appeal to the people. But at present the right hon. Gentleman seemed to trust neither the House of Commons, nor the present electorate, and therefore it was that he brought in a Franchise Bill without a measure of redistribution. Could the right hon. Gentleman, then, be surprised at their making the resistance which they had made? In his speech in introducing the Bill, the right hon. Gentleman exhorted them "not to wander on the hill-tops of speculation"—in other words, that they were to swallow the Bill as a whole and take a leap in the dark. For his own part, he (Lord Eustace Cecil) had taken one leap in the dark, and he had no desire or intention to take another. The resistance of the Opposition had been magnified ten-fold by the manner in which the Prime Minister had approached the subject. If their fears were idle, as they were told by the supporters of the Government, and if the right hon. Gentleman really wished this measure to be accepted by the House, the country, and the agricultural Members, he should take them into his entire confidence, and not merely into a portion of it, and then he would not find the Tory Party so unreasonable as he thought. They were ready to let bygones be bygones, and adapt themselves to the times; but they did not like to be led blindfold to a precipice, and then thrown down without knowing what was at the bottom of it. The right hon. Gentleman could dispel that fear by putting the whole of his plan before them. He (Lord Eustace Cecil) might be told that he was too late, like all that the Government had done in Egypt, or that there was some other plausible reason, which the Prime Minister knew so well how to enunciate, why their pleading should not be listened to; but that he had heard in 1867, and would very possibly hear again. He maintained it would be found that the Bill of the Prime Minister, if passed in its present form, would, instead of removing the anomalies that existed, create others far greater than any that were now to be found. The Franchise Bill by itself left a number of anomalies behind it, and he could not help thinking that the Prime Minister's famous "flesh and blood" speech of 1865 was always coming back to his mind, and that either the Prime Minister, or his Successor on the Liberal side, whoever he might be, would find out that there was some very good reason why the anomalies of the Bill of 1884 should be redressed. In the anomalies of the service franchise, as established by the present Bill, it might be discovered that there was a good excuse, sooner or later, to go into manhood suffrage, and then to womanhood suffrage, and so on, perhaps, to childhood suffrage. The right hon. Gentleman told them it was a Bill founded on an Imperial basis; but he (Lord Eustace Cecil) must confess that after carefully listening to all that had been said, he thought the Government had not succeeded in refuting the charge made against them that that Bill was brought in for a Party purpose, and for a Party purpose alone. The Secretary of State for the Home Department not very long ago talked of something that had been done on the Opposition side of the House as "a dirty trick," and the right hon. Gentleman was very properly called to Order, as he (Lord Eustace Cecil) also should be, if he now made use of the same language. But he could not help thinking that the introduction of this measure had very much the appearance of a trick; and he could only hope that before the Bill had proceeded very much further there, either some alteration would be made, or some explanation on the part of the Government would be given. What hon. Gentlemen sitting on his side complained of was that, whatever arguments they put forward, they got little or no response. If they said they were not fairly dealt with, it was regarded as the idle wind. Indeed, he did not remember that any Opposition had been treated in the way they had been; because, whatever they said or did, they were always met with the parrot cry that they were guilty of "wanton Obstruction." Considering that that Bill was admitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be one of the greatest revolutions that had been proposed in this country since 1688, it was but right, but fair, but generous, that the Party opposite, who had been able to command—he did not say how—a majority of 130, should, at least, give their opponents credit for feeling strongly about that Bill, for desiring to put every aspect of it before the House and the country, so that, at all events, there should be no precipitate action in the matter, and that, if such should be the will of the country and of Parliament, they should arrive at a real and fair settlement of that question, for a mere one-sided settlement of it must either sooner or later recoil on its authors, or, perhaps, end in the practical destruction of all their Parliamentary institutions. He, therefore, hoped that the Government would not persist in the policy they had hitherto pursued, of refusing them information as to the redistribution of seats, but would take them into their confidence. As things, however, stood at present, he was unwillingly compelled to support the Resolution of his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), because he felt that the action of the Government in this matter was fraught with injustice not only to property and intelligence, but especially to the agricultural interest, which, he was convinced, would be completely swamped if that Franchise Bill only was allowed to pass in its present shape.

Mr. ECROYD said, he intended to give his hearty support to the Instruction moved by the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes). In districts like that in which he (Mr. Ecroyd) resided, the effect of giving the franchise by the extension of the boundaries of boroughs, or by the creation of new boroughs in populous centres, would be extremely different, and, he thought, more just, as well as more acceptable to the working classes, than the bare extension of the franchise in the manner proposed by the Bill. It was popularly supposed that the Bill would place householders in country districts outside boroughs in exactly the same position as householders in boroughs; but, though theoretically that might be the case, it was not so in practice. A man, for example, who lived in a borough and owned his own and another house, would have a double share of political power as compared with the man who lived in the country outside a borough, and there owned his own and another house. There were tens of thousands of working men living in the country who were in that position, and who were just as worthy of a second vote as their fellow-working men in boroughs, and who would feel their position under this Bill, should it become law, to be a great grievance. In Lancashire they had outside the boroughs a population of 1,500,000, of whom 850,000 were an urban population, precisely similar in character and occupation to the inhabitants of the boroughs, and 650,000 were a rural population. Working men who, by industry and self-denial, had saved money and become owners of property could not understand why, in a Bill said to be founded on principles of absolute justice, and which was presented to the House as a final settlement of that question, their neighbours in the boroughs were to be left with a double share of political power as compared with their own. There was nothing of which the working man was more justly proud than of the second vote which he enjoyed as the owner of property; it was, so to speak, his patent of nobility; and nothing could be more calculated to strike a severe blow at the moral development of the working population than to reduce the provident and the improvident to the same political level. Again, there were two forms of taxation in this country—Imperial taxation and local rates. The burden of the former was gradually diminishing; while that of the latter was constantly on the increase. It would be a very dangerous thing to hand over the control of that legislation, which in many cases enforced an increase of local taxation, to a class which contributed little or nothing to that rapidly-increasing burden. Unless the measure was one which would establish absolute justice as between dwellers in town and country, it would not be acceptable to the working classes. There was no danger in the addition to the franchise of all householders, if this sufficient safeguard were provided, as had been done by the late Lord Beaconsfield in 1867. For 10 or 15 years he (Mr. Ecroyd) had consistently advocated the extension of the franchise to every householder; but he hoped it would be extended as far as possible in the just and safe manner proposed by his right hon. Friend the Member for Cambridge University. Unless some such course were adopted there would be great danger in passing the Bill. It was because he believed the Amendment of his right hon. Friend would tend in some degree to secure the end he wished to see gained that he should cheerfully vote for it.

MR. MACFARLANE said, that anyone who had listened to the opposition to the Bill, assuming it to be sincere, must have discovered that what hon. Members on the Opposition side feared was not the Bill before the House, but a Bill which was to come after it. They feared decimation, and did not know upon whom the lot would fall. He had a Motion which was preferable, he thought, as the smaller evil, to the other remedies for the difficulty which had been proposed; and that was, instead of taking Members from England, to add a small number to the Members of the House. When the present number was fixed the population of the country was only half of what it was now. In that way the controversies with respect to Ireland and the just claims of Scotland might be settled. If 10 or 12 Members were added, there would be no material inconvenience to the House, and a difficulty would be cleared out of the way.

MR. GREGORY said, that, so far as he had been able to gather from public opinion in the district he represented, the general feeling amongst those proposed to be enfranchised was one of indifference, of those who possessed the franchise one of apprehension. It could hardly be otherwise, and the constituencies there in the Southern counties of England could not but view the Bill with some feeling of dread. They were apprehensive of the very shadowy and indefinite character of the redistribution scheme which was set forth by the Government; and they desired to emphatically protest against Members being taken from the South of England in order that Ireland should be left as it now was. In the county which he represented there were several boroughs which had always been loyal to their country, and had done their duty in returning valuable Members to the House. One of them was now sitting on the Treasury Bench. Those constituencies were as worthy of consideration as any in the country. The larger boroughs must, no doubt, have an increased representation, and Scotland was fairly entitled to a larger number of Members. But they had been told that Ireland was still to retain her present representation. He protested against that determination on the part of the Government. He had been at some pains to ascertain the number of Members to which Ireland, taking population and contribution to the Revenue, was entitled. He had been much assisted by a pamphlet on the subject which had been published by a learned counsel, a friend of his own; and he was quite prepared to adopt and stand upon his calculations. Now, he would take three elements on which the representation of Ireland might be based—namely, the electorate, the contribution to Imperial taxation, and the population of the country. Taking the first of these on the new franchise, as far as the number of voters could be ascertained the proper proportion of Members for the Three Kingdoms would be as follows:—England, 488; Wales, 28; Scotland, 66; Ireland, 70. The second element of calculation—namely, the contribution to the burdens of the country—gave the following result: — namely, England, 522 Members; Wales, 18; Scotland, 69; Ireland, 43. The population test, no doubt, gave a somewhat different result, which was as follows:—England, 460 Members; Wales, 25; Scotland, 70; Ireland, 96. But by combining these different modes of calculation, and taking the mean of them, they arrived at a fair and legitimate result, which gave:—For England, 490 Members; Wales, 24; Scotland, 68; Ireland, 70. And this, he contended, would be the proper proportion of Members to be allotted to the three countries on any fair and just scheme of redistribution. Now, with respect to the Bill generally, it appeared to him to involve most uncertain and, it might be, dangerous elements. They were told to trust the people; but he could not place implicit confidence in a new electorate of 2,000,000, of whom they knew little or nothing. He already saw measures of a very Democratic, if not a Socialistic, character promoted and advocated in the House—measures affecting the rights of property and freedom of contract in the most vital manner—supported by those who were, or hoped to be, Members for large constituencies, and some of those on his own side of the House as well as on the other. He could not but contemplate with alarm and apprehension the action of the new constituency upon these and kindred subjects; and he feared that they might be supported by a pressure which would be irresistible. For these reasons, he thought that they ought to have some more definite knowledge as to the future redistribution, so that they might know how far they were going, and what would be the constitution of this Assemby when the work of Parliamentary Reform was completed.

Mr. THOMAS COLLINS, who had on the Paper a Notice of a Motion—

> "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to enlarge the scope of the Bill so as to include the redistribution of Seats in the United Kingdom,"

said, he thought the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had made some uncalled-for remarks about the mechanical majority of the Government and the declaration of the Prime Minister as to silence being observed. Such silence never did any good to a Party with the country. In 1859, when a Vote of Censure on Mr. Disraeli was moved, word was passed in the usual way that the supporters of the Government were not to speak. It was a "mechanical majority," and it obeyed; and nine Members spoke in succession from the side of the Liberal Opposition. One of those Members subsequently became a Judge in England, another a Judge in Ireland, and a third was elevated to the House of Peers; and he hoped some of the speakers of to-night would have equal good fortune. The Prime Minister said that speeches on the principle of the Bill might be reserved for the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor, that the House go into Committee that day six months; but the Lord Mayor might be induced by pressure not to propose that Amendment; and it was, therefore, rather hard that those who could not speak on the second reading should be charged with Obstruction for availing themselves of this, probably their only opportunity. It was very difficult, indeed, for a serious politician like himself to speak upon a Bill of this kind, because he considered the measure to be one which had been brought in by a weak, feeble, and discredited Government. Everybody inside that House, and everybody who occupied a seat in "another place," and everyone outside Parliament, knew very well that the Ministry had produced a still-born child; that already it was as dead as a door-nail, and had no chance of finding a place on the Statute Book. He protested against the introduction of a Franchise Bill which did not contain clauses dealing with redistribution. In 1858 a certain right hon. Gentleman, speaking at Birmingham, urged that, whenever a Reform Bill was brought forward, they should never take their eyes off the subject of redistribution. And the same right hon. Gentleman said at Bradford, in 1859, that redistribution was the very soul and marrow of the question. That was the opinion of the right hon: Gentleman the middle Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright). In short, there was a *catena* of authorities, from 1832 downwards, all coming to the same conclusion—that the two questions ought to be dealt with together. When Mr. Disraeli brought in his Bill, he tried to conciliate the county Members by retaining a high franchise for the counties, and to bribe the borough Members by saying—for he was a master of Parliamentary jargon—that "no centre of representation" should be wholly disfranchised. The consequence was that the Representatives of the small boroughs all supported him. The Prime Minister was now doing the same thing in an exaggerated form. His Bill was a thoroughly dishonest measure from end to end; but, at the same time, it was undoubtedly extremely popular with hon. Members opposite. It held out to the borough Members the prospect that, for one Election more, their seats should be left untouched. But the Bill went hammer and tongs at the county Members, who would come back by-and-bye—those who would come back *rari nantes in gurgite vasto;* while the borough Members would return untouched, because the Bill was not made for them. Conservative Members were not opposed tooth and nail to the extension of the franchise in the counties. That was not their game. They would go to the country upon the cry of a packed House of Commons. They would say that the borough Members shrank from any Bill which would interfere with their seats, and therefore they made a raid upon the county Members. Whether the majority was 130 or 300 was all the same. The Party opposite would not bring in a fair Bill, and the Party on that side meant to make them. He thought the Bill of Mr. Disraeli went too far so far as related to the extension of the suffrage in boroughs, but not half far enough so far as it related to the redistribution of seats. He would not say that it had improved the House, and he did not see any prospect of improving the House by an extension of the franchise. But after the Tory surrender in 1867 they must make the best of the circumstances in which they found themselves, and they would be obliged to give a large extension of the suffrage. A vast deal too much had been said of the over-representation of Ireland, and very exaggerated fears had been raised on the subject. He was disposed to recognize the right of Ireland to the number of Representatives fixed by the Act of Union. But he would take away the five extra Members which were given to Ireland by the Act of 1832. In England each Member, on an average, represented 53,000 persons; in Ireland each Member represented 50,000; and in Scotland each Member represented 62,000; so that Scotland was much under-represented. But Wales had a Member for every 45,000, and was manifestly over-represented. He would strongly protest against any Members being taken from England, which was the most intelligent, thriving, and industrious part of the Kingdom. Five or 10 Members ought to be taken from Wales, in addition to those from Ireland, and given to Scotland; but none from England, seeing that it was not over-represented, as the two former countries he had referred to were. When the redistribution scheme was settled, another thing they ought to get rid of was the system by which they got over-representations of majorities. He should, therefore, like to see the two-Member constituencies abolished, for he thought no two Members of the same sort should be returned from the same place. Why should a majority be doubly represented? As to the question of the representation of minorities, he knew it was a subject which many hon. Members did not like. It was said that among other great authorities who had been opposed to this scheme of the representation of minorities was the late Mr. Disraeli, and there was a famous saying of his that minorities ought to make themselves majorities. But everybody knew perfectly well that Mr. Disraeli was one of those persons who thought that the good of his Party ought entirely to outweigh every other consideration. ["Oh, oh!"] Mr. Disraeli naturally conceived that the good of his Party was the good of the country; and that he was opposed to the representation of minorities was shown by the system he adopted, when he brought in his Reform Bill, of trisecting many of the counties, rather than bisecting those counties which returned two Members each—for instance, the counties of Essex, Surrey, Norfolk, and Cheshire were made to return six Members each, and those counties returned 24 Conservaties. But if Mr. Disraeli had gone on the opposite line of bisecting them, and had given a minority Member to each, those counties, instead of returning 24 Conservative Members, would only have returned 16 and counted for 8. Probably that would have been a much fairer representation; but it was one that was not satisfactory to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli). He, therefore, waited until the Bill got into the House of Lords, and allowed Lord Cairns to insert an Amendment, giving these limited votes to constituencies returning three Members each, which afterwards became the law of the land. No one could doubt that it was unfair to carry out this system of representation of minorities in a few places only, and not universally. In the same way, it was unfair to the inhabitants of the borough of Leeds that they should count no more than the inhabitants of a large number of small boroughs whose representation was based upon a different system; but if the system had been carried out pretty universally, there would have been nothing unfair in it. He (Mr. T. Collins) lived in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and in the West Riding, at the last General Election, six Liberal Members were returned to Parliament—if, in reality, they could be called genuine Liberals. However, be that as it might, the West Riding returned six Members to Parliament; and the number of persons who voted for them was, excluding odd figures, 31,000; while the voters for the Conservative candidates numbered 25,000. Therefore, in round numbers, the Liberal electors in the West Riding had one Member for 5,000, while the 25,000 Conservatives had none. Would anybody contend that that was a *bonâ fide* representation, where 30,000 electors had one Representative to each 5,000, and the other 25,000 had none at all? If they had a system of minority representation, such as existed at Leeds, the minority would have returned at least three Members, which would have been one for every 8,000 voters, while the majority would have returned one for every 5,000 voters. Even in that case the majority would have been considerably over-represented; but the discrepancy would not have been so gross as it was at present. Therefore, he contended that what was really wanted was to deal with the question as a whole. He had some experience of the working of the minority system, because he had been a Member of the London School Board, and the School Boards were all elected on that principle, under the system of cumulative voting. The principle adopted there was that the majorities should rule, but that the minorities ought to be heard. There was another question which also merited some attention at the hands of the House—namely, the question of extending the boundaries of boroughs. A good deal might be done in that direction. To confer upon a man a vote was said to have an educational tendency. It made him a man and a brother, and had a good effect upon him. He wanted, then, to know, if it was calculated to have a good effect upon the voter, why the right hon. Gentleman opposite threw out the recommendations of the Boundary Commissioners in 1867? The Boundary Commissioners in 1867 proposed to enfranchise a large proportion of the people, and to add them to the boroughs. Lord Eversley—a Liberal—was at the head of the Commission; Sir Francis Crossley, who sat at the time for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and was also a Liberal, and the hon. Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter), another Liberal, were Members of the Commission. In point of fact, the majority of the Commission were Liberals; but, in the most barefaced manner, the Opposition refused to give effect to the recommendations of the Commissioners, and the result was that, for 15 years, a large number of those who were now to be enfranchised had been kept out of the franchise. He would give the House an instance. The Boundary Commissioners proposed to add the town of Leamington to the borough which was at present represented by the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair—namely, Warwick. Why was it that the inhabitants of Leamington had been deprived of the franchise for 15 years by the Liberal Party opposite? He thought they had a great right to complain. It was part of the jargon and cant of the Liberal Party in the House to talk of the wrongs to which their fellow-men were subjected, and then to rob them of their rights. The Liberal Party took very good care that Leamington should not be represented as a borough constituency, and in the teeth of the recommendations of the Boundary Commissioners in their Report they declined to connect Leamington with Warwick. They thought it would answer their purposes better, the borough of Warwick being already quite Liberal enough for those that liberalize the counties by maintaining large boroughs within them. They all knew what that sort of thing meant. He was himself a Party man, and of course, when he saw that this Bill was to be a single-barrelled Reform Bill, he could not believe it, because he thought the Government were far too good tacticians to bring in such a palpable fraud upon the people of England. He thought they would bring in a reasonable Bill, disfranchising any place with a population less than 20,000, and taking one Member from a place with less than 40,000; and when they submitted this single-barrelled Bill, he said at once—" The Lord hath delivered them into our hands." "*Hoc Ithacus velit et magus mucentur Atridæ.*" The same game was played in 1852. In 1852 the borough Members were sent to the country on the principle of Free Trade; while the county Members went to the country on the principle of Protection. They were doing the same thing now; but he could not have believed, if anyone had told him before the Bill was introduced, that it would have provided such a handle for electioneering purposes as the present Bill gave. It seemed to him that what they really wanted was to go to the country; and the Government could not have a better opportunity. They had introduced this wretched, contemptible Franchise Bill, which was a fraud upon the people from beginning to end. They had a muddle in Egypt, of which the most long-sighted man could not see the end; and they had Ireland coerced and groaning under tyrannical laws, brought about by their incapacity to govern. He would, therefore, invite the Government to go at once to the country upon this Franchise Bill, and take the opinion of the country upon these questions.

Original Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 147; Noes 174: Majority 27.—(Div. List, No. 73.)

MR. TOMLINSON, in rising to move—

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to enlarge the scope of the Bill, so as to provide, where desirable, for the extension of the Boundaries of the Parliamentary Boroughs,"

said, he would express a hope that his Motion would be considered in a less acrimonious and less controversial manner than the one the House had been just discussing; and he hoped that the Government would not think that he had brought it forward for the purpose of Obstruction, but that they would be induced to give to the question the attention which was due to an attempt to amend the Bill. He took it as clear that a complete scheme of Parliamentary Reform must include proper provisions for determining the constituencies in which the householders who would be enfranchised ought to be registered. It had been admitted, in the course of the debate, that the Bill, if carried, besides enfranchising a considerable number of agricultural labourers, would also enfranchise a large number of artizans. The population of England had been going on increasing at a very considerable rate, and it would continue to increase at a rate of not less than 500,000 per year. But this increase was attracted principally to the large towns; nearly every large Parliamentary borough had its accretion. He said this without meaning to deny that the boroughs which did not receive direct Parliamentary representation at present were also largely increasing. In the part of England which he (Mr. Tomlinson) represented it was a matter of notoriety, so far as the large boroughs were concerned, that there was a considerable number of people just outside the Parliamentary boundary, whose interests were entirely bound up with those of the borough itself; and who, when votes were allowed them, ought to vote in the borough with which they were really connected. In the borough which he represented — Preston — this was certainly the case; and he was of opinion that all the inhabitants who were included within the municipal boundary ought to be brought within the Parliamentary borough. The same remark would apply to Wigan and other boroughs. When the question of redistribution came to be considered, the subject would, of necessity, be brought before the House, and each borough would have attached to it the population which naturally belonged to it; and if this step were taken in the first instance with regard to existing boroughs, the House would be in a much better position for seeing afterwards how to distribute the representation. He could not conceive what objection or difficulty there could be in attaching a boundary clause to the present Bill. They knew very well, from the experience of former

Reform Bills, how to deal with boundaries. A clause would be inserted appointing a Boundary Commission. If the same course were taken now, a Boundary Commission would be able to go to work at once, and would complete their task, as regards existing boroughs, before the question of redistribution came on. For this reason he would be glad to know what objection there could be against introducing a clause into the Bill? If an event happened, which he sincerely hoped would not happen — namely, a Dissolution after the passing of a Franchise Bill, and before Parliament had dealt with the subject of the redistribution of seats — it would, at least, mitigate the calamity to have enabled, where possible, the new voters to record their votes in the boroughs to which they belonged, rather than in the adjoining counties. It seemed to him to be a matter so easy and simple that he would not enlarge upon it further, but would simply move the Instruction to the Committee which he had placed upon the Paper.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to enlarge the scope of the Bill, so as to provide, where desirable, for the extension of the Boundaries of the Parliamentary Boroughs."—(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

Mr. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member has stated, with perfect fairness, the case for the Motion he has made. No person can doubt that the consideration of the boundaries of boroughs must be a portion of the subject of the Parliamentary statement of the question of Reform; but the question really is, whether it belongs naturally to the franchise, or whether it belongs to the subject of areas. I will only point out that the very fact that the hon. Member has been able to move the Instruction indicates that the matter he has called our attention to belongs to the delimitation of areas; because, if it had belonged to the subject of the franchise, the hon. Member would have been able to propose it as a clause in the Bill. I listened to the speech of the hon. Gentleman in order to see whether there was any reason for detaching this particular point from the general question of the delimitation of areas, and I must confess that I did not hear or find that he gave any such reason. Of course, the question whether the delimitation of areas with a view to redistribution is to be comprehended in a Franchise Bill is a very large question which the House has previously treated as a question of principle, and which it has decided upon accordingly. But this mode of taking a small fragment of the question of the delimitation of areas, and thrusting it into a Franchise Bill, ought, after the decision which the House has given on the main subject, to be supported unquestionably by some very strong argument which should tend to show that it would be more conveniently dealt with here than in a Redistribution Bill, notwithstanding the general decision at which the House has arrived. I do not think that any such argument has been shown. It is plain that the question of the boundaries of boroughs is a question which belongs to delimitation. Moreover, it might, in some instances, lead to a great deal of inconvenience to alter the boundaries of boroughs, independently of redistribution; because, in particular cases—indeed, supposing a Dissolution were to take place, and I hope it will not—but if it were to take place with the boundaries of the boroughs altered without redistribution, it would greatly tend to augment the existing anomalies. But it is upon the general ground that clearly this proposal belongs, as a particular item, to that portion of the subject which the House has decided not to entertain, that I hope the hon. Member will not press his Amendment upon the attention of the House.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE said, he was very sorry to hear the Prime Minister speak of this proposal in the tone he had. He had expected that if the right hon. Gentleman would not assent to it as an Instruction to the Committee, he would have held out some hope that steps would be taken by Her Majesty's Government to meet the difficulty pointed out by the Instruction. The Prime Minister said that it was a question which formed part of the question of delimitation, and must be dealt with at a subsequent, and, perhaps, a distant date, as part of the measure which was to relate to the redistribution of seats. But the settlement of boundaries was a matter which must take considerable time, and the effect of postponing it would be obviously and necessarily to entail also the postponement of the scheme for the redistribution of seats. He would point out to the House, if it would allow him, in a very few words, what the effect of the refusal of the Government to accept the proposal of his hon. Friend (Mr. Tomlinson) would be. Assuming that the Franchise Bill passed in its present form, unencumbered or unamended, as the two sides of the House might choose to call it, by the addition of a scheme of redistribution, the new voters under it could not, unless some special arrangement were made in regard to registration, come upon the register until the 1st of January, 1886. There was no chance of the Bill, if it passed into law, becoming law before August, and before August the notices would be given for the register which would come in force next January. Therefore, it would be 12 months longer before the new electors could come on the register. If, next year, Her Majesty's Government brought forward a Bill for the redistribution of seats, it would be necessary to decide the question of the boundaries of the boroughs. They would not be in a position to issue a Royal Commission, or to deal with the question, until a Redistribution Bill should have been passed. So that, assuming a Redistribution Bill to be brought in, pressed forward, and passed into law by the month of June of next year, it would not then be possible to attach the boundaries so as to make them ready for the application of the new constituencies until the following 1st of January. Therefore, it was not possible, unless the Government took some prompt steps to appoint a Commission for dealing with the boundaries of the boroughs, to have the redistribution of seats and the new franchise coming into operation at the same time. But then there was another and a very serious point indeed. Suppose this Franchise Bill were allowed to pass; and suppose, during the early part of next year, in the months of April, May, or June, the political Parties throughout the country were preparing for the registration which would take place in the Autumn, for what register were they to prepare, and what register would it be with which the Revising Barristers in September would have to deal? They would have to add to the register of the counties a large number of voters who would only be put there in order to be taken off again by a Redistribution Bill whenever it should be brought in. In that way the Revising Barrister would be settling, with regard to Middlesex, a very large register of voters who would afterwards have to be carved out again. Therefore, he said that to allow the Act to come into operation without re-arrangement of boundaries would be to create an extraordinary difficulty and an enormous expenditure, by putting a large number of voters upon the provisional registers, from which they would have to be removed when the Redistribution Bill passed into law. Then, if they allowed the Act to come into force without any redistribution of seats, the result would be to swamp the large rural and agricultural constituencies by urban voters, and they would be doing that, although they had now an opportunity of taking measures which would prevent the mischief. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had said it would be difficult in Committee to deal with any clauses which should affect the boundaries of boroughs. He might as well have said that this matter should be dealt with by Royal Commission—by Gentlemen nominated by the Ministry, and whose character assured the country of their fairness in dealing with that difficult and important question; and if the right hon. Gentleman were to say now that a Commission should be established in the Autumn for deciding the boundaries of boroughs in preparation for the Redistribution Bill, that would be the only assurance which could be given to Parliament that a Redistribution Bill would be brought in. It was possible that the borough constituencies might be made very large; but it was better to put a large number of voters in an urban constituency, which was to remain an urban constituency with added Members, than it was to put the same number of county voters into a county constituency, where they were not intended to be ranked as voters, but to be shifted to another register subsequently. He hoped they should have from the Prime Minister that evening a promise that a Boundary Commission should be at once appointed, in order that the House might feel secure that in the next Session of Parliament, if the present Parliament lasted until then, that they should be able to deal satisfactorily with the question of redistribution.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. E. Clarke) had placed his view of this matter very ably before the House; and his (the Attorney General's) reply would be very brief. The proposal which had been made involved the whole question of redistribution. If the House would consider for one moment, they would see the impracticable nature of the proposal. The suggestion was that there should be a Commission appointed to fix the boundaries of boroughs? But what boroughs? It was, of course, impossible to define the boroughs which might exist after the Bill had become law. They might be existing boroughs, or they might be new boroughs; or parts of existing boroughs might be amalgamated with counties. It resolved itself into this—that his hon. and learned Friend showed a desire to obtain a reversal of the decision already arrived at by the House with regard to redistribution; and for that reason the Government could not accept the proposal of a Boundary Commission.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, the hon. and learned Attorney General had hardly done justice to the proposal of his hon. Friend (Mr. Tomlinson), because, as far as he (Mr. Grantham) could see, it was not necessary to deal with the new boroughs. He wanted to know how they were to determine whether or not the existing boroughs were to be swamped, or grouped under the Bill? That must depend entirely on the area of the boroughs as they were found to be when the Redistribution Bill was brought in. Under the circumstances, he did not follow the hon. and learned Attorney General in saying that the scheme could not be carried out, because there were no materials for knowing what the boroughs were to be. They could only prepare for it by knowing what were the existing areas of boroughs at the time; because, until then, the House must be in absolute ignorance as to the registers of the various constituencies of the country and the way to deal with them. He hoped the hon. and learned Attorney General would reconsider the decision arrived at, because the Prime Minister had admitted the other night that, as far as he was concerned, his wish was that the county constituencies should be kept to themselves, and the county voters not swamped by the urban voters. He (Mr. Grantham) was convinced that the best way to show the honesty of that desire was to have the redistribution scheme fairly considered apart from all Party views. He, therefore, hoped the Government would consider this really important question with a view to giving effect to the proposal of his hon. Friend.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 132; Noes 158: Majority 26.—(Div. List, No. 74.)

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS, according to Notice, rose to move—

> "That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to make provision for the due registration of all persons entitled to be registered as voters under the Bill."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) rose to a point of Order. He wished to take the opinion of Mr. Speaker whether it was competent for the right hon. Gentleman to move this Instruction, seeing that the Committee already had power

> "To make provision for the due registration of all persons entitled to be registered as voters under the Bill."

In a Bill dealing with the representation of the people, and affecting the franchise —placing new voters on the register— there must, of necessity, be a power to deal with registration. In the Representation of the People Act—a title similar to that of the present measure— of 1867, provision was made for the registration of the voters who came into existence under the Act. If, then, a clause dealing with the subject could be introduced in Committee, it was obviously unnecessary to move this Instruction; and he, therefore, asked Mr. Speaker whether the Motion was in Order?

Mr. SPEAKER: In reply to the hon. and learned Gentleman, I have to say, from the best consideration I have been able to give to the point raised, it appears to me that the subject of registration would be relevant to the Bill, and that, therefore, it will be competent for the Committee to deal with it. If the Committee is competent to deal with it, it will be out of Order for an Instruction to be moved, calling upon the Committee to do that which it is already empowered to do. Under these circumstances, I should think the course the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) ought to adopt would be to move an Amendment in the Committee of the Whole House.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: I am glad to hear your ruling, Sir. I may say that my object has been entirely gained. I should like to ask, as it is competent for the House to deal with the subject, and as we know from the Prime Minister that the Government have a Bill prepared on the subject of self-acting registration, whether the Government themselves will not bring forward these clauses?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am not prepared, at this moment, to state the course which will be pursued by Her Majesty's Government on this question.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor): I beg to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Member is not in Order in moving "That the Debate be now adjourned," inasmuch as there is no debate now proceeding. The right hon. Member would be in Order in moving "That further Proceeding upon going into Committee on the Bill be adjourned."

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor): Then I make that Motion.

Motion made, and Question, "That further Proceeding upon going into Committee on the Bill be adjourned," — (*Mr. R. N. Fowler,*) — put, and *agreed to.*

Further Proceeding upon going into Committee *deferred* until *Thursday.*

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 3.] SECOND READING.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [25th April], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be further adjourned till To-morrow, at Two of the clock.

Mr. WARTON: I object to the Bill being deferred until to-morrow at 2, and move that it be deferred till Thursday.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "To-morrow, at Two of the clock," in order to insert the words "upon Thursday," — (*Mr. Warton,*) — instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. BRODRICK said, he thought there ought to be some general understanding as to the extent to which Morning Sittings should be taken at that time of the year, so as to protect the rights of private Members who had balloted for those days on which the Morning Sittings were taken four weeks a-head. The Motion was made at 10 minutes to 1 o'clock in the morning for 2 o'clock in the afternoon—that was to say, giving an interval of only 13 hours; and the Notice was quite insufficient to enable those Members successful in the ballot to make a House amongst their Friends for the next evening. The Government should give some assurance that, as the Reform Bill had been treated by them as one of urgent importance, further progress would be made with it on Government nights, and that it would not be taken on private Members' nights. If it were proposed on any future occasion to put it down for a private Members' day, he trusted the Motion would be strenuously opposed.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he was glad the hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick) had made a protest against the manner in which the rights of private Members were infringed by Her Majesty's Government. He did not know whether the House had noticed the extraordinary inconsistency of the Prime Minister as to Morning Sittings and Evening Sittings during the past fortnight. The Government had deprived him (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) of a night he had obtained. He had appealed to the Prime Minister to make a House, and the right hon. Gentleman had refused point blank; but last week he had made three or four suggestions as to private Sittings, and ultimately, when asked by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard) to make a House, he had done so, and had then come down and rated the right hon. Gentleman because there were not a large number of his Friends in attendance at 9 o'clock. To-night the Prime Minister refused to assist in making a House, even for such an important subject as the position of the Elementary School Teachers appointed between the years 1846 and 1851 with respect to pensions, which was to be brought on by the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Surrey. That hon. Gentleman, therefore, was perfectly justified in the protest he had made, not only on the ground of the rights of private Members, but also on the ground of the advantage of the Government, and the Parliamentary time and advantage which these Morning Sittings afforded to the Government. Several of the last Morning Sittings taken by the Government had not advanced Public Business one iota, and it had not been the fault of hon. Members on that (the Conservative) side of the House. It was not the fault of the Conservative Party. The fact was that Morning Sittings, when taken by the Government from private Members, really afforded an invitation to what was called "Obstruction." Since he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had been in the House, he had never taken any part, direct or indirect, in Obstruction. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, he knew he had been unjustly and recklessly accused of it; but he challenged any hon. Member who jeered in that way to give a single instance in which he had either moved or seconded Motions for the adjournment of the House, or made dilatory speeches. The other day he was accused of Obstruction when he asked a question——[*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that the Question before the House is that of the postponement of an Order of the Day.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he was sorry to have wandered from the strict Question before the House; but he really thought the Government should give some more satisfactory reason than they had given, for, at a period of the year for which there was no parallel, taking private Members' days, and preventing hon. Gentlemen from bringing forward questions of great public interest.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had thrown out a challenge which, even if it had been more in Order than it appeared to be, he should have hoped hon. Members on that (the Ministerial) side of the House would not have taken up, as it would have been a pity to prolong this discussion. He (Mr. Gladstone) had simply risen to notice what had fallen from the hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick). It would be impossible for him to give any pledge as to Morning Sittings, or to say anything more than that it was only fair that due Notice should be given of them; but as regards the Motion of the hon. Member for West Surrey, he understood that the attention which it very properly commanded would insure it an audience on that evening. He had certainly understood that, on Friday last, it was stated that they would ask for a Morning Sitting on Tuesday. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had suggested that, in reply to an appeal that he (Mr. Gladstone) should assist the hon. Member to make a House on the evening on which he had a Motion on the Paper, a contemptuous refusal was given. That was not the case. He (Mr. Gladstone) had simply stated, without the least contempt, that the Government could not accept any obligation as to making a House at 9 o'clock. With regard to the Motion down for to-day, he understood it was on a very important subject, and that, from the interest taken in the question, there would be no difficulty in making a House.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said he did not think the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) had quite understood the difficulty. It was quite true that Notice had been given that a Morning Sitting would be taken; but no convenient opportunity had been given the House to decide whether there should or should not be such a Sitting. That was the real difficulty. At present, the practice was merely to announce that the Government intended to have a Morning Sitting; and all hon. Members could do, if they wanted to discuss the propriety of that course, was to sit up to all hours in the morning, to challenge the Motion that a certain Order be deferred till "this day at 2." To his mind, it was only fair that they should make it a Rule that, at this early period of the Session, before Morning Sittings were decided upon, a Motion should be submitted at half-past 4, which Members should have an opportunity of discussing. He recognized the fact that, by a long course of invasion on the privileges of private Members, the Government had secured almost a right to Morning Sittings from the 1st of June to the end of the Session. Morning Sittings, however, had never before been abused to the extent they had this Session. Private Members, clearly, had no means whatever under the existing system of standing up for their rights, and of putting their case before the House. This was a question not at all of Party politics. There were a large number of Radical Members who, in their time, had shown themselves as keen for the rights of private Members as any one on that (the Opposition) side of the House, and these hon. Members should, therefore, aid in the common cause. For his own part, he should put down a Motion for next Tuesday, to the effect that when a Morning Sitting was asked for before June, it should only be granted by Resolution of the House at 4 o'clock. He was willing to leave the Rule as it was after the 1st of June; but, certainly, before that date, he thought the House should have an opportunity, before half-past 12 o'clock at night, of protesting against the way in which the Government were slowly, but effectually, appropriating the privileges of private Members.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE said, he would remind the Prime Minister that when the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had a Motion down as to the Irish Magistracy, the right hon. Gentleman, on taking his day, gave a pledge that, in consideration of that circumstance, he would not only make a House, but do his best to keep one. Considering, then, the importance of the question to be raised that day by the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick), he trusted that the Government would strain a point in order to make a House for him.

MR. HICKS said, he had understood from the Prime Minister, that the Morning Sitting to-morrow was for the purpose of proceeding with the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill. The Order, however, which it was now proposed to defer was for the resumption of the Adjourned Debate on the Second Reading of the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill, and he failed to see why the House, because it might, perhaps, be prepared to give the Government a Morning Sitting to-morrow for the purpose of passing a Bill of the very greatest and most urgent importance—a Bill which was far from likely to raise the price of meat, but which, on the contrary, in his opinion, would be likely to diminish it—["Order!"]—yes; which would diminish the price of meat, seeing that, at present, there was no security given to the breeders of stock—therefore, although the House might be prepared to give the Government a Morning Sitting, a practice which, contrary to all the Constitutional Rules of Parliament, the Government had carried on that year to an extent to which it had never been carried on before, and which, on almost every occasion on which it had been tried, had failed, should be controlled to some extent by the House; and, in that spirit, they should insist upon it that no Bill should be taken to-morrow but the one for which the Sitting was granted—namely, the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill. If the Morning Sitting should be more than sufficient to dispose of that Bill, then the ordinary Business should go on, just as if the House had met at 4 o'clock, with the only exception that there should be two hours' adjournment from 7 to 9 o'clock. He, for one, should therefore certainly vote in favour of the Amendment, unless the Government gave a distinct pledge that the Morning Sitting should be held solely for the purpose of carrying in the Committee the Bill he had mentioned.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, there was quite enough to justify the Motion in the fact that Morning Sittings were asked for at so early a period of the year. Not only that, but the Government were proposing these Sittings with most unjustifiable frequency. But that was not all—the House should look at the spirit in which this was done. Not only did the Government, at 4 o'clock on Thursday afternoon, propose to rob private Members of their rights, but when those private Members came down at 9 o'clock on Friday, the Government trampled upon them in their depressed condition, and jeered at their impoverished state.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided:* — Ayes 127; Noes 77: Majority 50. — (Div. List, No. 75.)

Original Question again proposed.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he wished to ask a Question. It was understood by the Opposition that when the Morning Sitting was asked for, it was asked for to take the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, and that alone. He presumed that the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill would stand as the first Order at the Morning Sitting; and he would like to know whether that would be so or not? If that had been understood, there probably might have been no Division at all.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, the intention, undoubtedly, was that the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill should be the first Order at the Morning Sitting, and it was only proposed to put the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill down also, in order to utilize any disposable time that might be left for its consideration.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he wished to mention another matter on which misapprehension seemed to have arisen. It appeared that there were certain matters connected with money that were moved almost *sub silentio* at half-past 4 o'clock, and fixed to be taken at the Morning Sitting. That, of course, disposed of the holding of a Morning Sitting, and compelled one to be held. No one was aware of what was being done at the time; for it was perfectly impossible for anybody to know what was taking place. There was no Notice; but the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) rose and made a Motion, which was agreed to without a word. He hoped that some assurance would be given by the Government that such a practice would not be resorted to again.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he was not aware that anything unusual had taken place; for he was under the impression that it had been practically agreed that a Morning Sitting should be held for the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill. Of course, it would not be right that the Government should fix a Morning Sitting without Notice.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

FRESHWATER FISHERIES ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS.

Order for Consideration of Lords Amendments read.

Lords Amendments *considered.*

MR. HIBBERT, in explanation, said, that there were only two Amendments of importance; the first relating to the use of casting and dip nets, and the second applying the Bill to the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.

Lords Amendments *agreed to.*

SUMMARY JURISDICTION (REPEAL, &c.) BILL.—[BILL 55.]

(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Second Reading of the Bill be deferred till To-morrow at Two of the clock"—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

MR. WARTON: I object.

MR. HIBBERT: Then I will put it down for to-morrow; the hon. and learned Gentleman cannot surely object to that.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

IRISH LAND COURT OFFICERS (EXCLUSION FROM PARLIAMENT) BILL.

(*Mr. Brodrick, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Macartney.*)

[BILL 89.] SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [21st April], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. TREVELYAN said, the Government could only consent to an *ex post facto* regulation, that Officers who had taken their appointments on the understanding that they would not thereby be disqualified from serving in Parliament should not be affected by this disqualification. If the hon. Member (Mr. Brodrick) was willing to limit the disqualification to Officers hereafter appointed, excluding those now holding office, and who might be re-appointed, the Government would be willing to consent to the second reading of the Bill. The Government also thought it would be better if the term of disqualification were two years—and the only similar disqualification of which he was aware was one in regard to Revising Barristers, and in their case the term was 18 months. If the hon. Member would accept those two most important alterations, he would offer no objection to the second reading.

MR. BRODRICK said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman was more impressed by the necessity of restricting the operation of the Bill than by the object of the Bill, which he did not seem to have fully grasped. He would not now go into particulars as to the Bill; but it was obvious that a Bill of this kind would not have been put on the Paper without strong reasons arising out of the operation of the Land Act. He did not think there would be any difficulty in arriving at an understanding in Committee as to a limitation of time; but he could not understand the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman to exclude gentlemen who might be reappointed; for reappointments were really fresh appointments, and it would be utterly anomalous to include one set of Sub-Commissioners and exclude another. He should be perfectly willing to consider the suggestions of the right hon. Gentleman; but he could hardly believe the right hon. Gentleman meant to make that distinction, and he could not assent to it.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he certainly did mean to exclude re-appointments, and when he should have the right to speak generally on the subject, he would go more fully into it.

MR. SEXTON said, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Brodrick) had made a mysterious speech, and had appealed to the time of night as a reason for not putting this matter clearly before the House. The Irish Members could not allow a Bill of this kind to pass without due notice, and he begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Sexton*,)—put, and *agreed to*.

Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolution [April 24] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir ARTHUR OTWAY, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Mr. COURTNEY.

MOTIONS.

GAS PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under "The Gas and Water Works Facilities Act, 1870," relating to Emsworth Gas, Hornsey Gas, Kirkburton Gas, Quornden and Mountsorrel Gas, and Slough Gas, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and Mr. JOHN HOLMS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 181.]

WATER PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under "The Gas and Waterworks Facilities Act, 1870," relating to Alperton and Sudbury Water, Market Weighton Water, Newmarket Water, and Wisbech Water, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and Mr. JOHN HOLMS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 182.]

EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART (ADMINISTRATION).

Mr. DAWSON discharged from further attendance on the Select Committee on Education, Science, and Art (Administration):—Mr. SEXTON added to the Committee.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 29*th April*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament* — The Duke of Marlborough, after the death of his father.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment * (74).

Second Reading—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order * (61); Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment (60).

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT (1882) AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

(NO. 60.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its object was to amend the Act of 1882, in which Sections 12 and 16, in reference to criminal proceedings, and the making of husband or wife a witness in a case against either, were contradictory. The Bill would remove the ambiguity, and would make it competent to a husband to give evidence against his wife.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

LORD BRAMWELL suggested that the Bill should not merely make a husband capable of giving evidence against his wife, but for her, as there might be a prosecution against her, and the husband, capable of giving material evidence in her favour, might keep himself out of the witness-box. He would point out that a witness did not give evidence for or against one side or the other, but in the case, and this Bill should make both husband and wife competent to give evidence in the case.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that no doubt the noble Marquess would pay attention to the suggestion of the noble and learned Lord. He would ask that the Committee on the Bill should not be appointed for an early day, as he was not at all sure that it might not be expedient to take advantage of this Bill to introduce one or two other Amendments of the existing Act.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY asked the noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Bramwell) to put his clause on the Paper, and said he would fix the Committee for that day fortnight.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* the 13*th of May* next.

MALTA (CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION)—CIVIL AND MILITARY GOVERNORSHIP.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

EARL DE LA WARR, in rising to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can give any information with regard to the appointment of the Chief Secretary at Malta as Lieutenant Governor, and to what extent the administration of civil affairs will be in future under his direction; also, what portion of the salaries of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor will, in future, be paid by the Maltese Government? said, that their Lordships were probably aware that the question of the appointment of a Civil Governor of Malta was a matter of great interest to the Maltese people, and he might say had been so since they placed themselves under the protection of the British Crown and became British subjects. The noble Earl opposite, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in that House last Session that he would give a careful consideration to this subject. He had, therefore, felt that he might now ask the noble Earl to what extent the proposed arrangement would place the administration of the civil affairs of Malta and its Dependencies, as distinct from the military, under the direction of a civilian?

THE EARL OF DERBY said, that, in answer to the Question of his noble Friend, he had to state that the matter of the Civil and Military Governorship of Malta had for a long time been under discussion. It had been most properly brought forward on behalf of the interests of the Maltese population, and it had been most carefully considered last year. After weighing all the arguments *pro* and *con* he had come to the decided conclusion that, under the peculiar circumstances of Malta, it would not be desirable to comply to the full extent with their demands. Malta was a very small Island, and it was also an Imperial fortress; and he thought that to put into such a narrow area two authorities, each supreme in his own sphere, would be to produce a state of things which might very possibly end in collision between them, and at any rate would not lead to that unity of action which was desirable. He felt himself, therefore, bound to negative that proposition; but he had considered how far it was possible, without injury to the interests of good administration, to meet the wishes of the Maltese people. He understood that the main cause of complaint was that the people supposed, whether rightly or wrongly, that a military officer, having control of the garrison and looking upon his office as in the nature of a military command, was not likely to give as much attention as they would desire to the civil affairs of the Colony. He had endeavoured to meet that objection by giving to the officer who at present held the position of Colonial Secretary the higher rank of Lieutenant Governor, together with an increase of salary, thereby raising his position and placing in the main the administration of civil affairs in his hands. It was not possible—he did not think it would be desirable if it were possible—to endeavour to define precisely beforehand the duties which would be performed by the Lieutenant Governor and those performed by the Governor. It was not intended that there should be any conflict of authority, but that the Governor should be supreme in all matters, whether civil or military. But, practically, the Lieutenant Governor would be placed in that position in which he would be able to relieve the Governor of a very large part of the duty of civil administration. They should not attempt to define their relative positions or duties with any precise accuracy at the present time, because they believed it was a matter which would be better settled when they had some practical experience upon the subject. With regard to the financial part of the question, the House was aware that some years ago a Commission was appointed to inquire into the finances of Malta, and among the other recommendations of that Commission there was one that the salary of the Governor should be reduced from £5,000 to £3,000 a-year. It was contended that the sum of £5,000 was a larger sum than the Maltese could fairly be called upon to pay; and that if they wanted an officer of high position, and one who expected a higher salary, it was rather for the Imperial Government than for the Colony to pay the additional expense. Under these circumstances, he felt it was impossible to maintain the obligation of the Colony to contribute to the Governor's salary at the higher rate. The amount of salary remained unchanged; but, by an arrangement with the War Office, £2,000 out of the £5,000 would be charged upon Imperial funds. There was a reduction, therefore, of the charge upon the Colony to the extent of £2,000, which sum would, however, be diminished by the increase of salary to the Lieutenant Governor. That increase would be £600, and the net decrease to the Colony would therefore be £1,400. He would lay on the Table all the Papers, and their Lordships would see how it was proposed to pay the salaries of both the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor.

The Earl of CARNARVON said, that it would be convenient to see the Papers; but he would at once say that he took great exception to the principle of the change which had been made. He should like to know what effect the change would have upon the relations between the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor? He very much doubted the wisdom of the alteration in the duties of the Lieutenant Governor. Malta had a military as well as a commercial population, and it had a Council composed of 10 elected and 10 nominated Members, and there the question of the relations of the civil duties of the Lieutenant Governor and his relations with the Governor would be fought out; and he feared there would be much antagonism—anyhow, there would be much friction between the parties in the administration of the affairs of the Island.

The Earl of DERBY explained that the Governor would, as now, be supreme in all matters; but the Lieutenant Governor would relieve him of some part of his duties in regard to the civil administration.

Viscount SIDMOUTH remarked, that things in Malta were just now in a very divided state, there being actually no Council. He doubted, therefore, whether this was the right time for making the proposed change.

The Earl of LONGFORD observed, that, having resided for some time in Malta, he could not conceive any arrangement more ingeniously devised for producing disagreement than that now proposed. Moreover, Malta particularly objected to be described as a "Colony."

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE PURCHASE CLAUSES—ADVANCES TO OWNERS.—RESOLUTION.

LORD CASTLETOWN: My Lords, in moving the Motion which stands in my name, I must beg that indulgence and kindness which this House always accords to those who address it for the first time. The urgency and moment of the question I desire to raise must be my best excuse for trespassing upon you; and though my weak words must be unequal to the task I have undertaken, still, if I succeed in placing before your Lordships the hardship and loss that have overtaken those whose cause I advocate, I shall feel I have not spoken in vain. Some time ago it became apparent that there was a general desire amongst all classes in Ireland to see some amendment of the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act of 1881. As early, indeed, as March, 1882, letters appeared in *The Times*, signed "R. O'H.," urging that some greater facilities, in the way of cheap money, to induce sales to the tenants, should be arranged; but it was not until the middle of 1883 that men began to realize that there existed what is now called a "financial deadlock in the land market." This block, and the difficulties and hardships which attend it, are increasing weekly. Receivers are being appointed by the score, increasing enormously the expenses connected with the collection of rents; penal rates of interest are being demanded on mortgages; and in many instances mortgages are being hurriedly called in, sure presage of destruction to the incumbered owner; while the Landed Estates Court Judges, standing, so to speak, in the gap, refuse to sell, thereby averting for a time—but for a time only—the ruin which is impending. Now, my Lords, what is the reason for all this? Not bad seasons. Ireland has had bad seasons before, and bad times have been tided over—I mean the Famine times of 1848. In many parts of Ireland prices and times have been better than in many parts of England. It has not been want of money amongst the farming classes except in remote parts of the West and South, where poverty is perpetual. That money is plentiful is attested by the statistical Returns of the savings banks and the fabulous prices given for tenants' interests—7, 10, 15, and 20 years' purchase being common, while they have gone as high as 29 years' purchase—nay, more, there are instances where a tenant has given 29 years' purchase, although he has refused to buy the fee-simple from his landlord for 17 years' purchase. All this proves that some outside and indirect reason must exist, or have been started into being, to account for the depreciated value of the owners' property and this financial deadlock. That reason is not far to seek. First comes, as part of it, the want of confidence engendered by the introduction of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881. Secondly, the operations under that Act, in reducing indiscriminately, and in many instances extinguishing, the margin on which the late owners of Irish property had existed, the margin on the security of which family charges had been agreed upon, and mortgages arranged for. In one of those letters to which I have referred, written by "R. O'H.," a gentleman who, as I take it, is well known to many of your Lordships, and one distinguished alike by his knowledge of Ireland and desire to serve her best interests, he separates an incumbered property into two portions in a very simple and clear manner. He speaks of one portion as "the pledged income," and the other as "the free income," or, as I have called it, "the margin." This margin I shall, therefore, allude to as "the free income." Now, I do not intend to carp at or inquire into the working of the Land Act. I am glad to say a noble Duke has already given Notice of his intention to call your Lordships' attention to its operations, and it is no part of my business to-day to advert to this wide and most important subject. It will merely be my duty to-day to state what I believe to be the result of its working up to now. Her Majesty's Ministers have stated it to be their intention to make known their views on the Purchase Clauses within a few days. I shall not detain your Lordships by referring to the desirability and necessity of amending the Purchase Clauses. I think every section of Irishmen is in favour of such amendment. However, I think I am justified in pointing out that whatever is done must be done boldly, comprehensively, and on a very liberal scale. Petty measures will not do. The whole of the legal costs of conveyancing must be minimized, and the tenant must be able to buy his farm with a good title to it as easily as he would a cow or a cupboard. At the present moment it is almost beyond a poor man's means to buy owing to legal costs and delays; while the Land Commission, hampered as it is by too much work, and, I regret to say it, red-tapeism, naturally seeks to throw obstacles in the way of bargains being arrived at between the landlord who may wish to sell and the tenant who may desire to buy. To illustrate this I will quote the words of the Chief Secretary in answering Colonel King-Harman some time ago in reference to the Costello estate. He informed the House that the tenants had agreed to buy at 15 years' purchase, and that the Irish Bank, considering the security ample, had agreed to advance one-fourth of the purchase money as a second charge puisne to the three-fourths to be advanced by the Land Commission. This estate was subsequently valued by the Land Commission, and the result was that the Commissioners considered the estate, including the possessory rights of the tenant, was only security for an advance of three-fourths of the purchase money, calculated at 12 years' purchase. Can we wonder, therefore, that there is a deadlock in the land market when sales are fettered and hampered in this manner? I understood that when the Land Commission took up their functions freedom of contract was to return as soon as possible, and that the Land Commission were not to be valuers of the selling value of land, but brokers only. There have been many plans suggested to remove these difficulties, and to facilitate the transfer of land; but none of them appear to me so workable as that of "R. O'H.," a plan which Her Majesty's Ministers have seen, and which, at the risk of detaining the House for a short time, I should wish to advert to rapidly, pointing out the most salient and valuable parts of it. By his scheme, which appeared in a letter to *The Times* of the 12th of this month, "R. O'H." converts into the owner of his holding, without detriment to the State, and with ample security to the interests of the taxpayer, any tenant who is willing to purchase from his landlord on fair terms, and is prepared to put down 4 per cent of the purchase money, the landlord putting down 6 per cent, and the land bank, through whose medium the transaction would be completed, also 6 per cent of the purchase money. These amounts are to be held collectively in trust at 3 per cent, and returned to the parties who had put them down, at stated periods, during the time the terminable annuity has to run. By means of this most able and ingenious device he obtains a handsome percentage for his bank; while he practically takes nothing out of the pocket of the seller or the purchaser, except for a stated time. His proposal enables a tenant, without putting down the quarter demanded at present, to reap the same, if not greater, advantages. He will pay a rent to the bank no higher than his present rent—a rent which may, perhaps, be less, and which is terminable in a given time, say 47 years. The landlord receives the major part of his purchase money, and has security for receiving the lesser portion also at a given time; while the State and the taxpayer are assured against loss by the deposits of the tenant and landlord. In fact, all three of them are parties to a transaction which it becomes every day more to their profit to see completed. Take the case of a £10 holding selling for 23 years' purchase, £230. The tenant has only to put down £9 4*s*., practically less than one year's rent. The landlord leaves out of his £230, £13 16*s*., receiving the balance, £216 4*s*. The bank puts down £13 16*s*.; and this sum, left out on trust at 3 per cent, produces for the bank 8 per cent on this invested 6 per cent, with a good margin for expenses and profit. Now, my Lords, I have touched, perhaps, at undue length on this idea, having regard, as it has apparently, only to the sale and purchase of holdings; but it may be equally well and as successfully applied to giving that indirect compensation, which, I maintain, is due to the landlords of Ireland. You have merely to substitute the word "mortgagor" for "landlord," "mortgagee" for "tenant," and leave the bank in its original position, and the suggestions that I have made in my Motion will be carried out. That is necessary because, whatever is done in facilitating the purchase of their holdings by tenants, a deadlock will always exist at some point where compensation must step in to clear the ground and relieve the position. It is on this point I lay the most stress; and having drawn, I hope, particular attention to the simplicity and comprehensiveness of this particular plan, I am prepared to await the introduction of something, if possible, better, by Her Majesty's Government. I stated in the earlier part of my speech that in many instances the "margin" or free income had been completely cut away by the action of the Land Act of 1881, while the "pledged income" was impaired, or if not impaired much imperilled; so much so that if the mortgagees called in their loans the estates would have to be sold at all hazards. This will shortly take place. I do not think that the Judges of the Landed Estates Court will be able to refrain much longer from accepting any price they can get; for though the amendment of the Purchase Clauses may lessen the loss in the sale of estates, as the tenants getting fairer terms from Government may be inclined thereby to give fairer prices, still the prices obtained will in no way be equal to the actual value of the estates. If this loss were caused by act of Providence, or decrease in the letting value of the land, or by circumstances outside human prevision, I should have no *locus standi* for urging that compensation is due; but I maintain, and will produce evidence to corroborate my assertion, that this loss has been occasioned by the effect and action of the Land Act. If I can do this—if I can prove this—I will only quote the words of the Prime Minister regarding compensation, when he said during the progress of the Land Law Bill, 1881—

> "I do not hesitate to say that if it can be shown on clear and definite experience at the present time that there is a probability, or if after experience should prove that, in fact, ruin and heavy loss is likely to be, or has been, brought on any class in Ireland by the direct effect of this legislation—that is a question we ought to look directly in the face."

We have now had two years' experience of this Land Act, and "ruin and heavy loss" has been brought on the land-owning class, and the question has to be looked directly in the face. I will take, in proof of this, a few cases out of the many which have been sent to me; and when I submit these instances I will leave your Lordships to decide what loss has been sustained by these unfortunate and innocent people. In the selection of these cases I found a great difficulty facing me—not a difficulty in regard to the obtaining of instances, but rather in the selection of the few cases which I shall trouble your Lordships with detailing. Unfortunately, the number of illustrations of the effects of the disastrous working of the Land Act is but far too large. From North, South, East, and West the same story comes, telling of disaster and ruin, in many cases already fallen, in hundreds impending. At the outset let me quote some facts in regard to estates which have been inherited — estates which have descended in the line of succession to the present owners, against whom, let it be noted, no charge of "land jobbery" can be made—I mean no charge of purchasing land as a mere speculation, with a view to raising the rents and thereby making money. Let me take first the case of an estate situate in the County Mayo, the facts connected with which are, indeed, of a very sad character. The present owner, an Anglo-Indian merchant, suceeded to the property, at the death of his brother, some few years ago. At his brother's death this gentleman came from India to enter into possession of the property, bringing with him a sum of about £4,000, the proceeds of many years' industry. An investigation into the state of the deceased man's affairs, however, soon showed that there were liabilities, amounting to almost this figure—£4,000 —due to pressing creditors. It was absolutely necessary to pay off these pressing debts at once, and thus was the £4,000—the product of many years of hard life in India—suddenly swept away. The rental of the estate at the time—this was prior to the passing of the Land Act—was £1,600; but only a sum of £424 remained out of it when family charges, mortgage interest, &c., were paid. With the operation of the Land Act, however, came a reduction of 26¾ per cent in the rental, and the small margin left heretofore, after the payment of the charges, was now completely cut off. The unfortunate man, who, in the ordinary course of events, came into the possession of an estate which promised him some little income for the remainder of his days, and which tempted him to pay out his all in the hopes of making the future more secure, is now absolutely penniless. The annuitants refuse to give him a farthing, although they have been always paid regularly — they had to be paid, no matter what happened to the unfortunate owner. The law has interfered again, and a receiver has been appointed now for two years. Penal interest has had to be paid to the mortgagee for a debt contracted before the present owner came into possession; and as the result of all this the property has now been put up in the Encumbered Estates Court, with little prospect of advantageous or even justly-priced sale. Such are the facts of one of the saddest cases which have come under my notice. The second I shall quote is that of a property situate in the County Tyrone, held by a gentleman in trust for his three nieces —three young ladies dependent, to a great extent, on the rents of their estate for their sustenance. The property is not a very large one. The yearly rental, prior to the passing of the Land Act, was £615. The outgoings in the way of charges, &c., amounted to £503, leaving a balance of £112. The action of the Land Court, however, reduced the yearly rental by 18 per cent, and now the margin remaining after the payments—for there is no escape from them —is the miserable sum of £8. On this estate, I may mention in passing, the rents had not been raised for 21 years. The next case I shall refer to is that of the estate of a magistrate in the County Cavan. Like that of which I have just spoken, this, too, is a small estate; but all the more so has the operation of the Act proved disastrous to the impoverished owner. After the passing of the Act the rental was reduced 18 per cent, bringing down the margin which remained, after the annual payments, from £168 to £57. The estate was mortgaged, and penal interest has since been exacted. A receiver was appointed two years ago, and for this period not 1*d.* of rent has been received, whilst the expenses of this officer have been added to the already heavily-itemed charge list. The owner cannot see any light in the darkness of his position, unless aid be given him such as I suggest. I have the details of another estate situated in the County Limerick, which are equally worthy of attention, and with the owner of which great sympathy cannot but be felt. The rental up to 1881 was £1,116, but has since been reduced to £752—something like a reduction of 33 per cent. The head rent, annuities, &c., amounted annually to £346—which left a margin in the owner's hands, prior to the reduction, of £770. The interest on a mortgage of £9,000, however, further reduced this to £365. When, through the operation of the Land Act, the rental was brought down from £1,116 to £752, the payments of family charges, head rents, &c., left but a few shillings—16*s.* I believe—over the sum which would be required to pay the mortgage interest. Now, to pay this interest would have been to leave the owner penniless, and for two years and a-half no interest has been paid. Penal interest, at the rate of 5½ per cent, is now due, amounting to £1,732. Completely ruined, and with no chance of being able to do anything to obtain the fair value of his property, the owner has had to go to the Cape, and to send his wife to reside with her father. I could quote other cases of a kindred kind, equally painful; but I shall only trouble your Lordships with another case under this branch. This is the case of a clergyman living in England possessed of a small property in the County Clare. Up to 1881 this clergyman enjoyed an income of something like 25 per cent of his rental after payment of mortgage interest, charges, &c., which were rather heavy. The operation of the Land Act, however, only left him with a little over 2 per cent out of the 25 per cent. The principal grievance, however, in this case is in regard to the head rent. The property is held under a Bishop's lease on the Disendowment of the Irish Church. The owner was compelled to purchase perpetuity at a cost of £2,000. He was requested to send in the then rental, and on this basis the head rent was fixed. Now, although the rental has been reduced 22 per cent, the head rent remains at the original figure. What wonder is it that he should complain bitterly at such action as this? Coming now to what I shall term the second branch of this portion of my subject—the question of estates purchased through the Landed Estates Court under the titles I have spoken of —I shall very rapidly and very shortly adduce evidence in support of my statements. Let me first take the case of an estate situated in the County Cork. This property consisted of Church lands, formerly held from the Ecclesiastical

Commissioners, and now held by subgrant in perpetuity under the Crown, subject to the yearly rent of £140, and tithe rent-charge of £29. The circumstances of the case are a little peculiar. The property had been in the present owner's family for five generations when it was sold in the Landed Estates Court on the petition of an incumbrancer, and bought by the present owner. To complete the purchase a mortgage of £2,000 had to be arranged for to make up the full amount of £7,240. The property sold high, it being known that the rents had not been altered for generations, and the Landed Estates Court rental bearing on the face of it a statement that "the tenants held at very moderate rents." The purchaser, believing he had an absolute title to the rents as they stood, a schedule of which was set forth in his conveyance, was satisfied with his income—a bare 4 per cent on the £5,240 laid out — and never attempted to raise the rents. The tenants, however, were yearly ones, and they went into the Land Court. What happened? It was proved that the rents had been the same for the last 50 years; and although the Chairman of the Sub-Commissioners confessed that—

> "The management of the estate had given great satisfaction to the tenants,"

and although "allowances had been made for improvements, &c.," still, when considering the question of a "fair rent," they—

> "Could come to no other conclusion than that the tenants on this liberally-managed property had been paying too much."

Accordingly, they reduced the rents. Now, if I were discussing the Motion which the noble Duke is about to bring on, I would express my opinion rather strongly on this mode of procedure; but I shall not now delay here. The former rental was £543, and this was reduced to £426. The charges in all amounted to £334, which left a margin of £208 on the former rental, but only £91 on the reduced rental. Now, the owner had purchased this estate on the faith of the most solemn of covenants; he is a tenant to the Crown, and holds a Parliamentary title to at least £200, yet the action of the Crown has reduced this to £91. Leaving your Lordships to appreciate the significance of these facts, I shall pass on to another case. The property I this time refer to is situated in the County Kerry, and was bought under an "indefeasible" title from the same Court; £33,000 was the amount of the purchase money, of which £19,000 had to be borrowed at over 4 per cent. The Land Act followed the purchase, and the rents in some cases were reduced 25 per cent—and this on an estate with an "indefeasible title." The tenants will not now pay The operation of the Land Act has seriously impaired the owner's income. The mortgagee, frightened for his loan, has served notice to call in the mortgage, and for money borrowed, on what I may describe as the strength of the Crown security, the owner is likely to suffer terrible loss. One other instance and I shall have done these quotations. This last case is that of an estate situate in County Mayo, bought nine years ago in the Landed Estates Court. Like as in the previous case, money had to be borrowed to make up the amount of the purchase money. After the purchase the rents were reduced 11½ per cent, and with an unlooked for loss of £34 per year the present owner had been unable to pay off the mortgage. The mortgagee, knowing no money was to be had, has raised the interest to 6 per cent, and the owner states if 8 per cent were asked, he could do nothing but pay it. These cases need very little, if any, comment. They bear upon the face of each of them a palpable injustice. I could give your Lordships the particulars of many others; but instances accumulate, and in the multiplicity of examples the main facts might be lost. One other sentence, and I resume my general remarks. I have stated that the Land Commission do not facilitate, but rather impede, sales. In support of this I shall simply refer to a case in point where an owner communicated with the Commission in reference to selling his property. The Land Commission Secretary, in reply, raised a question as to the head rent, and placed such obstacles in the way of any forwarding arrangement whatever, that the owner at last dropped the correspondence, and nothing ever came of the matter. Now, my Lords, I think these cases prove that the loss is heavy and severe, and has been directly brought about by the legislation which the Prime Minister was referring to when using the words I have just quoted. I may, perhaps, be asked how do I propose to compensate these ruined incumbered owners? I reply, in the words of my Motion, by giving them "facilities for raising money to pay off mortgages and charges." It would be for the Government to determine the details, and it would be for the tribunal which would have the carriage of sale and such kindred matters to arrange the terms, &c., connected with such work. Such a tribunal you have in the Landed Estates Court, possessing, as it does, most able officers, and all necessary adjuncts, but now powerless to act owing to the "deadlock" I have before referred to. Perhaps, my Lords, you will say that this is too wide a statement, and I may be told I have produced evidence of loss and ruin; but I have made no clear, direct, or detailed suggestion how to remedy that loss, and the words of my Motion may be considered to be too comprehensive. At the risk, therefore, of detaining your Lordships a little longer, I will go more into details. Let us consider the position of the landlords of Ireland before the passing of the Land Act of 1881 and subsequently. Now, in this consideration, you cannot omit the charges to which their estates were and are subjected, and the persons entitled to these charges. These charges were all created at a time when freedom of contract existed between landlord and tenant. Many of them were created on the faith of "indefeasible" titles given by law—as solemn a contract as any we know of. They were created before the landlords were made subject to the control of a Court in the management of their estates and the fixing of their rents. The owners of these charges were, together with the landlord, owners of a partnership concern, of which he was manager. This management has now been taken from the landlord, and he alone is made to bear the loss, while his partner's position and rights remain unchanged. Surely, as in any business transaction or concern, loss should be borne rateably by all partners, who should be compelled to abate, when by action other than that of the manager, and beyond his control, the returns from the business are diminished. The effect, intentional or unintentional, of the Land Act has been directly or indirectly to reduce the rentals and incomes of proprietors at least 20 per cent. Now, these reductions having been effected, the proprietors continue charged with the same amount as they were previously. The Land Act, if conceived in a just spirit, should not have reduced the income of the landlord only. It should have reduced the annual payments charged upon that income rateably, that is to say—Firstly, tithe rent; secondly, quit rent; thirdly, land improvement charges; fourthly, head rents; fifthly, jointures and annuities; and, sixthly, interest moneys on any mortgages that might be on the estate—all should have been reduced at the same rate. The parties entitled to these amounts, the State and the owners of the free and pledged income, should have been made parties to the results produced by this legislation. It may not now be possible to deal with the fourth and fifth of these—head rents, jointures and annuities—as any diminution there might cause more ruin than at present. I will therefore omit them from consideration just now. The sixth, however — interest moneys—can be dealt with; and as this charge is intimately bound up with the sale and purchase of estates, I maintain this is the proper moment for estimating the feasibility of dealing with it. Government state their intention of amending the Purchase Clauses and thereby inducing more sales to tenants. Suppose they do, and that a general desire is manifested both by landlord and tenant to divest themselves of the dual ownership, and that agreements for sale are entered into, we must remember there are other parties to the bargain, especially in the case of an encumbered estate. I allude, of course, to the case of mortgagees and those who have a lien upon the estate. Take a case in point. A landowner may desire to sell to his tenant a particular holding more favourably circumstanced for sale than any other on his estate. But this holding being subject, with other holdings on the same estate, to a mortgage, the owner may be met with a refusal on the part of the mortgagee to join in the conveyance and take the purchase money in part payment of his charge. Or, again. Suppose the estate subject to three or four different mortgages, one puisne to the other, and that the landlords and tenants mutually agree to sell on that estate, it is more than probable that the last two mortgagees, fearing they may not receive the full amount of their loan, may use means to render the sale abortive and of no value, and thereby prohibit the very thing that is calculated, above all things, to have a tranquillizing and valuable effect on Ireland —namely, an increase in the number of proprietors. The necessity and advisability of creating these proprietors is, to my mind, more pressing now than ever; but in attempting to transform the occupier into the owner the historic words of Mr. Bright should be borne in mind and amplified. He said at Birmingham, in January, 1880, when advocating the creation of a yeomanry proprietary—

> "This should be done by a process which shall be just, not to the tenant only, but to the landlord."

Mr. Bright here forgot, apparently, the other parties to the transaction—perhaps not anticipating then the operations of the Land Act of 1881—the State, which might interfere and render the sale of the land to the tenant absolutely unjust to the landlord by vitiating the value of the saleable commodity, and the mortgagees, on the other hand, who might refuse to permit the sale, and thereby cause injustice to both owner and occupier, anxious as they might be to come to terms. The owner of an encumbered estate in Ireland—and most of them are more or less encumbered—has now but two courses open to him, supposing his "free income" to have been seriously impaired by the operation of the Act. First, to pay the penal interest, and that will surely be exacted by the frightened mortgagees, and thereby further reducing his income; or, on the other hand, to attempt to sell his land to the tenant, who will naturally not give too large a price for what may daily be depreciated in value. In the first instance, he is very nearly ruined, and is obliged to exact the uttermost farthing from his tenants, while the enforced residence of a genteel pauper can be of no benefit to the district. In the second case, the ruin is sharp and decisive. Or take a worse case. Perhaps, in the first instance, a receiver is appointed, and the remains of his income are frittered away in law costs; while, if the second line be pursued, and the estate sold at an unfair price, as it almost undoubtedly would be, the annuitants and mortgagees would take good care to get all they could out of the purchase money, and perhaps leave the unfortunate owner penniless, as in one of the cases I dealt with. There is but one way out of the difficulty—State interference on just lines to all parties. When this is done, and not till then, we may expect finality in the Land Question. The difficulty has arisen entirely through State interference; and I maintain if, without detriment to the State or the Treasury as representing the taxpayer's interest, such justice can be meted out as is due to those aggrieved and interested, it is the duty of the State to take action. In the words of my Motion—

> "That having regard to the announced intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a measure to secure greater facilities to tenants in Ireland for the purchase of their holdings, this House is of opinion that any such measure as is proposed by Her Majesty's Government should be so framed as to afford to those landowners of Ireland who have suffered pecuniary loss by the operation of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, facilities for raising money to pay off charges affecting their estates on as easy terms as would by the said measure be secured to purchasing tenants, or compensation in respect of such pecuniary loss in any way that may be deemed advisable."

I have been told that if this were done the effect would be to bolster up insolvent owners, giving them, so to speak, a new free income on which to borrow. I am entirely opposed to any attempt to maintain a pauper gentry—a class most detrimental to a country's welfare. Surely, loans of State money could be allowed only to those who had offered to sell their estates to their tenantry at fair prices, and were prepared to sell, but prevented by the action of the mortgagees, or by the determination of the would-be purchasers to exact a one-sided bargain. In the case of encumbered estates put up for sale, let the State offer the land to the tenants through the landlord for, say, 20 years' purchase. If the tenants refuse to avail themselves of the offer, let the State then advance to the landlord sufficient money to clear him of his encumbrances or a certain portion of them. Again, I am met by the statement that the expenditure of State money for such a purpose would be on too lavish a scale. I distinctly deny that statement, and for two valid reasons—first, in a most able prelude to a work on *Sales of Land in Ireland*, Mr. Fotterell, a gentleman of great experience, points out that during 10 years of most active work in the Landed Estates Court—from 1865 to 1875—when there was a mania for buying land in Ireland, £9,237,000 was the gross amount of all kinds of property sold in that Court—less than £1,000,000 a-year. Supposing even those facilities were given to which I have referred—namely, that plenary powers were given to the Land Commission to sell, and the methods of procedure were simplified, it is not unfair to surmise that not much more than £2,000,000 worth of property could by any possibility pass through that Court in the year. My second reason is that as soon as it would become known that Government could and would come to the rescue if necessary, confidence would be restored, and those who had lent, and trembled for their loans, would feel secure against panic. Then, again, I am told—and, indeed, was asked by one of our leading statesmen—"What right had poor Ireland to ask rich England for advances for such purposes?" I answered then, as I answer now—"Ireland as long as she remains an integral portion of the United Kingdom, is entitled to claim from the National Exchequer money that may be safely used for the benefit of her people of any class." But, perhaps, I may be met with the question of safety or security for the advance, whatever that may be. I say at once, utilize some financial scheme, such as "R. O'H." has worked out, and the security to the State is guaranteed. You can advance by his plan money to the landlords to pay off their charges with equal safety as to tenants to purchase their holdings. You need only convert "tenant" to "landlord," "landlord" to "mortgagee," and leave "bank" in its normal position. The percentages they would leave in pledge would be the same as when the question of purchase was being settled, and, as in the previous case, the effect would be to benefit all. Every year as it passes away increases the benefit of the loan to the recipient, it being a terminable annuity; while, at the same time, it diminishes the liability of the bank and augments as well the value of the security to the State. Now, my Lords, I come to the first, second, and third of the charges which I have enumerated—these portions of the pledged income which I called tithe and quit rents and land improvement charges. I shall not refer at great length to these matters, but shall speak of them as points where the compensation alluded to in the second part of my Motion may be indirectly given. I take them as instances of what compensation can be given to owners of unencumbered estates as opposed to owners of encumbered estates who may have suffered equally. The State, my Lords, having brought about this legislation, and being the party affected under these three heads, and having control over its own legislation, should now try to remedy the inequalities caused by the legislation, and in remedying these should so adjust the three charges I speak of as to make them stand at 20 per cent less then they are at present, more especially when the reduction can be effected without loss by lengthening the periods during which the lesser amounts would be payable. Take the case of the tithe rent-charge. This is a rent-charge having priority over all other charges. The occupier, who originally paid it, was relieved of it, and it was placed on the shoulders of the owner, the State finding it difficult to collect. These owners were given as a bribe a quarter of it for its collection, but were empowered to add the expense of the collection to their rental; or, in other words, to raise their rental to cover the cost of collection. It was computed on the value of the land, in those days when wheat was at a very high price, and when freedom of contract prevailed. Septennial valuations were to be made, and payments estimated accordingly. These valuations were never taken, and the tithe rent is the same as it was in 1869, when it was sequestrated from the uses for which it was originally intended—that is, the sustentation of the Irish Church—and was applied by the State to lay purposes of all kinds. The quit rent and land improvement charges practically represent the interest which the State receives on some originally estimated capital value of the land. The State by its own action has lessened that value 20 per cent, or handed that amount of value over to other persons than the original owner. It should, therefore, in all justice and equity, reduce the interest it receives by 20 per cent, that being the amount it has depreciated the capital value. The question of land improvement charges I will not go into fully. It can be dealt with more fitly when the Motion of the noble Duke comes on, when I think I shall be prepared to show that drainage charges are now still extracted from the the unfortunate owner, when the value of the rental of the land on which the charges are allocated has been seriously diminished by the action of the Court. My Lords, I fear I have detained you at great length. I have, however, I trust, proved that heavy loss has been caused to owners of Irish land by the operation of the Land Act, and that compensation may be claimed with all fairness. I hope I have proved to your Lordships that the question, which the Prime Minister was prepared to look in the face, is now before you, and must be met. The amendment of the Purchase Clauses, and compensation to the ruined owners, should run hand in hand, and give that finality to the Land Question which the noble Marquess now governing in Canada (the Marquess of Lansdowne) so prophetically warned this House the present Land Act would never give. Even the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) argued upon this question from the same standpoint, when he said, referring to the Purchase Clauses, on the 27th of April, 1881—

> "We believe that it is in that direction alone that permant improvement in the condition of Ireland can be obtained."

That the Prime Minister himself contemplated some such demand I gather from his speech on the Motion of Mr. W. H. Smith in the other House respecting the Purchase Clauses, when he said, in reference to the scheme propounded by Mr. Smith—

> "Upon the scheme itself, I can give no opinion now, except this—that it may be possible to frame a plan which may take the form of an Irish Fund, and, at the same time, not be permanently disassociated from the Consolidated Fund."

Now is the moment for the introduction of some such scheme. You have the expressed desire on all sides to see more proprietors created in Ireland. You have tested, by experience, the hardship and ruin brought about by the action of the Land Act; and you have a financial deadlock existing in Ireland which, unless the State interferes, will bring inevitable ruin on many thousands of your fellow-countrymen. These men—these owners of property—were acquitted by the Prime Minister when he introduced the Land Act. Why are they mulcted in 20 per cent of their incomes if they have committed no crime? I abjure Her Majesty's Ministers to look this great question boldly and squarely in the face. It is no Party cry; it is no question of creed or class. The impoverished owner in Ireland has suffered equally, whether Protestant or Catholic, Peer or peasant proprietor. The trader who has converted his hard-earned money into fee-simple estate, bought in the Landed Estates Court, and held under the Crown—under as solemn a declaration as man can make—stands on the same footing, and has suffered equally as bad, as the squire whose property has descended to him through long generations. All have fared alike. The results which I complain of were, I assume, unanticipated. If they were, it is the duty of the State to meet them, now that they have arisen. If I cannot say that they were unanticipated, I am obliged to say that they were unprovided for. If this be so, provision should now, and can, be made to alleviate the position of those rent-owners—not guilty, yet sentenced; acquitted, yet condemned.

Moved, "That having regard to the announced intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a measure to secure greater facilities to tenants in Ireland for the purchase of their holdings, this House is of opinion that any such measure as is proposed by Her Majesty's Government should be so framed as to afford to those landowners of Ireland who have suffered pecuniary loss by the operation of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, facilities for raising money to pay off charges affecting their estates on as easy terms as would by the said measure be secured to purchasing tenants, or compensation in respect of such pecuniary loss in any way that may be deemed advisable."—(*The Lord Castletown.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he very much regretted that, his noble Friend the Lord President of the Council (Lord Carlingford), who was better acquainted with that question than he was, being unavoidably absent, it devolved on him to give such an answer as he could to the speech of the noble Lord. And, in the first place, so far from complaining in any way of that speech, he had listened with the greatest pleasure, as he was sure the whole House had done, to the perfectly calm, temperate, and, at the same time, admirably clear manner in which the noble Lord had treated a difficult and somewhat thorny subject. With regard to the statement contained in the Motion as to the Government having announced their intention to introduce a measure for the amendment of the Purchase Clauses of the Irish Land Act, he could only say that the Government had pledged themselves to bring forward a measure on that subject; and it would be obvious to the noble Lord and the House that he could not now enter into details in reference to that question. He would only remark, in regard to one particular point on which the noble Lord laid stress—namely, the importance of reducing the intricacy of conveyancing and the costs of obtaining the sale of estates—that the Irish Government were fully sensible of the importance which all must feel of that being done, and, whatever measure was adopted, he did not hesitate to say that ought to form one branch of it. He now came to the more immediate subject of the Motion, which was to the effect that in conjunction with the facilities to be offered for the sale and purchase of estates some compensation should be secured to landlords who had suffered direct loss from the operation of the Land Act. The noble Lord had quoted a variety of cases in which they must, no doubt, all feel great sympathy with those who had suffered by the reduction of rent; but, with respect to particular cases, no general inference could be safely deduced from them. No doubt there had been a considerable reduction of rent in Ireland. That reduction, he believed, amounted to an average of 19 per cent. With reference to the manner in which that loss had been caused, the noble Lord had laid great stress on the hardship thus involved to those landlords who had obtained an indefeasible Parliamentary title to their estates. That indefeasible title, however, did not refer to the rent, but to the possession of the land against adverse claimants. The Government gave no guarantee, and could give no guarantee, that the rents should remain at a particular amount; but gave the buyers an indefeasible and complete title to the land. Then he was not prepared to admit that that average loss of 19 per cent on rents in Ireland had been caused by the Land Act. If the Government had stepped in for some reason of policy of its own, and without there being any difficulty on the part of the landlords in obtaining their rents, and had simply said—"We think it necessary to pass an Act that will have the effect of reducing rent," and if in that case there had been no compensation given for such reduction, that would have been confiscation. But the actual case, as he looked on it, was something entirely different from that. There arose a state of things in Ireland—it was not now his duty, nor was it necessary, to inquire through whose fault—of the most dangerous description. An agrarian movement prevailed of so serious a character that not only were the landlords unable to get their rents punctually paid, but there was a very serious possibility that they would get no rent at all. In that position of affairs the Government of this country went to Parliament, and proposed that there should be a new law with regard to landed estates in Ireland, by which the rent should be fixed by a tribunal, instead of being left to be fixed simply by the landlords and tenants together; and they entertained the hope that in that manner they would be able to restore to the landlords the powers they had lost of obtaining anything like reasonable rents for their property, and able at the same time to restore, to some extent, tranquillity to Ireland. He maintained that the objects which the Government had in view, which were not injurious but beneficial to the landlords, had to a large extent been attained. He was assured that at present rents were very fairly paid in Ireland generally; and through the operation, largely, no doubt, of the strong measures of repression which it was the duty of the Government to take, but partly, also, he hoped, through the new arrangement with regard to the position of tenants, Ireland was in a state of very much greater tranquillity. He could not admit that the Government of this country had inflicted a loss on the Irish landlords for which it was bound to compensate them with money taken from the taxpayers of this country. He said, on the contrary, that the Government had stepped in and saved the landlords from ruin. The noble Lord on the Cross Bench said the landlords had been ruined by the action of the Government. He challenged and contradicted that assertion, maintaining that the Government had saved them from ruin; and, therefore, that the Government were not called upon in any way, upon any grounds of morality or fair dealing, to compensate the landlords for a loss which was not caused by the Government, but caused by other reasons, and which the Government had sought, as far as it was in its power, to mitigate. The noble Lord laid down the principle which had at first sight the appearance of fairness—namely, that there ought to have been a *pro ratâ* reduction of all charges on the land; but that principle had never been acted upon, as far as he knew, in any of their dealings with land. In England there had been a reduction of rent owing partly to the same causes which had operated in Ireland, because in Ireland also the effects of bad harvests had been felt. The reduction of rent in his own part of England had, in many instances, far exceeded 20 per cent; and he was sorry to say that the landowners there had not the least prospect of being able to look to the Government, or to any other authority, to help them in their difficulties. It would be a most direct and absolute interference with all the rights of property to say, when a man had advanced money on the distinct condition that he was to receive the first portion that was available, and was not to be brought in as a common creditor with the landlord, that he should be treated as a common creditor with the landlord, and that they should *pro ratâ* reduce that which he had the first claim upon. His position, then, in regard to that matter was this—that that loss which had been undoubtedly suffered by the landlords of Ireland was made up of different elements. A portion of it was, no doubt, due to the general depression of agriculture; and another portion was due to the unfortunate and disturbed condition of the country, to the utter want of confidence between different classes, and to an agrarian movement of a serious character. But it could not be argued that any portion of this loss had been caused by the Act in the sense that if it had not passed the landlords would not have suffered this loss. His belief was that if the Act had not been passed the landlords would have suffered a much greater loss; and, although he sympathized with them, yet when they came to treat this as a great State matter, in which it was argued that the State should come forward to relieve a whole class by State money, he felt himself unable to admit the main proposition on which the noble Lord had rested his case. He had no doubt the landlords were perfectly sincere in their complaints of the Land Commissioners; but it was a fact that the tenants also were of opinion that the Commissioners acted against them and in favour of the landlords. When both sides complained, it might reasonably be concluded that the Commissioners were impartial. He thought, with reference to the special cases mentioned by the noble Lord, that a tribunal should have the power of saying whether the security offered for the purchase was sufficient. He really had nothing more to say in answer to what the noble Lord had brought forward, except to repeat that the Government were exceedingly sensible of the necessity of bringing forward a Bill to amend the Purchase Clauses, and that they would do so with a double object—first, to increase the number of freeholders in Ireland for the sake of the peace and happiness of the country; and, secondly, to offer such facilities for the purchase of land as to enable landlords who desired to dispose of their estates to dispose of them on fair terms. To that extent the Government agreed with the noble Lord; but they could hold out no hope that they would go to the extent the noble Lord desired in relieving landlords of the mortgages which pressed upon their estates. He should, therefore, be unable to assent to the noble Lord's Resolution.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said, that what was at the back of the noble Earl's argument, and at the back of the arguments of the supporters of the Irish Land Act, was that it was not in any way an exceptional Act. He must take exception to that view. His noble Friend (Lord Castletown) would never have come to their Lordships' House with the principle he had advocated unless he was prepared to prove that the Irish Land Act was an exceptional Act, not only in its conception, but in its operation. Indeed, that was acknowledged on all hands. It was acknowledged by the Prime Minister, who said at the time that the measure could only be justified by exceptional circumstances. Surely, then, his noble Friend was perfectly justified in taking this ground—that this was an exceptional case, and one for which an exceptional remedy ought to be provided. The noble Earl thought that much of the state of Ireland was due to bad seasons; but he (the Earl of Donoughmore) was not satisfied that that was so, as the last four or five years in Ireland had been good. In England the seasons were against the farmers, and there had been a reduction of rents to about 10 per cent, which would probably be paid when the seasons were better. The reduction in Ireland was not according to the same ratio, and rents there would never be raised. His contention was that the reduction in Ireland was due to the disturbed state of the country, combined with the effect the Land Act had upon the tenants. With regard to the question of a peasant proprietary, he was not sure that it would be an unmixed blessing to Ireland, or to any country; but he was convinced that any attempt to create a peasant proprietary in Ireland ought to be made by the most careful and capable means. In the present state of Ireland the project seemed to him to be practicably impossible. The existing land block in Ireland reacted upon every industry in the country. That block in the land market was caused by the fact that the tenants either knew, or were persuaded, that some day or other the land would have to be sold for next to nothing. All that was asked of their Lordships in the Motion was that by some such machinery as suggested, the landlords might be able to go into the market and deal with their tenants on fair terms. He failed to see what particular good the Land Act had done—it had certainly not improved the position of the landlords, and it had as yet done very little for the tenants, because he thought they would in future be hampered by the enormous tenant right which the Act created. All that was now asked was that the Government should look at this matter in a fair and impartial spirit.

The Marquess of WATERFORD: I have listened with great attention to the speech of my noble Friend on the Cross Benches (Lord Castletown), and I think he has made out an excellent and unanswerable case for compensation in some form or other for the Irish landlords. There is not the slightest doubt that they have suffered most acutely from the effects of the Act of 1881; that in cases where they have been living upon margins the reduction, which should have been distributed over the whole estate, has fallen upon the margin, in many instances sweeping the whole of it away. It is unnecessary for me now to quote from the speeches of Ministers, who, at the time of the passing of the Land Act, prophesied to us the good effects of that measure upon the landlord's interest in his estate, and assured us that if confiscation could be proved compensation should be given. My Lords, confiscation has been proved over and over again. It has been proved to-day in the able speech of my noble Friend, and it is now high time that the Government took some steps to redeem the pledges which they have made. I shall not attempt to bring forward a proposal as to how this compensation could be awarded, or, in other words, how those landlords, who have been reduced almost to ruin in the manner I have described, are to be saved by the Government. There have been numerous plans suggested as to how loans at a cheap rate of interest might be raised; and perhaps the Government may see their way to adopt some one of these proposals, and tide those unfortunate landlords over their present difficulties. The Motion of my noble Friend refers also to the very much larger question of purchase; and whatever may be done to relieve the unfortunate landlords I have referred to, the Purchase Clauses must be made workable before there is any chance of success. We are informed that a Bill dealing with this subject is to be introduced by the Government very shortly; and I sincerely trust that this may not only be a real measure of relief for those landlords whose properties must be sold, and who are unable to find a purchaser at present, but that it may also be a long step in the direction of solving the whole Irish difficulty. At the time the Land Act was passing through your Lordships' House, I ventured to point out that there were certain clauses in the measure which had been put into it for the purpose of ornament; that they might look very well, and at the same time be sufficiently plausible to catch the votes of those who had hobbies on the subjects contained in them; but that, by anyone who knew the true position of affairs in Ireland, by anyone who could with any success calculate the effects of the Act upon the agricultural population of that country, they would be looked upon as perfectly unworkable. My Lords, I was taken to task by noble Lords opposite, and by the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack, for this statement; and it was also pointed out by the Marquess of Hartington that the Fair Rent Clauses of the Act itself were merely a *modus vivendi* to enable those other clauses to come into operation; but I think it has been proved beyond any manner of doubt that, notwithstanding the statements of noble Lords opposite and the prophecies of the Marquess of Hartington, what I then foretold has actually come to pass; and the clauses relating to emigration, the reclamation of waste lands, and the establishment of a peasant proprietary are, in their present form, entirely inoperative. We have been over and over again informed by the Government that they are in favour of establishing a peasant proprietary; but they are in favour of doing it in as cheap and as nasty a manner as is possible. The fact that they are about to introduce a Bill for the Improvement of the Purchase Clauses proves that they admit failure; but now the question is, whether they are thoroughly aware of the reasons why the Purchase Clauses are now entirely unworkable? We all have heard of the argument that the present condition of an Irish tenant is very much against his being prepared to pay more money in the shape of an annual instalment for a certain number of years than he has been accustomed to pay for rent. We also know that the agitators never at any time had more the ear of the people than at present, and that they have been encouraging the tenants of Ireland to believe that they will get their land for nothing. I would remind the noble Earl that he stated that the tenants were equally dissatisfied with the decision of the Courts as well as the landlords; but I would point out that the tenants are dissatisfied simply because they expected to get their land for nothing. They found that the present Government were squeezable; and it is evident that they intend to squeeze them still further with a view to obtaining their land for nothing. These facts have operated against the working of the Purchase Clauses. But there are other reasons existing, which, perhaps, the Government may not be aware of, that are calculated to render their scheme entirely abortive; and among them is the fact that the Land Commission has, in addition to its other duties, the sale of land to tenants placed in its charge. There is every reason why the Land Commission should be the very worst medium between landlord and tenant for the purpose of bringing about sales. In the first place, I would like to point out that it cannot give a title without going to a great deal of unnecessary expense, and after that expense has been incurred, the title which can thus be obtained from the Land Commission Court is not nearly as good as the Parliamentary title, which can be obtained from the Landed Estates Court at less cost. Then, again, there is nobody in Ireland who can believe that the Land Commission Court is an absolutely impartial tribunal in regard to the sale of land. Its duties prove that it is not so. It acts for the tenant. Its duty is to buy land for the tenant out and out, to dispose of it to him again without making any profit, or to see that the number of years' purchase given, three-fourths of which will be advanced by the Treasury, should be as small as possible, so as to leave a very large margin for the security of the Government loan. It is acting for the Government and for the tenant, but not for the landlord. It has to buy as cheaply as possible from the landlord for the other two parties, and in either case acts in the direction of depreciating the landlord's interests. It has such enormous powers at its command that it can practically force any landlord who is obliged by his creditors to sell to part with his property almost at its own price. In the first place, it may have cut down the rents, thereby reducing the purchase money; and even then, if the landlord and tenant should have agreed upon a certain number of years' purchase, it may refuse to sanction the advance of three-fourths of the price agreed on—though the sale is *bonâ fide*—if it thinks the tenant might have got the holding cheaper, although the Government will have the additional security of the tenant's interest in his holding. The result is that if the landlord be obliged by his mortgagees to sell his estate the

Land Commission, in its double capacity acting for the Government and for the tenant, can whittle down the purchase money to something far below the true market price. There are many instances which prove beyond contradiction that this is actually taking place—notably, for example, on the estate of Mr. John Bury, and also on the Costello Estate. Therefore, as long as the Land Commission has the carriage of sales, in every case where a landlord or mortgagee can hold on by any possible means, he will not hand his property over to be sacrificed at something far less than the market value. I hear on all sides in Ireland that the Land Commission is one of the chief causes of the dead-lock in the sale of estates, and is acting in a manner entirely opposed to the spirit of the Act which it was embodied to carry out. It is curious, when one hears so much said by the supporters of the present Government as to the necessity of encouraging the transfer of land, that, in Ireland, where of all countries that encouragement is most needed, the Government officials should be doing all in their power to prevent the sale and purchase of estates. Then, again, the Land Commission have no power to apportion head rents in a country where head rents are the rule, which of itself is sufficient, without any other reason, to prevent the Purchase Clauses being worked. Last year, in calling your Lordships' attention to the Report and Evidence taken before the Committee appointed to investigate the working of the Land Act, I took the liberty of suggesting that, as there was already a Court in Ireland charged with the exclusive duty of the sale of land, and also had all the machinery at its command, with extraordinary legal powers of carrying out sales in the cheapest, most expeditious, and most satisfactory manner, without bias one way or the other, and at the present moment deprived of its legitimate work by the effects of the dead-lock produced by the Land Act, that it should be made use of for the purpose of rendering the Purchase Clauses workable. The Landed Estates Court has far better opportunities of assessing the true value of estates, and so preventing frauds being committed on the Government, than any other Court in Ireland, because upon all sales the value of the property must be fully gone into, and all parties interested come before it. It is accustomed, too, in declarations of title, to ascertain the value of the property, and, in addition, all previous transactions and dealings with the estate are in its possession for reference. It alone has power to give a title which will stand against all comers. It alone can apportion head rents; to it alone must incumbrancers come in the first instance to have their securities realized; and if a sale to tenants is now effected by the Land Commission, having been obliged to purchase the property in the Landed Estates Court, two distinct sets of law costs are incurred, two distinct sets of officials are called into action, when the matter might far more easily and economically have been arranged without the intervention of a second tribunal. Then, again, I may also mention that the Land Commission cannot buy direct from the landlord unless all the incumbrancers are parties to the conveyance, and even then difficulties may arise as to the apportionment of the purchase money among the mortgagees; whereas the Landed Estates Court does not require the consent of the incumbrancers, but sells to the highest bidder, holding the purchase money; then calls on the incumbrancers to substantiate their claims to it. I cannot understand why this Court is passed over; why you are not making use of it. It is doing absolutely nothing at this moment. It has a most excellent Judge—one of the most efficient in Ireland—at the head of it, and it has a staff of most able officials. The duty of carrying out the Purchase Clauses could be satisfactorily performed by this Court, and at very little expense; and I do not understand why it should be intrusted to a Court which is most unfitted for it, and which has few of the powers absolutely indispensable for its proper discharge. In a Bill before the other House it is proposed to give these powers to a solicitor which are now exercised by a Judge of high standing in Ireland, and which are really very dangerous powers for the granting of titles to land, unless the matter is well gone into and sifted by a person in whom the greatest confidence can be placed, and likely to be productive of very serious difficulties. Why should you bring a third party into the business? The Land Commission Court has not the power; but the

Landed Estates Court has. The lower Commission Court is already overburdened with work, and the other day a Supplementary Estimate was required to meet its expenses. The cost might be enormously reduced if only the work were transferred from a tribunal which has proved its incapacity to a tribunal which has every chance of carrying it out with success. Speaking of expenses, I should like to ask whether there is any chance of the expenses of the Land Court being reduced? It is most undesirable to have a number of Sub-Commissioners holding office at the discretion of the Party in power. That produces an injurious effect upon the action of the tribunal; and I think it is a matter of importance that the Sub-Commissioners should have the same status as the Judges of the land. They have most important duties imposed upon them, and there is no appeal from them except to the Chief Commissioners. I heard rumours in Dublin yesterday of the sort of Bill we are likely to have. I have been told that the Bill will propose to exact a local guarantee, and I believe from Boards of Guardians or from the Local Government Board. The defects which the Land Commission has for carrying out sales will be increased if the local guarantee is admitted, because you will be merely substituting a Board of Purchasers for the present tribunals. The faults of the Land Commissioners are that they are acting solely for the tenant, and that through defects of construction they are not able to do what they ought to bring about—sales. The Boards of Guardians are composed of the tenant farmers, and the Local Boards are similarly composed. They will be the purchasers. I should like to ask the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) whether he would like to have the number of years' purchase of his property assessed by the persons who are going to buy it? A local guarantee is asked for; that is exactly what the Bill will do; but it will turn out even much worse than before. I would prefer the Land Commission to carry out the sales rather than that the number of years' purchase should be fixed by the very men who are going to buy my estate. I sincerely hope something will be done for the unfortunate Irish landlord, who has been so pathetically alluded to by my noble Friend on the Cross Benches; and as a means to that end I hope the Purchase Clauses in the Bill will be dealt with in a truly liberal manner. The acknowledged blots ought to be swept away, and the recommendations of the Committee of last year as to the advances to tenants and as to the length of time for the repayment carried out. I believe that you can do little permanent good whatever scheme you adopt, whether it is my noble Friend's scheme or any other. You will do little permanent good to the Irish landlords unless you make the Purchase Clauses workable, and so remove the existing dead-lock. Looking deeper into the Irish question, I do not think we shall see a true solution of the Irish difficulty unless you take some means to largely increase the number of occupying owners in Ireland.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, it appeared to him that the suggestion of his noble Friend on the Cross Bench (Lord Castletown), as far as he understood it, did not involve the consequences which were anticipated by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley). The noble Earl objected to an appeal being made to the British taxpayer to assist the landowners of Ireland; but, as he understood his noble Friend, he did not desire that any appeal should be made to the British taxpayer. All that his noble Friend suggested was that facilities should be given by the Government for money to be obtained to carry out the various schemes which he had laid before the House. That appeared to him to be a very different thing, and not to be open to the objections that had been urged by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India. As was generally done in these debates, the noble Earl had again alluded to the fact that rents had been reduced in England also. They all knew that perfectly well. But, surely, everyone in that House, and outside it, must recognize the complete difference between the reductions which had taken place in England and those which had taken place in Ireland. A great many of their Lordships, who owned property in Ireland, possessed property in England also; but though they were most anxious that assistance should be given to the impoverished landlords in Ireland, and thought that, in justice, they were entitled to have that assistance given to them from the State, yet they would never dream of asking for anything of the kind in reference to England. The cases were totally different. The reductions in England had been made voluntarily, and were due to natural causes, and the necessities arising therefrom. Then, a landowner in this country might take the land into his own hands and farm it if he liked. In fact, he could do what he liked with regard to his own land. Further, they all knew perfectly well that in many cases it was very difficult to let land—things had been so bad. In Ireland, on the contrary, they found that rents were reduced, although people were competing for it. The noble Earl also appeared to think that, in the case of owners who had received an indefeasible title from the Landed Estates Court, no hardship was involved in their having had their rents reduced. He said that they merely bought the estates, and did not buy them subject to any particular rent. That, of course, was true. They bought them with perfect right to obtain any rent they could get; but the Government introduced and passed an Act which limited their right to obtain what they could. In the cases of England and Ireland, therefore, the reduction of rents which had taken place were so dissimilar that it was quite useless to introduce any parallel. He thought that the landowning class in Ireland deserved great sympathy. They deserved more than that. They deserved, at least, justice. They had their incomes largely reduced by the action of the State. But that was not all. The action of the State unsettled the whole basis of society in the country. It disturbed men's minds; and the only way in which anything like satisfaction could be made would be for the State to show that although it thought fit to interfere and to determine the value of the commodity, yet, if that caused hardship, injustice, and loss it would interfere again to see the loss made good. The question was a larger one than that involved in the position of the landlords themselves. Nothing could be worse to a country than the existence of an impoverished landowning class. They could do no earthly good. They could not manage their property in a way conducive to the advantage or the welfare of the country; and he maintained that it was the duty of the Government in this case to do anything they possibly could in order to ameliorate the condition of the landowners in Ireland, who had been reduced to their present lamentable condition by the action of the State.

Lord CASTLETOWN, in asking leave to withdraw the Motion, stated that he had proposed to make no demand whatever upon the taxpayer. He did not regard the explanation of the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) as satisfactory. He ventured to hope that the Government would reconsider the question in no hostile spirit. He was compelled to say that he should reserve to himself a perfect right to raise this question again, and fight the fight to the bitter end.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF BERBER.

QUESTION.

The Earl of GALLOWAY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as to the correctness of Reuter's telegram which appeared in yesterday's *Observer* and in this morning's newspapers, which says, dated—

> "Cairo, April 26, 8 p.m.—The reply of the British Government to the proposal to send an expedition to Berber has been received. It says that such an expedition is impossible at present, and could not, in fact, start for four months hence;"

and, if correct, whether there is any objection to stating upon what grounds such an expedition is deemed impossible?

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, it may be satisfactory to your Lordships to know that the Papers which have been laid upon the Table of the House this evening upon this subject, and which will be in your Lordships' hands early next week, contain the instructions which Her Majesty's Government have, upon their own responsibility, thought it right to send.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Cruelty to Animals Acts—Was *presented* by The Lord Balfour; read 1ª. (No. 74.)

House adjourned at Seven o'clock,
to Thursday next, a quarter
past Ten o'clock,

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 29*th April*, 1884.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Committee*—Contagious Diseases (Animals) [120]—R.P.
Committee—Report—Fisheries (Ireland) * [27].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

——o——

DUBLIN, WICKLOW, AND WEXFORD RAILWAY BILL.

INSTRUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE.

Mr. MAYNE rose to move an Instruction to the Select Committee to which this Bill had been referred.

Mr. FINDLATER rose to a point of Order. He wished to know whether it was competent for the hon. Member, being a member of the Corporation of Dublin, who had petitioned against the Bill, and whose *locus standi* had been established, to move an Instruction to the Committee to protect the rights and interests of the Corporation of Dublin? He also wished to know whether it was competent for the hon. Member to move that a power should be conferred upon a Committee which they already possessed?

Mr. SPEAKER: As I understand the question of Order put to me by the hon. Member, it divides itself into two parts—namely, whether the hon. Member for Tipperary, being a member of the Corporation of Dublin, is entitled to take the step he has now taken in regard to this Bill. Upon that point my opinion is clear—namely, that the fact of his being a member of the Corporation of Dublin does not prevent him from taking the action he is now taking. As to the Instruction to the Committee being in the nature of the reference of a point they have already power to deal with, I draw a distinction between a Committee on a Private Bill and Committees of this House. The Instruction to the Select Committee now about to be moved by the hon. Member is a mandatory and compulsory Instruction, and differs from an ordinary Instruction to Committees of the House, which is only permissive. Therefore, in regard to those two points, I am of opinion that the hon. Member for Tipperary is perfectly in Order.

Mr. MAYNE moved—

> "That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report to the House whether the proposed Railway will injuriously affect one of the few open spaces in the City of Dublin, viz.: the open space known as Beresford Place, situate on the north and west sides of the Custom House; and needlessly disfigure the said City; and that they have power to call Witnesses and receive evidence upon the subject."

The hon. Member said, the Bill in question contained provisions which were both extraordinary and novel. If the railway were constructed as proposed in the present Bill, it would run for nearly one-half of its entire length through or over public thoroughfares in the City of Dublin, and would involve, even by the admission of the promoters themselves, a serious disfigurement of this part of the City. He thought the House would agree with him, under the circumstances, that something more than the ordinary reference to a Committee was necessary; and he therefore begged to move that the Motion standing in his name on the Paper be adopted.

Mr. R. POWER seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report to the House whether the proposed Railway will injuriously affect one of the few open spaces in the City of Dublin, viz.: the open space known as Beresford Place, situate on the north and west sides of the Custom House; and needlessly disfigure the said City; and that they have power to call Witnesses and receive evidence upon the subject."—(*Mr. Mayne.*)

Mr. M. BROOKS said, it so happened that the proposed railway would run adjacent to, and would seriously affect, property of great value belonging to a Company of which he had the honour to be Chairman; and as he was also interested in the Corporation, no matter upon which side he voted—whether with the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Mayne), or the promoters of the Bill—he was open to the imputation of being actuated by motives of personal consideration. He thought, however, that he ought to do his duty without fear or affection, and he ought to follow what he believed to be the general interests of the citizens of Dublin in the matter. Without any desire to be offensive to his hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary, he was bound to say that he thought the Motion was one of a most insidious character, and that if it were carried it would have the effect of killing the Bill. It would, practically, kill the Bill, because there would not be sufficient time to construct any alternative line. There were no limits of deviation which would enable the Company to construct the line. There could be no doubt as to the desirability of constructing this railway. He was glad to see the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General present in his place, because the right hon. Gentleman had, both in the House and elsewhere, pointed out the necessity for connecting the railways which now arrived and terminated in Dublin, but which were now without any central station, such as this Bill made provision for. And there could be no doubt that this railway, if constructed, would, more or less, disfigure the City. He was not aware that any railway was ever constructed in a large town which was not, more or less, a disfigurement. But he was bound to say that the disfigurement, of which the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Mayne) complained, would be a much smaller evil, and only a minor matter of importance, compared with the success of a Motion which would prevent the construction of this railway at all. He should, therefore, feel bound to vote against the proposal of the hon. Member, repeating, that if the Committee should employ its time in doing that which the hon. Member desired, and which they had already full power to do if they were satisfied of its necessity, they would effectually kill the Bill. Under these circumstances, he should vote against the proposal of the hon. Member.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, that he was not open to the imputation of being personally interested in this railway in any way whatever; and it was simply upon the ground of public convenience that he should vote against the Motion of the hon. Member for Tipperary. He quite agreed that the construction of the railway through the proposed route to Beresford Place would be, to a certain extent, a disfigurement of the City, and that it would block up one of the finest views from Carlisle Bridge; but the communication between Westland Row and Amiens Street was of the utmost importance, so far as the convenience of the mails was concerned. At the present moment great and vexatious delay was occasioned, and there was a considerable amount of obstruction in the thoroughfares, in consequence of the present mode of proceeding. He, therefore, could not conceive how anyone who had no idea of the importance of securing the rapid transit of the mails should oppose this Bill in the manner in which the hon. Member for Tipperary proposed to do. The hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Mr. Brooks) said the opposition to the Bill would kill it in its present stage, because it was impossible to deviate the line as laid down in the deposited plans. He was glad to see the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General present. He was quite satisfied, from the attention the right hon. Gentleman had given to the subject, that he would be able to give the House his views as to the importance of making this communication.

Mr. FINDLATER said, he could conceive no other object the Motion could have than to prejudice the views of the Committee with regard to the Bill when it came before them. The hon. Member proposed that the House should do a most undesirable thing—namely, that it should instruct the Committee to take certain matters into consideration. He thought the House would require something more than the statement made by the hon. Member before they consented to accept his Motion. The hon. Member proposed—

> "That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report to the House whether the proposed Railway will injuriously effect one of the few open spaces in the City of Dublin, viz.: the open space known as Beresford Place, situate on the north and west sides of the Custom House; and needlessly disfigure the said City."

He (Mr. Findlater) had been for 40 years a citizen of Dublin; and he thought any person who was acquainted with the piece of ground in question would say that it was anything but an open space of a beautiful nature. There was not a particle of grass upon it, nor a tree; and during the whole time he had passed in Dublin he had never, in his life, seen a child playing upon it. This open space was attached to the Custom House; it was surrounded by stone posts which were connected together by iron chains; the space was entirely gravelled; and it really formed a most unsightly object. He might say, further, that the action of the Corporation in the matter was not generally approved of by the citizens of Dublin. He had heard a great many expressions of opinion with regard to the question; and he trusted the House would not consent to grant a mandatory Instruction to the Committee, when it was open to them in their discretion to hear evidence with regard to the whole matter. In the words of the Petitioners' own prayer the *locus standi* of the Corporation of Dublin was established; and they prayed that in case the Bill was allowed to pass into law certain clauses and other provisions would be necessary for the protection of the Corporation and citizens of Dublin. It was, therefore, perfectly clear that it would be open to the Committee to hear evidence which the House itself could not hear. The House must rely wholly upon *ex parte* statements, and he thought that was an extremely objectionable thing. There could be doubt whatever that this was one of the most important lines which had been proposed for some time. Great interest was taken by Irish Members, of all classes and sections, in the carrying out of the object of the Bill—namely, the acceleration of the Irish mails; and it would be too bad, when they were on the point of reaching the goal, that their efforts were to be frustrated by a sentimental objection with regard to the beauty of the view from Carlisle Bridge. There was a railway bridge in the neighbourhood of the House of Commons; but no one could say that the bridge at Charing Cross disfigured the approaches of the House, or very much interfered with the view. He understood that it was impossible to carry the tunnel under the bed of the Liffey; and the Harbour and Dock Board, who had charge of the river, would not allow any bridge to be constructed eastward of the Custom House, so that nothing further could be done if this railway were not allowed to go on, and the connection between the Dublin and Wexford Railway and the Northern Railway for the acceleration of the mails would be frustrated altogether. Personally, he had no interest in the matter beyond that of a citizen of Dublin who was anxious to see this communication established. It was upon that ground that he opposed the Motion of the hon. Gentleman.

MR. SEXTON said, the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Findlater) must be very hard driven for an argument when he compared the case of Hungerford Bridge with the proposed railway, seeing that Hungerford Bridge was more than a quarter of a mile from the Houses of Parliament; whereas the structure proposed to be erected under this Bill was only 54 feet from the Custom House at Dublin. The hon. Gentleman seemed to think that an open space was of no value unless it had grass upon it. Now, the City of Dublin had very few open spaces. Those spaces possessed great value, whether they had grass upon them or not; and, so far as the Custom House was concerned, it was one of the most beautiful buildings in Europe. If this mass of masonry were allowed to be built close beside it the building would be completely disfigured, and the beauty of it would be entirely lost. The hon. Member for Monaghan said he had been for 40 years a citizen of Dublin. With all respect to the position and experience of the hon. Member, he thought the Corporation of Dublin, who had passed, by a considerable majority, the vote which the hon. Member now objected to, were quite as good judges of the interests of the City of Dublin as the hon. Member. The hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Mr. Brooks) asserted that the passing of this Instruction would kill the Bill. Considering the early period of the Session, it could not be said that the inquiry which the passing of this Instruction would involve would kill the Bill. It must be a very bad Bill, indeed, if an inquiry of this kind would kill it in the month of April. He invited the House to notice that the only matter his hon. Friend desired the Committee to inquire into was, whether the proposed railway would not injuriously affect one of the few open spaces in the said City? Surely no harm could be done to any interest by an intelligent and rational inquiry; and he ventured to hope that the House would have regard to the opinion of the Corporation, and assent to the Motion of his hon. Friend without supporting the opposition of the hon. Member for Dublin (Mr. Brooks), whose interest in this particular case was not that of the Corporation of Dublin. He trusted the House would have regard to the opinion of the Governing Body of the City. Certainly, if the Corporation of an English town made such an appeal the House would have no hesitation in granting all that was asked for.

Mr. P. MARTIN desired to make a remark in reference to the statement just made by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). It must not be assumed that the members of the Corporation of Dublin were unanimously of opinion that the Bill should be rejected. Indeed, the Resolution in favour of petitioning against the Bill was not even passed by a considerable majority of the Corporation of Dublin. On the contrary, the Petition against it was adopted by the Corporation, after considerable discussion in a small House of 30, by a majority of only two. It would, therefore, be seen that a divided opinion existed with regard to the measure itself even among the Corporation of Dublin. There was another matter which the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Findlater) had correctly put before the House. The House was now called on, without having the advantage of the evidence of the promoters, to adopt a Resolution of a most exceptional and unusual character, which would abrogate the discretion given to the Committee, and prejudge one of the matters for their decision. It must be borne in mind that the object of this Bill was one of great importance to the entire of Ireland. It had been promoted not only by influential merchants and citizens resident in Dublin, but also at the instance of the Cities of Cork and Belfast, which desired to have a line which should connect all the different railways in Dublin, and enable a passenger to go on from London without change of carriage when he arrived at Kingstown. If this Bill should be passed, a passenger would be transferred direct to Cork or Belfast; but if a mandatory Instruction was to be given to the Committee upon an unusual matter of this kind, it would simply amount to a refusal to allow the Committee to enter into the consideration of the real question. He respectfully submitted to the House whether it was desirable to make a change in the Bill in this summary manner when they had the hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Mr. Brooks), and the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) both of them anxious that the Bill should go before a Committee like any other ordinary Bill to be inquired into upon its merits? If there were any defects in the engineering details of the measure, or anything which would destroy this open space, all the circumstances could be fully inquired into, and a decision of the Committee obtained upon every point. He, therefore, did not see why the House should now consent to prejudice the decision of the Committee by doing that which would practically amount to a reversal of the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he was disposed to controvert the statement of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Kilkenny (Mr. P. Martin). The hon. and learned Member said that if the Motion of the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Mayne) were carried the result would be to kill the Bill. He did not think it would do anything of the sort; but he understood the Motion simply to ask the Committee to direct their attention to a particular branch of the subject. It did no more than that. The hon. and learned Gentleman also said that there was only a majority of two in the Town Council of Dublin who were in favour of this proposition. He (Mr. Biggar) was told by his hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary that that majority of two was only on a minor side issue; and that when the question whether or not a Petition should be presented to give protection against injury to this open space was put, a majority in favour of the Petition was nearly three-fourths against one-fourth. So that a large majority were in favour of the present Motion, and they might be fairly assumed to represent the opinions of the citizens of Dublin. At the same time, he must say for himself that if he had had the slightest idea that this Motion would be likely to injure the possibility of the Bill being passed into law he would be very sorry to vote for it. He thought it a most desirable Bill; but that it should be carried out in the best way. It was most desirable that there should be a connection between all the railways in Dublin established for the purpose of facilitating the conveyance of the mails, not, perhaps, after all, that it would be of so much benefit to Dublin itself as it would be to other parts of Ireland. No one would deny that it would be of the utmost benefit to other parts of Ireland to facilitate the transit of the mails; and he would, therefore, not be disposed to throw any obstacle in the way of the passage of the Bill, although, at the same time, he thought the question raised by his hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary was a very reasonable one. He had no doubt that Beresford Place was very beautiful; and if any means could be adopted for preventing the disfigurement of the Custom House on that open space it should be adopted. One special reason in favour of the Bill was that it would have a tendency to kill a rival scheme. He believed that most of his hon. Friends who supported this Instruction to the Committee would not be prepared to vote for it if they thought it was likely to interfere with the success of the Bill; but, on the whole, considering all the circumstances of the case, he thought the House would not be doing wrong to give this Instruction to the Committee.

Mr. GIBSON wished to say a word before the Motion was put. He thought the proposal had been temperately and reasonably discussed. No doubt there was some difference of opinion in reference to the matter, and all questions where there was a difference of opinion had to be decided on the balance. As far as he could find out, the general public opinion in Ireland against that of the Corporation of Dublin was a large and substantial one. The feeling in support of the Motion was not certainly very large even in the Corporation; and unquestionably the great preponderance of opinion, not only in Dublin, but in Ireland generally, was in favour of the Bill. It was said that if the Motion of the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Mayne) were carried it would have the effect of killing the Bill. He was sure that was not the desire of the hon. Member, nor did he think it was a desire of any Member for Ireland who had considered the question. He therefore thought, under all the circumstances of the case, that it would be wiser, and, on the whole, more calculated to work out a good result for all the Irish interests, not to pass the Motion of the hon. Member.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 26; Noes 145: Majority 119.—(Div. List, No. 76.)

QUESTIONS.

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COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—CASE OF MR. ROBERT BARKLIE.

Mr. EWART asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Robert Barklie, having been suspended for some irregularities in 1866, had his case subsequently investigated by the National Board of Education, through their head district Inspectors; and, whether, as a result of that investigation, and the consideration of further evidence, the National Board came to the conclusion that Mr. Barklie should be recognized as a teacher of the York Street National School, Belfast, and that his salary should be paid from date of his taking charge thereof?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Commissioners of National Education inform me that the facts are as stated in the Question.

Mr. BIGGAR asked whether the following quotations from the Report of the District National School Inspector did not apply to Mr. Barklie, about whom the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Ewart) asked this Question:—

> "Not only have the candidates copied, but in many cases they have been aided and abetted by the teachers, who sent to the examination-room answers to the questions on the paper to be copied by the pupils, and from one to the other;"

and, also, whether the same Inspector did not characterize this as an "extensive and organized system of fraud;" and, is so, whether the gentleman was still considered fitted for a position of trust under the National Board?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I merely said that the facts were as stated. I gave no opinion on the matter; and if the hon. Member gives Notice of his Question I will answer it in two or three days.

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—WATER SUPPLY OF SWINEFORD UNION.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the late sanitary authority of the Swineford Union, county Mayo, refused to provide a proper supply of water for about ten families in the townland of Urlaur, in said union, although requested to do so by memorial signed by the most influential persons in the dispensary district of Kilkelly; whether he is aware that the sanitary officer's report stated that—

> "Water was inconvenient, some half dozen families requiring to go about eleven hundred yards for water;"

whether the memorialists wished to have the dispensary district the "contributory" place, and whether a few ratepayers from Urlaur opposed it on the ground that the expense should not be placed solely upon the electoral division of Urlaur; whether the Local Government Board, when requested to investigate the matter—

> "Declined to interfere with the discretion of the sanitary board;"

and, whether the Local Government Board are now prepared, upon ascertaining the veracity of these statements, to give a provisional order to the new sanitary board to provide a proper supply of water at said place?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board inform me that a Memorial was received from certain persons in the townland named, praying that a pump might be constructed for the purpose of giving them a water supply, and that a counter Memorial was received representing that no necessity existed for such a proceeding. The Medical Officer of Health represented that the water available was pure, but inconvenient for some of the inhabitants. The Board of Guardians and Dispensary Committee both consider it unnecessary to incur expense in the matter; and the Local Government Board have not thought it necessary to interfere with the discretion of the Sanitary Authority.

POST OFFICE—CIVIL SERVICE PRAYER UNION.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Is it the fact that Mr. Blackwood, Secretary of the Post Office, has established an organization called the "Civil Service Prayer Union;" that Catholic officials who could not conscientiously join the Union, nor assist at its prayers or bible-reading, have been pressed to do so by their chiefs; whether he is aware that one of the objects of the Union, as declared by a printed document circulated through the Civil Service, is—

> "To make intercession for the unconverted members of our own Departments;"

that canvassing for membership is done during official hours, and that those who refuse to join are regarded as "unconverted;" that at Liverpool the meetings are held on Government premises, viz. a room in the Custom House; and, whether he will prevent these proceedings being carried on during official hours, and by the official superiors of the person who is asked to join?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): In reply to the three Questions of the hon. Member, I have to inform the House that I have received from Mr. Blackwood the following statement:—That he did not establish the organization to which the first Question refers, which has been in existence for many years, but that he is at present its President; that he has never pressed any Roman Catholic official to join it, and that he thinks such pressure most improbable; that canvassing in the sense of such pressure is not, so far as he knows, resorted to, though it is probable that conversation may take place on that subject as on any other of common interest; that, so far as he is concerned, those who do not join the Association are not therefore considered unconverted; that at Liverpool a quarterly meeting is held, not during the Office hours, nor in the Custom House Office, but in the dining room over the Office, which is used for other meetings, such as the Widows' and Orphans' Fund, and other unofficial business. I see no reason why the Treasury should interfere in the matter. No complaint on the subject has reached me, and the first I heard of the Union was from the hon. Member's Question.

Mr. O'BRIEN: What does the right hon. Gentleman think a higher official of the Department means by asking for intercession for the unconverted members of that Department?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): It is not my duty to explain language of that kind. I have heard of persons of many religions speak of other persons as "unconverted."

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—GRANTS OF PROBATE AND ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. SEXTON (for Mr. Healy) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that, since the passing of the Land Act of 1881, there has been a remarkable increase in the grants of probate and administration all over Ireland; whether, in view of the refusal of the Land Commissioners and the growing reluctance of landlords to recognise as tenants persons who have not taken out administration, the Government will remove the restrictions which prevent section 33 of "The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1881," being more generally availed of, so that the sons and widows of deceased tenants may cheaply obtain administration direct from the local Inland Revenue officers, without having to visit the city where the supervisor resides; and, will the Government, in view of the beneficent effect of section 33, and the great saving of legal expenses which poor persons may effect by its provisions where the personal estate is under £300, take steps to render them more widely known to persons of the farming class, whom the expense of a legal process now frequently hinders from taking out administration, and thus prevents the recognition of their status as tenants?

Mr. COURTNEY: There has been since 1882 a considerable increase in the number of grants of probate and administration, apparently due to the working of the Land Act. I am informed that the practice of the Land Commission has always been to allow any person beneficially interested in a tenancy to avail himself of the benefit of the Land Act as applicant, though no administration had been taken out, but to suspend the issuing of the order until the grant is produced. The only exception to this rule is where it is believed there is a desire to evade, from some improper motive, the taking out of a grant. It is the desire of the Inland Revenue Department to give every facility for the working of the 33rd section of the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1881. Inland Revenue officers not necessarily supervisors have been appointed to work it in every town where any necessity appeared. The Chairman of the Board will be glad to receive any suggestions which may be made to him by the hon. Member, or any other person, as to any mode of making more widely known to persons of the farming class the facilities that now exist for the taking of grants.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882 (PROCLAMATIONS)—MEETING AT KNOCKMAGREE.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why the Knockmagree (county Cork) meeting, to be held on April 20, was suppressed; whether it is a fact that nobody living in Knockmagree was served with personal notice of the suppression, that the proclamations were only posted through the district upon the eve of the day fixed for the meeting, and that, in consequence, thousands of persons, who received no notice of the intention of the Government, came into the village and were hustled about by the police; why was not the proclamation published earlier; and, whether care will be taken in future to notify the intention of the Government at the earliest possible moment, so as to avoid the risk of bringing large bodies of people, without warning, into dangerous proximity, and possible collision, with the armed forces of the Law?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The meeting was suppressed because it was feared that if held it would result in danger to persons who occupy farms from which the former tenants were evicted for non-payment of rent. Copies of the Proclamation were not served upon any persons residing at Knockmagree, because it was not known that any such persons were promoters of the meeting. The Proclamation was posted at Kanturk on the previous day, which was market day, and copies were served on the promoters, who, nevertheless, attended at the place of meeting and desired to address the people. It is not the case that thousands of persons assembled. I am informed that no more than about the number of persons usually in the village on a Sunday were present (about 600), and it is not the case that any persons were hustled about by the police. The people were not in any way interfered with by the police. In the case of prohibited meetings, the authorities will endeavour, as far as possible, to give such notice as will prevent people from coming together. So far as the reports before me show, this object appears to have been secured in this case.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Can the right hon. Gentleman state why, after attention has been over and over again called to the matter, he has not given the public an earlier notice of the suppression of a meeting? To my own knowledge this meeting was called a month previously.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I think the Proclamation ought to be published as soon as possible; but if it were published as soon as the meeting was announced, there is danger that some persons may advertise a great number of meetings for the purpose of having them proclaimed. ["Oh!"] That might be done, and I fear that in certain cases it would be done.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Then the action of the Government is a trap to prevent the promoters of meetings—["Order!"]

DOMINION OF CANADA—IRISH EMIGRANTS AT TORONTO.

Mr. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that a number of persons who emigrated to Canada, assisted by the boards of guardians or by Mr. Tuke's Committee, are at present living on charity in Toronto, and are supplied chiefly by money collected for them every Sunday at the doors of the Catholic Churches in that city; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government will take any steps to relieve those people, and to assist them to return to their own Country?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I believe it is the case that a number of Irish immigrants were in distress at Toronto in the month of February; but only a portion of them had been State-aided, and none of them, I believe, were sent out by Mr. Tuke's Committee. The Government have no information as to any of these persons having been supported by collections at church doors; and as the winter is now over, and spring work has commenced, there is every reason to believe that employment may now be obtained. I may state that the Government are now taking steps with the view of securing that arrangements may, if possible, be made that no one shall be sent out who has not previously been approved of by a representative of the Canadian authorities.

Mr. LEAMY asked whether it was really true that the Government had no information whatever about these people—whether they had got employment or not? Would the Government try and ascertain what had become of them? He would repeat the Question on Thursday.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—PETTY SESSIONS CLERK FOR GRANGE, CO. SLIGO.

Mr. LYNCH asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Charles Jones Henry has been appointed petty sessions clerk for the district of Grange, county Sligo; whether he is the same person who some time since reported to the Police that he had been assaulted at night on his way home from a fair, and robbed of £81 county cess which he had collected; whether his statement was discredited by the magistrate who investigated the case; whether the appointment of Mr. Henry as petty sessions clerk has been made in the absence of two of the justices who usually attend the Grange Petty Sessions Court; and, whether the appointment will be confirmed?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Perhaps the right hon. Gentlemen will answer my Question at the same time, Whether it is a fact that the Government were recommended to offer a reward for the apprehension of the prisoner who last year attacked and injured Mr. Charles Jones Henry in the county of Sligo; whether this recommendation was made by magistrates who had the best means of ascertaining the circumstances relative to the said assault; whether the character of Mr. Charles Jones Henry is such as to fully qualify him for the position of petty sessions clerk, or of any other position in which integrity and good conduct are necessary qualifications; and, whether the Constabulary and the local authorities are satisfied with his appointment?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The facts are as stated in the first, second, and fourth paragraphs of the Question of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Lynch). The circumstances as to the reported outrage on Mr. Henry were never satisfactorily cleared up, and the case is one as to which there was some variance of opinion amongst those who were engaged in investigating it. The election of Mr. Henry to the office of Petty Sessions Clerk has not yet been submitted to the Lord Lieutenant for confirmation, and I am unable to anticipate His Excellency's decision. A private reward for information in this case was offered, but without result; and it was not considered that any advantage would be obtained by the offer of a public reward, as was recommended by the magistrates of the district. As the hon. and gallant Member's (Colonel King-Harman's) Question only appeared on the Paper today, I have had no opportunity of ascertaining what is the feeling of the Constabulary or "local authorities" as to the appointment; nor do I know that it would be their duty to express an opinion on the subject unless confidentially for the information of the Government.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN complained that his Question on this subject had been altered by the Clerk at the Table.

MR. SEXTON asked whether it was not a fact that of the four Justices on the Bench two were for Mr. Henry and two for another; and that the way in which Mr. Henry got elected was by his supporters going to the Bench and voting for him behind the backs of the two others?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he would not express any opinion on the matter, as it was now before the Lord Lieutenant.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—KILMEEN ELECTORAL DIVISION, KANTURK UNION.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the successful National candidate for the Kilmeen Division of the Kanturk Union, at the recent Poor Law election, has received a letter from Mrs. Smith, of Blossomfort, stating that she was obliged to break her promise to vote for him in consequence of receiving two letters from her landlord, Mr. Richard Longfield, Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant, directing her to vote for his opponent, a rent-warner on a neighbouring estate, who himself presented to her the second letter from Mr. Longfield; whether he is aware that a Mr. Horgan, who remained neutral in the same contest, notwithstanding a letter from Mr. Longfield directing him to support his candidate, was afterwards requested by Mr. Longfield to return his letter, and, on his replying that he had mislaid it, was informed that his services as gamekeeper in Mr. Longfield's service were dispensed with until the letter should be returned; whether there is any legal remedy for intimidation of this description; and, whether Mr. Longfield's conduct will be brought to the attention of the Lord Chancellor?

MR. TREVELYAN: This Question was referred on Saturday to Dublin. It is presumed that local inquiry in the county of Cork was necessary to enable the Local Government Board to report upon it, as their Report has not yet been received.

WEST INDIES (BARBADOES)—POLICE ESPIONAGE.

MR. SMALL asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the authorities at the Colonial Office are aware that upon the landing in Barbadoes of Mr. James Murphy, in the month of February last, his goods and luggage were subjected to a thorough search, when nothing whatever of a suspicious character was found; and that, nevertheless, Mr. Murphy has been constantly watched by police and detectives, who follow him everywhere, seat themselves in his place of business, and take notes of all the sales he makes; that, a few days after his arrival, a large and riotous crowd, attracted by the presence of police, assembled at Mr. Murphy's residence, the members of which crowd made use of violent language to him in the presence of several policemen, who did not attempt to control them; whether the authorities here will direct the officials at Barbadoes to discontinue to watch him, and to afford Mr. Murphy protection against any violence with which he may be threatened?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir; it is a fact that Mr. Murphy's boxes were examined at Barbadoes, and that nothing suspicious was found. The Government of Barbadoes have, for good reasons, caused Mr. Murphy's movements to be watched. We have not heard of such noisy or threatening acts as those referred to in the Question; and there is no doubt that protection, if necessary, will be given to Mr. Murphy.

MR. SMALL: Would the hon. Gentleman state "the very good reasons?"

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No, Sir.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — THE DERRY MAGISTRATES (MESSRS. ARCHDALE, DOWLING, AND ROCHE).

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the issue of the correspondence between the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and certain magistrates of Derry; when the correspondence will be laid upon the Table; and, what decision has been arrived at by the Lord Chancellor in the other cases considered by him, of complaints against Irish magistrates?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Lord Chancellor informs me that his decision with regard to the Derry magistrates will, in all probability, be made known during the present week. The hon. Member has not asked me whether the Correspondence is to be laid on the Table. It will be laid as soon as it is closed. In the case of Mr. Archdale, his Lordship, after receiving letters of explanation, has determined that it is not one in which he ought to remove him from the Commission of the Peace; but he has reprimanded Mr. Archdale, pointing out to him that he must be more cautious in future. The Correspondence in the other cases — namely, those of Mr. Thomas Dowling and Mr. Thomas Roche —has not yet closed.

MR. O'BRIEN asked what is being done in the case of Mr. M'Clintock, magistrate and Orange County Grand Master, who signed a Proclamation calling a counter demonstration to attack the Nationalists on St. Patrick's Day?

MR. TREVELYAN: I was under the impression that Mr. M'Clintock's case was included in the Derry case. I did not think that there was any supplementary motion.

MR. O'BRIEN: The occasion was quite different.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — DISQUALIFICATION OF DISPENSARY MEDICAL OFFICERS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many workhouse or dispensary medical officers in Ireland have been appointed to act in the Commission of the Peace since the rule was made excluding such officers from the Commission; how many of the medical officers so appointed are Protestants; whether, with reference to the case of Dr. Flannery, of Tubbercurry, county Sligo, it is the fact that Mr. Reynolds, of Tubbercurry, was appointed to the Commission of the Peace, although, as manager of the bank acting as treasurer to the local union, he was disqualified from acting as an ex-officio guardian; and, whether, having regard to the provision which prevents a Poor Law medical officer from acting as an ex-officio guardian, and the fact that many such officers actually hold the Commission of the Peace, the rule excluding them from the Commission will now be reconsidered?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that there are 10 gentlemen who have been appointed to the Commission of the Peace since 1872, the time when the rule in question was made, who are now dispensary doctors; but with regard to eight of them, the records of the Hanaper Office do not show whether or not they were dispensary doctors when appointed to the Commission of the Peace. Two of them were appointed by the late Lord Chancellor, knowing that they were dispensary doctors, but before the rule had been brought to his knowledge. The official records do not show the religious profession of any of these gentlemen. Previous to the case of Dr. Flannery of Tubbercurry, the present Lord Chancellor, acting on the rule of 1872, declined to appoint several gentlemen who were dispensary doctors, and he believes that the rule is a wise one, and ought to be maintained. With regard to Mr. Reynolds, named in the Question, there is no record in the Lord Chancellor's Office to show whether in 1878, when he was appointed to the Commission of the Peace, he was manager of a Bank acting as Treasurer of a local Union; but I am informed that such fact, even if it was so, was no disqualification to his being appointed a magistrate.

JAMAICA (FINANCE, &c.)—THE ESTIMATES.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether information has been received at the Colonial Office that the Legislative Council of Jamaica, consisting, at present, of official members only, have passed the Estimates and a Vote of Credit for the second half-year of the current financial year, notwithstanding the express instructions of Lord Derby's second Despatch of the 1st December 1883, paragraph 6, directing the Governor

> "To reserve the Estimates for the remainder of the year now current for the consideration of the full Council;"

if so, will he explain why and by what authority this deviation from Lord Derby's instructions has taken place?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: At the time when the Secretary of State directed the Governor to reserve the Estimates for the consideration of the new Council, it was hoped and believed that the Order in Council constituting the new form of representation would have been passed in time for the elections to be held under it early enough to have a Council duly constituted before more than half of the financial year had elapsed. But, owing to the unavoidable delays caused by inquiries held by Commissioners appointed on the spot, and by the consideration of their Report at home, the Order in Council, though now settled, has not yet been sent out to the Colony. The registration and elections must take some time, so that it would virtually be impossible to summon the new Council before June or July next. By that time more than two-thirds of the financial year, ending September 30, will have expired, and, therefore, more than two-thirds of the expenditure incurred. It was therefore decided, after much consideration, that it would be both more straightforward, more satisfactory, and more fair to the new Members themselves to substitute for a second Vote of Credit a Vote passing the Estimates as they stood for the previous year, without any increase and without any alteration beyond absolutely inevitable modifications in details.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—THE 60TH RIFLES AT SUAKIN.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the following paragraph in a telegram sent by the Cairo correspondent of *The Standard*, and published in the issue of April 28th—

> "I have heard indirectly that the state of the 60th Rifles at Suakim calls for serious consideration. Insufficient camping ground and want of water are reducing that gallant regiment to a condition anything but creditable to the authorities, or accordant to the deserts of the men;"

and, whether he will cause an inquiry to be made into the truth of such statement?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The only information which we have on this subject is contained in a telegram received from the General Officer commanding in Egypt, dated the 27th of this month, in which he recommends the departure of the battalion from Suakin, on the ground of health and the absence of suitable shelter. I am in communication with the Admiralty on the subject. In reference to the statement contained in *The Standard*, as to the insufficient camping ground and want of water, although I have no recent information on the subject, the statement appears to be inconsistent with the Report which we have received as to the condition of the larger force under General Graham at Suakin, in which the camping-ground and the health of the troops are represented as being satisfactory in every respect.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked whether the Marines, who were to relieve the battalions at Suakin, would be landed under precisely the same conditions as they were now; or whether the Admiralty would make arrangements for their accommodation?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I believe the Admiralty will make arrangements for a floating barrack for the Marines. A portion, at all events, of the Marines will always be afloat, the number ashore being regulated according to the necessities of the case.

SIR JOHN HAY asked whether the water supply to the troops under General Graham was not distilled water from the ships; and whether those appliances did not still remain for the service of the troops?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: There are still ships at Suakin, I believe; but the statement I made had special reference to the camping ground, which was found satisfactory.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, the question of the water supply to our troops was so important, especially considering that the thermometer was 117 degrees in the shade at Suakin now, that he hoped the noble Marquess would cause some inquiries to be made.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Certainly inquiry would be made, if it were at all probable that any measures could be taken before the departure of the troops; but, as I have stated, it is probable that the battalions now at Suakin will return in the transport which is taking the Marines.

LORD JOHN MANNERS: Will there be any extra water supply for the Marines?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have already stated that the Marines, to a great extent, would be accommodated on board ship, where there would be no difficulty as to water supply.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: The noble Marquess must remember there are some Egyptian troops with English officers also at Suakin in camping ground, who will also require water.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What is the date of the last despatch or message received from General Gordon; and, whether the Governor of Berber has telegraphed that it is impossible to send any more messages to Khartoum? The hon. Member also asked whether there was any truth in the report, contained in *The Standard*, that a considerable number of Bashi-Bazouks and soldiers under General Gordon had gone over to the enemy?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In answer to the Question on the Paper, I have to say that the last message received from General Gordon was dated the 9th of April. General Gordon's agent at Berber has telegraphed to Mr. Egerton that he cannot get messengers from Berber to Khartoum. With reference to the other Question, I have also received private Notice from my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) that he was going to ask me a Question similar to that which the hon. Member has just asked me; but I think it would be better that I should answer it at once. The last telegram we received was dated the 27th of April, from Mr. Egerton to Lord Granville, to the effect that four brigades of Sanjaks or Shageeyah Bedouins from Khartoum and 500 soldiers had joined the rebels. On those actual words it might, no doubt, be thought that they were troops actually at Khartoum; but the words are susceptible of the other interpretation—namely, that they were troops at Berber; and if hon. Members will refer to *The Daily News* telegram they will see that the latter interpretation is the correct one. *The Daily News* telegram is to the effect that—

> "Four Sanjaks of Scingkea have joined the rebels with 500 soldiers. The Sanjaks came from Khartoum."

It is, therefore, quite clear that the telegram received by Lord Granville alludes to Sanjaks at Berber who had come from Khartoum.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Are we to understand that the telegrams in *The Daily News* are official?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No; but I quoted the one which appears this morning, because it contains information elucidating our short telegram, and also because I know the great and painful interest that telegrams on this subject excite among the friends of General Gordon.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Have the Government no telegrams of their own from Cairo on this subject?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have stated that Lord Granville received a telegram from Mr. Egerton, and I read it to the House.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Would it not be possible to instruct the authorities in Egypt to send a fuller telegram on this subject?

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: May I ask whether there is any information from Berber with regard to the evacuation of that town; if it is true that the inhabitants have fled northwards; and, whether all telegraphic communication with General Gordon is not at an end?

MR. CHAPLIN: I should like to ask Her Majesty's Government one Question—Whether, in view of this recent information which it appears the Government have received, they are still of opinion that the position of General Gordon is one of security at Khartoum?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In reply to the Question of the hon. Member for Eye, no actual information has been received of the withdrawal of the Governor from Berber. I have nothing to add to what fell from the Prime Minister on this point yesterday. With respect to telegraphic communication with Khartoum, no doubt the withdrawal of the garrison of Berber would cause Dongola to be the nearest place in that direction to which there would be telegraphic communication from Cairo; but I cannot at this moment positively state that that is so.

Mr. GIBSON: The noble Lord says that the date of the last message received from General Gordon was the 9th of April. Would he tell the House what is the date of the last message the Government sent to General Gordon?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have not all the telegrams here, and therefore I cannot state on the spur of the moment. I should prefer to answer the Question on Notice.

Mr. CHAPLIN: I wish to press the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War for an answer to my Question—namely, whether, in view of recent information, the Government are still of opinion that General Gordon's position at Khartoum is one of security?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I did not know the hon. Member addressed the Question to me; but I think the House will not expect me to answer it without Notice.

Mr. CHAPLIN: I beg to give Notice that I will ask the Question to-morrow.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I was glad to hear the reply of my noble Friend. I understand the Government have reason to believe that these telegrams relate to the desertion of troops from Berber, and not from Khartoum; and yet in the telegram I alluded to the words are, "leaving Khartoum helpless." I suppose I may understand my noble Friend to believe that the 500 soldiers are soldiers at Berber, and not at Khartoum?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes; that is my decided impression.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Might I ask another Question? Is the French Consul still at Khartoum; and do the Government know what number of English officers or English officials there were at Berber when the evacuation began?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I believe a French Acting Consul is still at Khartoum. With regard to how many officials there were at Berber, I do not think I could give accurate information without Notice.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: Will the noble Lord telegraph to Cairo at once, and ask whether the construction put upon the desertion of these troops by the last *Daily News* telegram is a true version or not?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I am not sure whether the Secretary of State has given instructions; but I shall have no objection to informing him that this Question has been asked by the noble Lord.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I am inclined to hope that the noble Lord's interpretation of the telegram is a correct one. The matter is of vital interest; and I should like to ask the noble Lord whether he would take steps to telegraph immediately to Mr. Egerton to inquire if it is correct or not?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have already stated, in reply to the noble Lord opposite, that I will bring the matter before the Secretary of State at once.

VENEZUELA — COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS.

Mr. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the negotiations with Venezuela have yet resulted in the abandonment of the 30 per cent. differential duty imposed on British Colonial goods, in violation of the Treaty of 1825; if he is aware that the Trinidad newspapers have a rumour that Her Majesty's Government, in place of insisting on the fulfilment of the Treaty obligations, is now trying to buy their fulfilment by handing over to Venezuela the small British Island of Patos, and if he can give a contradiction to the rumour; and, if any redress has been got by the owners or imprisoned crew of the vessel sunk in the Maturin River?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: With regard to the differential duty, Her Majesty's Minister at Caracas has been instructed to submit to the Venezuelan Government certain proposals which, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, offer a reasonable and satisfactory solution of the question, and they have every reason to hope that they will be accepted by the Government of Venezuela. With regard to the third paragraph of my hon. Friend's Question, I have nothing to add to the answer I gave him on the 6th of March. Her Majesty's Government are still awaiting for the Report of the Governor of Trinidad. I have seen the statement in the Trinidad papers to which the hon. Member refers. It is true that Her Majesty's Government informed the Venezuelan Government that, if the questions at issue between the two Governments are satisfactorily settled, their wishes in regard to the cession of the Island of Patos, which is a small and barren rock nearer to the Venezuelan coast than to Trinidad, will be favourably considered.

MR. MAC IVER: In consequence of the statement of the noble Lord, I shall move, at the earliest opportunity, a Resolution congratulating the Foreign Office upon the brilliant success which has attended their negotiations with the Government of Venezuela, and upon the marvellous progress of Free Trade principles throughout the world.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL PROPOSALS—PROPOSED RESTORATION OF THE GOLD COINAGE.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether there had been any Correspondence between his Department or the Treasury and the Governor of the Bank of England on the subject of the proposed changes in the coinage?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): There has been a great deal of personal communication between myself and others, and the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England; but no official Correspondence. I do not think that it is usual to state to Parliament the purport of personal communications.

In reply to Mr. STAVELEY HILL,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that a Treasury Minute would be laid on the Table containing information as to the estimated quantity of light gold in circulation. For this information we are in the main indebted to inquiries by bankers.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 120.]

(*Mr. Dodson.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 22nd April.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Privy Council to prohibit landing of foreign animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease).

MR. DODSON said, he need not detain the Committee with any lengthened statement in moving the Amendment which stood on the Paper in his name—namely, in page 1, line 14, after "Foreign Country," to leave out to "therein," in line 17, inclusive, and insert—

> "Or any specified part thereof, that, having regard to the sanitary condition of the animals therein, or imported therefrom, to the Laws made by such Country for the regulation of the importation and exportation of animals, and for the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and to the administration of such Laws, the circumstances."

As he had stated on Friday, when he gave Notice of the Amendment, the Government, after the decision arrived at on Tuesday last, had considered very carefully by what means they could proceed with the Bill, and they had come to the conclusion to propose this alteration. It would put the clause, not in the form in which they had wished to see it, but in a form which they thought would enable them fairly to administer the Act as between the different interests concerned, and in a form which they hoped would be agreed to by, at all events, many of those who had differed from them on Tuesday. Under this form, if the Committee would agree to it, the Government would consent to accept the responsibility of the clause. He would, therefore, now move the Amendment in the words of which he had given Notice of it, and which appeared to him to be clear and intelligible.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 1, line 14, to leave out the words "that the laws thereof relating to the importation and exportation of animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein," in order to insert the words "or any specified part thereof, that, having regard to the sanitary condition of the animals therein, or imported therefrom, to the Laws made by such Country for the regulation of the importation and exportation of animals, and for the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and to the administration of such Laws, the circumstances."—(*Mr. Dodson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. CHAPLIN said, he was heartily glad to find that the consideration which the right hon. Gentleman had given to this question had enabled him to devise means to proceed with the Bill, although, as the right hon. Gentleman stated, the clause as it would be passed would not be in precisely the form in which the Government desired to see it adopted. The right hon. Gentleman had expressed a hope that his Amendment would meet the wishes of hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House, and hon. Members who sat behind him. He (Mr. Chaplin) could say for himself and many other hon. Gentlemen that, on the whole, the clause amended as proposed would fairly meet the views he and his Friends had all along contended for. What they had been contending for all along was a principle, and that principle consisted in this — that the presumption on the part of Her Majesty's Government in regard to foreign animals should be that they were dangerous—so far as the spreading of foot-and-mouth disease was concerned — unless the Government were satisfied they were safe. That presumption remained in the clause precisely as he had contended for it all along; and he was, therefore, glad to accept the clause as it was now proposed. They had never asked for more than this; and he believed the clause might be taken as generally satisfactory—as calculated to meet the demand which had been so generally made in this matter.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, the great object was to arrive at such a practical result as would not interfere unnecessarily with the food supply of the country—as would not press unduly on the consumer, and yet would give reasonable security to the producer. He did not conceal his opinion that there was an unreasonable call for legislation on the subject. He should have preferred, in the first place, that there had been no Bill at all; and, in the next place, that the original words should have been retained. However, they were all governed by majorities in the House of Commons; and a majority, in this matter, had decided against the view which he entertained. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Dodson), in the very brief remarks he had made, had stated that he thought the Amendment he proposed would enable the Government to administer the Act as between all parties interested, and also that it had been framed so as to meet the views of those who were opposed to him. Well, much depended on the exact reading of that last statement. Amongst those opposed to the Government on this question there had been two views. One was—to put it shortly—that the importation of animals from countries where there was any foot-and-mouth disease whatever should be put a stop to; and that would, practically, amount to stopping the importation from almost every country. He should be very sorry, indeed, to see Her Majesty's Government accept any such view as that. There was, then, the other expression of opinion, that it was possible, with care taken by the Government, to prevent the importation of disease; and, in fact, that if the measures adopted by the Privy Council during the past few months — some of which were very stringent — were generally put in force, immunity from disease would be secured. Hon. Gentlemen on that (the Ministerial) side of the House had taken that view pretty generally; but he was prepared to admit that the Government were hardly to be expected to adopt it without being required to do so by a majority of the Committee. So far as he was concerned, he should be willing to consent to the change now proposed, on the understanding that although the presumption was not, as he thought it ought to be, in favour of admitting, rather than of excluding, the clause should not be taken as implying that there should be immediate prohibition of all the animals coming from the scheduled countries; but the Government should be able to feel that it would be competent for them to exercise their power in much the same way as they had been exercising it of late. He need not remind the Committee that the course of stopping the importation of live animals from France had been adopted some months ago for the protection of the agricultural interest; and he supposed the Government had now found a form of words which would enable them to continue that policy, if necessary. On that ground he did not oppose this Amendment, although he did not conceal the fact that it was not one to which he gave by any means a cordial support.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD wished to make a few observations upon the Amendment. The difference between the Bill as it stood and the Bill as it would stand with the Amendment of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Dodson) seemed to him to be limited to this point—that the Amendment would give somewhat greater facilities for the exercise of power on the part of the Privy Council for the exclusion of live animals from "any specified part" of any foreign country. Although there was somewhat greater emphasis placed on the power of exclusion from a "specified part" of a foreign country, he was bound to admit that there was, substantially, no difference between the Amendment and the Bill as it came from the House of Lords. It must be known to hon. Members in every part of the House that there had not arisen during the present Session a single complaint of the administration of the existing law by the Privy Council, especially in reference to the putting in force of powers they possessed with regard to any particular country. If the Bill passed into law it would not give the Privy Council a single power which they did not already possess. With reference to the prohibition of the importation of live cattle from a foreign country on account of foot-and-mouth disease, such a prohibition had been exercised in the case of France; and in regard to a "specified part" of a foreign country, they had prohibited importation from the 27th of February to some time in March in the present year, on account of the disease from Portland in the United States. He felt the utmost confidence in the administration of the proposed new law by Lord Carlingford and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson); but, whilst he said that, he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) that they needed no further legislation. The Bill was not a temporary one—it was to be permanent. In the Amendment they had travelled a long distance in the direction of giving an invitation to the authorities to prohibit the importation of animals required for the food of the people. The change which had been effected was this. In one week they had travelled from the obligation to prohibit, where a case was proved of the existence of the infection of foot-and-mouth disease, to the obligation to prohibit, unless a case for admission from a particular country was established. That was the journey the Committee had made in a week; and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) recognized the fact that that was the original form of the Bill of 1878—that it was the demand of the Duke of Richmond and the others who urged the Bill through Parliament. It was through the instrumentality of the Liberal Party that that provision was expunged from the Bill of 1878; and it was now sought by those who interpreted the present measure in the sense in which the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire interpreted it, to re-import that principle into legislation governing the Privy Council. It was advocated by those who supported the Bill in its present form that the Privy Council should prohibit whenever such a cock-and-bull story as that told by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire the other day was submitted to them—he referred to the statement of the hon. Gentleman that the foot-and-mouth disease had been discovered to have broken out in Kansas, United States. Hon. Gentlemen desired, in such cases as that, that the Privy Council should prohibit first and inquire afterwards. He was sorry not to see the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) in his place, for, no doubt, he and those Conservative Members who had professed the other day such anxiety for the urban population would have acted with him (Mr. Arthur Arnold) in strengthening the hands of the Government in opposing such prohibition. It was urged by those who supported the Lords' Amendment that slaughter at the port of landing afforded no security; and it was their undisguised object that there should, without the least possible delay, be an end put to that policy. He could not shut his eyes to the fact that the Lord President of the Council (Lord Carlingford) had urged them, by every means in their power, to object to the Amendment which had been introduced into the Bill by the House of Lords. The noble Lord had told them that the Amendment which was introduced in the House of Lords—and which had been accepted by the Government after an expression of the will of the House—would be mischievous to the consumer. These were words which those who had any regard for the interests of the consumer ought not to forget. He sincerely regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had been obliged to accept a policy of which he did not approve; but the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had done that need not coerce Liberal Members into that course. By opposing the proposed Amendment they would be maintaining the interests of the great body of the people of the country.

Mr. WARTON said, he was not going to say a word to embitter this controversy, because the Government had acted very fairly by virtually accepting the judgment of the House. They had slightly altered the words of the Amendment, but had conceded the point which had been contended for all along. As to the construction of the Amendment, he wished to point out to some of his hon. Friends on the other side that it was essential that the present form should be adopted, for the reason that if they had struck out the word "not," and taken the alternative proposition, it would have been open to the construction that the Privy Council were bound to satisfy themselves of every one of three or four things before they acted. Now, however, under the proposed Amendment, they would be protected, and the Privy Council would not have to consider all these things with regard to foot-and-mouth disease. The Government might have had to satisfy themselves as to the position of the law, the condition of the animals, and the local regulations; and he was inclined to think, therefore, as a mere matter of construction, that the Amendment was an improvement. It was better for them to have a stringent law if they were to criticize the laws of foreign countries. They would be able to say to them—"We have a strict law ourselves, and you cannot, therefore, blame us if we insist on strict laws in you. It seemed to him—to descend to a very small point—that when Amendments were inserted the words should be made as much as possible, for the sake of uniformity with the rest of the Bill, to flow in the order in which they had done before. If hon. Members would refer to line 12, and the beginning and end of the Amendment, they would see what he meant.

Mr. BROADHURST said, he thought the Bill had proceeded too far on its own dangerous and disastrous course, or too long without comment or notice from that (the Radical) part of the House. If they wanted to measure the importance of the concession now made by the Government they had only to witness the lamb-like reception it had met with from the opposite side of the House—from those hon. Members who had been loudest in their demands for the taxation of the food of the people. ["Oh, oh!" *and cries of* "No!"] Yes; he should maintain his assertion that this was a direct attempt—and not only an attempt, but, if the Amendment was to go on as it now stood, a successful attempt—to still further lessen the supply of food, which was at present too meagre for the great body of the people of the country. When the Bill was first introduced with its limitation of two years, he, for one, was not prepared to enter into the arena of debate on the question of cattle disease; but the landed interest with their horse-leech policy, which they enforced on this as on all occasions, were not satisfied with the measure as it was introduced; and when they got it in the House of Lords, where no interest but theirs was represented, they laid it out according to their own intentions and desires. The Liberal and Radical Members had committed the unpardonable mistake of ever allowing the measure to get into Committee in this House, because it was always in Committee that the landed interest made its most successful efforts to mould a Bill to suit its original purposes. He had said that this Bill was a direct attempt to tax the food of the people. If it was not, wherein lay the basis of the demand of the landed interest? Was it not their case that they wished to prevent the importation of live stock into the country. ["No!"] Then, if that was not so, why this Bill? But, of course, that was so, and that was the direct and ill-concealed object of the whole scheme now under debate. What was their object in wishing to limit the importation of fat live meat—was it to benefit the farmers? The farmers were making no outcries for the Bill. ["Oh!"] Well, in his own presence last week, in the City of London, a farmer made the declaration, which was reported in the London Press, that in his experience amongst his neighbours and fellow-agriculturists, neither in private gossip nor at their ordinary dinners was there ever heard a word of complaint about the cattle disease. He knew very well that exception was made when itinerant representatives of the landed interest attended the farmers' dinners, and excited them to discontent, and into making demands for the protection of their interests. He did not think the country could be misled in the object aimed at in the Bill. It was very well known that the source of income of the landed proprietors had been considerably shaken during recent years. They well advertized their philanthropic offers—which had been accepted—to reduce their rents. They knew there were rents still owing; and they, therefore, made this insidious attempt to make those rents goods by the taxation of commerce and the sacrifice of labour. This was unmistakable and plain to everyone who had watched the fortunes of the Bill during the past week, and had watched the policy of the landed interest with regard to it. He was glad to see the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) in his place; and he would appeal to him whether the great outcry which they were hearing from the opposite Benches against over-education was not rather caused by want of food than want of brain power on the part of the children? Was it not the fact that in nearly every case where a child had broken down in its attempt to get through its lessons, on investigation these children had been found to have barely sufficient food to keep body and soul together? If hon. Members took a walk through the school board districts and visited these thousands of half-starved children, all doubt as to what was the great question of the hour would disappear. It was, assuredly, how to secure a better supply of food to the poor. Members of the House of Commons, who knew no difficulty as to the supply and sufficiency of food, were, however, now merrily and light-heartedly engaged in passing a measure which meant fasting from flesh meat to thousands and thousands of the families of the country. [" No, no! "] He heard his hon. Friend the Member for Herefordshire (Mr. Duckham) joining in the cries which reached him from the opposite side of the House. He should like to say to that hon. Gentleman, and to other hon. Members who sat for county constituencies on that (the Ministerial) side of the House, who had been led against their better sense into joining in the cry for protection of the landed interest, knowing perfectly well that the farmer himself would reap no advantage whatever; but that whatever found its way into the farmer's pocket through the taxation which was now being levied on meat would, assuredly, rapidly jump from his pocket, with interest, into the pockets of those who sat on the opposite side of the House; he would like to say to them—" Do you think you are going to conciliate the Conservative farmers by voting for measures of this kind?" If they did think so, they would find it would be nothing of the sort. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) was down in Bedfordshire a short time ago; and though the hon. Member for that county (Mr. J. Howard) had been one of the most foremost and constant supporters of the Bill, he was roundly denounced for his betrayal of the farmer's interest. He would tell the hon. Gentleman that it was no use his entering into competition for Protection with the Conservative county Members —he would always be beaten. It would be far better for him, and other county Members on the Government side of the House, to maintain their old principles, and tell the farmers that a present of this kind could do them no good, but might do them a great deal of harm. He (Mr. Broadhurst) had now had the great honour of a seat in the House for three or four years; and during the whole time he had sat there he had never witnessed a clearer and more flagrant case of self-interest against the nation than had been exhibited in connection with this Bill. If he had the opportunity of arranging the Business of the House, he would require the Chaplain to habitually read out a prayer, asking that Members might dismiss from their minds self-interest. They talked of the attempt of the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) the other day to promote and obtain support for a Bill in which he was personally interested. Some hon. Members on the other side of the House regarded the proceedings of that hon. Member with holy horror. Well, he should think the proper thing for every hon. Member opposite, who argued for this great measure of Protection, to do was what the hon. Member for Stockton had done—namely, make an humble apology to the House and to the nation, and ask the Government to withdraw a Bill, which it was so well-known was a vicious and self-interested measure of the landowners of the country. He was glad the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) had at least taken a firm stand on this question; and he sincerely hoped the hon. Member would use every Form the House permitted him to use to prevent this abominable Bill from becoming law, and in that way working ruin, privation, and misery to millions of their fellow-citizens.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN apologized to the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard)—who had risen with himself—for attempting to speak on a question on which the hon. Member was a much greater authority than he was; but, as a matter of fact, he had had considerable difficulty in restraining his patience whilst listening to the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst). He represented as strong a body of the working class as the hon. Member for Stoke; and he was as fully informed of the requirements of that class as was the hon. Member, and yet he supported this Bill. He supported it in the interest of the very class that the hon. Member for Stoke contended were interested in its defeat. He never felt more assured of anything in his life than he did of the fact that the Bill was calculated to serve the consumer. The hon. Member for Stoke had used very harsh words against hon. Gentlemen opposite; and he (Mr. Cowen) did not see that there was any reason for doing that. There was no justification for it; because hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House, who were just as earnest in their Liberal professions as was the hon. Member himself, also supported this Bill. The point at issue was simply this. The farmers contended—and, he thought, contended justly—that the Bill would save them from the importation of the foot-and-mouth disease; and that, when their cattle were safe, they would be able to raise a larger amount of stock, prices would come down, and the people would be benefited. The farmers thought that they would be served, the landed interest would be served, and the country would be benefited. That was the point on which the supporters of this Bill hung all their arguments, and he was satisfied that events were in their favour. He did not wish to put his personal opinion in contrast with that of the hon. Member for Stoke; but he might state that he had been for three years on the Agricultural Commission, and had had an opportunity of testing the evidence on the subject. He was candid enough to say that before he had heard that evidence he did not entertain the opinions he did now. But, having heard that evidence, he could not, as an honest man, resist the conclusion which was forced on his mind—namely, that the case the farmer was contending for was justified by events and by facts. This attempt to get up a cry against the Bill of Protection was all clap-trap. Every-one in this country knew that Protection, so far as any class of the community was concerned, was dead and buried. It could not be re-established. The farmers were not in favour of it; but they did wish—and justly so—to be free from the disease. It was unfair and unjust to cause farmers to be subject to the most stringent examination whilst the law remained unamended. The hon. Member for Stoke complained about restrictions of this kind; but they were only such as he had himself given Notice of when he had intimated that it was his intention to move for, or to take some action for the purpose of getting, restrictions imposed on manufacturers by increasing the number of trade Inspectors. If the House was to watch the interests of working men in factories, was it not fair that the farmers should have their interests watched as well? They had a much stronger interest in this matter than the hon. Member for Stoke had in the question he was proposing to go into. The proposal before the Committee was a reasonable one as a compromise, and he was glad it was accepted on both sides. He was satisfied that when the people thoroughly understood the question they would see there were none more directly interested than themselves. There was no place in the country, he believed, where a larger number of live cattle was imported than Newcastle. There was no place where the Corporation had spent a larger amount in making warehouses, quays, and so forth, on the improvement of the facilities for the trade. He had heard that in consequence of the action taken by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire and others the people of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden—what he might call the clean countries—had taken special care to keep away the foot-and-mouth disease. In consequence of the laws that they knew, or thought, were about to be enacted in this country, they took care that the disease was not introduced amongst them. The Bill was already beginning to have an effect; and he was astonished that any man of ordinary intelligence should suppose that if they stopped the importation of disease they would not increase the number of cattle. But there was another question. This was not merely a question of raising meat—there was the question of milk and cheese as well. Anyone acquainted with working men knew that there was no greater want amongst working men in large towns than milk, and butter, and cheese; but they could not expect farmers to produce these things in sufficient quantities when the fear of disease was so much abroad. He apologized for having taken up the time of the House, but was bound to say that the observations of the hon. Member for Stoke had been entirely uncalled for.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was delighted to hear the remarks of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen), and he could not pass them over without remarking that that hon. Member, at all events, knew what were the wants and requirements of the large masses of the people of the country. He was also delighted to hear the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), because he had dealt with the question in that practical spirit which he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) recognized so fully as guiding his action in the course of his proceedings in that House. At the same time, he must say he was exceedingly astonished to hear the remarks of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst). Those remarks were of the sort which were doing more mischief in the country than any others. The hon. Member was one of those who went down into the country and agitated and tried to set class against class. They had been brought up as English Gentlemen, wishing to defer to the opinions and views of the people of the country; and they had not been in the habit—and he hoped they never would be in the habit—of trying to override or run down any class of the community. But they had to deal especially at the present moment with attacks of the coarsest kind delivered by Gentlemen like the hon. Member for Stoke. He should not consider himself worthy of a place in that House if he did not rise to repudiate the statements of the hon. Member. He cared not what the hon. Member might think fit to say in that House; but he cared much that he should go amongst the ignorant classes of the community, and endeavour to poison their minds with regard to another class who were endeavouring, honestly and faithfully, to discharge their duty in the position which they occupied. He believed the Committee would excuse him when he said that the words used by the hon. Member had been absolutely refuted by a passage in the Financial Statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman called attention in that speech to three classes of the community who had suffered from the recent depression, saying that the labourers and artizans had suffered far less than the landlords or their tenants; and yet the hon. Member for Stoke came down to the House, and said the landlords were anxious to rob that class, for whom, in reality, they had made so many sacrifices. ["No, no!"] Some hon. Members dissented from that; but it was a fact that the labourers' wages had not been reduced, and that they had been paid punctually. He defied the hon. Member to get up and show that the labouring classes in this respect would not bear favourable comparison with any other class in the country. His surprise at the charges made by the hon. Member was the greater, because he had always thought better things of him; he had believed him to be an honest Representative of the working classes of the country. His illusion, however, was dispelled by the statements of that day; and he hoped there were not many persons to be found who would come forward and state that the interests of the labourers and artizans of the country were opposed by a class who had done more than any other to maintain them in their position. And now, turning to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman, he would say that the restrictions now in force in this country would be willingly submitted to, provided disease was kept out from abroad. He should have preferred the Bill as it came down from the House of Lords; but the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) having brought in an Amendment, which recognized the feeling of the majority in the House, he was prepared to accept it. He was surprised at what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold), seeing that the hon. Member knew nothing about the practical part of the question. It mattered not what was the subject of debate, the hon. Member was sure to intervene, and was ready at all times to lay down the law upon it. But he ventured to say that the hon. Member was, in this instance, mistaken with regard to the feelings of his fellow-countrymen; because it was an undoubted fact that the great majority of them believed this measure to be absolutely necessary; and if the hon. Member took the trouble to go into the question he would find the Bill, as amended as was now proposed, to be not only in the interest of the producer in this country, but also in the interest of the consumer.

Mr. PHILIPS said, he believed the farmers in the Midland districts were, generally speaking, very much opposed to all these restrictions that were placed on the cattle trade. Foot-and-mouth disease had existed in the country, more or less, for 200 or 300 years. [*Laughter.*] He might be laughed at for making that statement; but for all that he had good reason to believe it was correct. The question was this—Were they legislating for the benefit of the tenant farmer? He believed they were doing nothing of the kind. If they were legislating for the benefit of any class at all it was for that of the landlords; and he had that opinion of the landlords of England, which enabled him to say that they were not the men to wish to obtain anything from the pockets of their poorer brethren by promoting legislation which would tend to raise the price of meat throughout the country. He believed such a course was not for their interest; and, speaking as a landlord, he, for one, hoped that no such measure as this would be passed.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, he did not see his way to improve on the reply to the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) which had been made by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen), who had disposed of his statements with his usual eloquence, and far more effectively than he (Mr. J. Howard) could have dealt with them. He was always pleased to hear the hon. Member for Stoke when speaking upon practical subjects which he understood; but he was bound to say that the hon. Member had that day entered upon a field of which it was clear that he knew nothing whatever. He was as much opposed to Protection as the hon. Member for Stoke, or any Member in that House; but he drew a very wide distinction between the exclusion of disease and the exclusion of animals that were not diseased. So far from this being, as asserted, a landlords' question, the Bill was the outcome of a legitimate demand on the part of the tenant farmers of the Kingdom for protection to the flocks and herds of the country; and instead of raising the price of meat, as had been asserted, he maintained, with great confidence, that if the Bill became law, and was followed by other legislation dealing with internal regulations, within the next two or three years the price of meat would fall considerably. He, therefore, cheerfully accepted the Amendment of the Government; indeed, he would have been content with the words in the original Bill, provided the Privy Council were made responsible for carrying them into effect. So long as the Privy Council satisfied themselves as to the safety of admission from any country the working of the Act would be approved.

Mr. KENNY said, the speech of the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), which had evidently been delivered for the purpose of re-opening the discussion on the principle of the Bill, had not met with the same response from the House which had been accorded to his former remarks upon the subject. He wished to know whether the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) intended to take a Division on the Amendment, because if he did not it was difficult to see the utility of prolonging the discussion. There was a remarkable feature in the speeches which had been delivered in the opposite quarter of the House—namely, the ignorance of the whole subject displayed by hon. Members, and especially by the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst). There was the astounding statement of the hon. Member for Bury (Mr. Philips) that the foot-and-mouth disease had been known in the country for 200 or 300 years. He thought the disease had been known here about 35 years, which was a very different thing. Why, the basis of the contention of those who supported the Bill was that the foot-and-mouth disease, not having yet been acclimatized in the country, was a disease which might be stamped out. Then there was the contention of the hon. Member for Stoke, that the supporters of the Bill were endeavouring to tax the food of the people. But that had been very properly called a mere outcry; the objects of the Bill being simply to prevent disease. If the hon. Member had understood the question, he believed he would have been amongst the supporters of the Bill, as furnishing the means of putting a stop to diseased importations. Of the total quantity of meat imported into the country, 25 per cent was brought in at the expense of millions of money which was lost to English and Irish farmers, whose stock became infected with foot-and-mouth disease. He trusted the Committee would be allowed speedily to come to a Division on the Amendment of the Government, which, he believed, was cheerfully accepted by all reasonable Members of the House.

MR. WIGGIN said, if he thought the Bill would increase the cost of meat by one farthing he should vote against it; but, as he believed it would have a contrary effect, he felt it his duty to give the measure his support. He resided on the borders of three counties; and he could inform the Committee that in his capacity he had been inundated with applications for orders for the removal of cattle; and he was quite sure that if the hon. Member for Stoke had spent only a short time with him during last winter, he would have altered the opinion he had formed on the merits of the Bill. For his own part, he had no doubt that in the course of a few years, so far from adding to the cost of food, there would be a large increase in the flocks and herds of the country, which would tend to keep down the price of meat. One word with regard to the remark of the hon. Member for Stoke, as to the necessity of providing children with wholesome food. The most wholesome food for children was good milk, and the Bill would undoubtedly tend towards providing a larger supply of it. Not only was much disease in general traceable to bad milk, but, in his opinion, to unwholesome and adulterated milk were due many of the diseases especially prevalent amongst children. In the interest, therefore, of the whole country they were bound, as a Legislative Body, to do all that lay in their power to stamp out a disease which gave rise to so many evils.

MR. RYLANDS said, he wished to separate himself from the opinions expressed by the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst). He was quite sure the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had spoken with perfect sincerity when he stated that he and other Members who supported the Bill were desirous of providing securities against disease, and that the effect of those securities would be to increase the home supply of cattle. He did not dispute that, nor was he inclined to dispute the views, expressed with so much vigour, by his hon. Friend who had just spoken; and he wished to tell him that he and his hon. Friends thought it most important that the foot-and-mouth disease should be got rid of. They believed hon. Members had a common interest in doing that; but they said—and to this he would beg the attention of all hon. Members—that the Privy Council had already sufficient powers to do everything necessary for the protection of stock in the country. ["No!"] Hon. Gentlemen said "No;" but they had not proved that the Privy Council had failed to take the steps that were just and right to prevent the importation of disease from abroad; they said—"We want to give the Privy Council not only more power, but we want to take away from them the discretion of using it." But when such a proposal as that was made, he said that the *onus probandi* rested with those who made it. The Privy Council stated that they did not think the Bill was necessary, and that they had brought down the importation of disease to a minimum, and the Government had simply accepted the Bill because it was forced upon them by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). The Government had sought to modify the Bill, so as to prevent it being forced through Parliament with the Amendments made in the House of Lords; but they were defeated; and he was bound to say that he did not think the Government could have done much more than they had done. If the effect of the Amendment was to compel the Privy Council to put serious restrictions on the import of live stock, he believed that it would create a very large amount of discontent throughout the country, and interfere, to a great extent, with the industrial occupations of the people, while it would also raise the price of food. If that was believed to be the effect of the Bill, he said they were justified in using all the Forms of the House in resisting it. His hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) refused to join in accepting the Amendment; and if he went to a Division he should feel it his duty to vote with him, as a protest against this compromise, which he said would be understood by the country in this way—that the Representatives of the landed interest on both sides of the House had compelled the Government, contrary to their own judgment, to adopt a course about which they were in doubt. He ventured to say that if there had been fewer county magnates and Members representing the landed interest in that House, and a greater number of Representatives of the industrial classes and the industrial interests of the country, the Government would not have been driven into a corner and compelled to accept an Amendment of which they did not approve. He very much regretted that there should have been any legislation on this matter at all. It appeared to him to be quite unnecessary; and he believed that even with the greatest care—if every foreign animal were kept out of the country—foot-and-mouth disease might spring up. Hon. Gentlemen would not deny that 39 years ago, when the importation of live animals was absolutely prohibited from all parts of the world, and when there could be no possibility of infection, this disease arose. One of his hon. Friends (Mr. Philips) had stated that foot-and-mouth disease had been known in the country for generations; and, notwithstanding the cries of "No, no!" from some hon. Gentlemen, he was much inclined to believe in the accuracy of his hon. Friend's statement. At all events, it was certain that there was foot-and-mouth disease when live animals from all parts of the world were prohibited; and therefore he was justified in saying that no amount of prohibition would prevent it now.

Mr. GILES said, he regretted to be at variance with any of his hon. Friends on that side of the House; but having learnt that the Government had offered to compromise the matter in dispute in a way which his hon. Friend approved, he should be only too glad to vote for the Amendment. He would say, in reference to the point raised by Members on the opposite Benches, that, in his opinion, the fears of the agricultural interest were much exaggerated as to the introduction of disease into the country. When it was considered that the country could no longer supply her population with meat, it was a serious thing to increase the restrictions upon imported cattle, and thereby shut out 400,000 or 500,000 animals. It was proved that the largest number of cattle that we could supply was under 2,000,000; and, therefore, by the proposed restrictions, they might prevent 22 per cent of the supply coming into the market. Then with regard to the question of the milk supply. The statements upon that appeared to him also of an exaggerated kind. In dealing with the question of cattle, the stock was placed under three heads—cattle fit for the butcher; cattle under two years old; and milch cows and heifers. It appeared that more than one-third of the cattle in the country were milch cows and heifers; and as only one in 27 of all classes were attacked, it followed that the number of milch cows attacked could only be one in 80, a proportion quite insufficient to justify the exclusion of foreign supplies.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, if his hon. Friend went to a Division he should be obliged to take the course, which he seldom adopted, of not voting upon the question at all. He could not vote for the Amendment, because he did not wish to make himself responsible for the Bill; and he could not vote against it, because it was a decided improvement upon the Bill as it stood at that moment, inasmuch as it would enable the Government to work the Act much better than they could otherwise have done. The time for a protest, as had been pointed out by an hon. Friend, was on the insertion of the clause, and not when an improvement was being made in it.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT said, he represented a constituency (Manchester) numbering many thousands of people. He could state to the Committee that amongst them there was an almost unanimous disapproval of this Bill; and were his hon. Colleague (Mr. Houldsworth), who sat on the opposite side of the House, present, he would appeal to him as to the correctness of that statement. They believed that the increased restrictions asked for were based upon a delusion which strongly possessed the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen), who thought if there were no foreign cattle imported into the country the flocks and herds would be free from disease. Why, it would be just as reasonable, with a similar object, to shut out men and women. It was Lancashire and London that were chiefly interested in this legislation. But he was quite aware that they had little influence in that House; because although their population was large they had a very small representation. The hon. Member for Newcastle had spoken of the feeling of the people there; but he (Mr. Jacob Bright) believed that the people of that town were more fortunate than those in Lancashire in respect of the cattle imported, which in the former case were Scandinavian. He hoped the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) would take a Division on this question by way of protest, in which case he believed he would have a very respectable following.

Mr. PUGH said, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) had taken credit for having practically restricted the importation of diseased cattle last year. It followed that during the last year there was a sufficient restriction with regard to disease. Why, then, were further restrictions asked for? What would be the effect of restrictions other than those which the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had already in his power to exercise? Had the restrictive powers which he possessed resulted in raising the price of meat, or had they not? Because, if the latter were the case, it was difficult to understand how hon. Gentlemen near him could argue against the Bill. If anyone would take the trouble to refer to a file of *The Times*, it would be found that between the last Monday in April, 1883, and the last Monday in April of the present year, the price of meat in the London Market had gone down ½*d.* per pound, and in the country 1*d.* per pound, so that the restriction already imposed upon the importation of cattle had been to lower the price of meat; and he was satisfied that if the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster followed up the principle upon which he had already acted, and took the same care under this Bill, that there would result a still further reduction in the price of meat throughout the country.

Mr. ANDERSON said, he had been pleased with the remarks of the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright), when he drew attention to the fact that he represented a large constituency having but a small representation. He (Mr. Anderson) represented a similar constituency very inadequately able to give expression to its opinions in that House. They disliked this Bill altogether. Although they were willing to accept it as a compromise in the form in which it was originally introduced by the Government, they considered it better to have no Bill at all than the Bill altered in the manner now proposed. They did not approve the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman, because they did not see that it constituted any Amendment at all. It did not appear to him to make any real difference in the meaning of the clause; and he was of opinion that if the Bill were passed in the form proposed, it would, without doubt, raise the price of meat most injuriously to large communities. Now, he thought it very likely that the Amendment before the Committee, so long as it was worked by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Department, would be worked in the way which he designed it to work; but hon. Members must consider that the position of the right hon. Gentleman was not necessarily a permanent one; it was quite possible that a Government composed of Gentlemen from the other side of the House might have the working of the Bill. He observed that the Amendment, which would have had the effect of limiting the operation of the Act to two years, had been withdrawn from the Paper, so that now the Bill, when it passed into law, would be permanent. What would be the effect of that? If its effect should be to raise the price of meat they could not get quit of that grievance until they had passed a new Act for the purpose; and it was well known what the difficulty of passing that new Act would be. He was not quite sure that the wording of the Amendment might not lead to some difficulty, although he knew, or believed that he knew, the meaning which the right hon. Gentleman intended it to have—namely, that he should not be obliged, merely because one part of a country had unsatisfactory regulations with regard to cattle, to exclude importation from the whole of that country. But suppose a Government in power of which the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) was a Member. That hon. Gentleman might read the words in another way, and say that they meant that if any part of a country were infected, and had unsatisfactory regulations, importations from the whole of that country should be stopped. Therefore, he asked his right hon. Friend to study the words of the Amendment, and see if it were not possible to take either the one or the other meaning out of them; because the meaning he had last put upon it would be disastrous to the constituency which he had the honour to represent (Glasgow). To him it appeared that the slight concession made was cloaked in such doubtful language as to be of very little value. If he thought it of real use he would not be disposed to vote against it; but he could not see that, on the whole, the Amendment would do very much good. It would seem that in this matter, as was too often the case, the Government had been too careful to conciliate their enemies, and too little careful to reckon with their friends. Had they done otherwise, he thought they would have been disposed rather to abandon the Bill when the other House refused to accept the compromise offered to them.

Mr. EWART said, hon. Members opposite had spoken of the Bill as only supported by county Members; but he represented a large urban and manufacturing constituency (Belfast), and he gave the Bill his most cordial support, in the interest not only of the farmers, but of manufacturers and others living in towns. The farmers were under the belief—mistaken as some people considered them to be, though he believed their statement—that they were injured by the importation of the cattle disease from abroad. They were prevented by this belief from increasing their herds, and were in every way discouraged; the immediate effect of which was to raise the price of home-grown meat. He had listened with great regret to the speech of the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), who had departed from his usual moderate and conciliatory tone, in order to indulge in language which could have no other effect than of setting class against class—that was to say, the farmers against the traders—and of raising again the question of Protection. He (Mr. Ewart) had not the slightest desire to return to Protection if it were possible to do so. The English farmers were, under the existing system, being fairly driven out of the trade; and the great hope of the country was in the production of wheat, butter, and cheese abroad. The importation of butter alone was represented by £12,000,000 annually; and anything which interfered with the production of butter in this country would be very detrimental to the people at large. The dead meat trade gave them the greatest hope for the future; they might get live cattle from the North of Europe and America; but they could not get them from Australia and the River Plate, from which countries an unlimited supply could be obtained.

Mr. BRYCE said, he rose to protest against the proposed Amendment. He did not accuse hon. Members opposite, or Gentlemen on that side of the House, of any sinister motives in supporting it; but he submitted that they had not shown that the chief evil which was apprehended would be cured by the Bill; far more, in his opinion, would be effected in that direction by internal restrictions than by cutting off foreign supplies. London had only 22 Members in that House to represent a population of 4,000,000; and he doubted whether, if the Metropolis were properly represented, the Bill would be permitted to pass. The House was simply imposing a very serious burden upon the poorest class of the population; because there could really be no doubt that the effect of the Bill would be to raise the price of meat. The House, in order to meet the unreasonable fears of a Party within those walls, were going to incur a certain evil for a mere possibility of good—an evil which would be inflicted on that poorest class of the community whose welfare should be an object of especial care on the floor of the House.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he would ask hon. Members on that side of the House, who had expressed their intention to vote against the Amendment of his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to consider what would be the effect of its rejection. It would be to maintain the more restrictive words introduced into the Bill in the House of Lords. [MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: With a view to future amendment?] Yes; but what prospect was there of carrying any Amendments that gave larger discretion to the Privy Council than would be given by the words before the Committee? He agreed with his right hon. Friend in thinking that there was no real necessity for the Bill; but that was not the opinion of the House. And it was by that opinion they must be governed. He did not wish to enter into any argument on the question; but he would point out that the Amendment placed on the Paper by his right hon. Friend had been accepted by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and that it was an Amendment which enlarged the discretion of the Privy Council, as compared with the Bill which came down from the House of Lords. He regretted that the Bill should be passed even with that Amendment; but his regret was very much modified, because he believed that the Amendment left to the common sense of the Privy Council a large measure of discretion, while he hoped that the effect of the Bill would not prove as injurious as some of his hon. Friends had foreshadowed. But if the Act should produce the effect which so many attributed to it, he said it was impossible for any Government, whether Liberal or Conservative, to maintain it in operation. He believed his hon. Friend the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) represented the views which a large proportion of the working classes entertained with regard to the Bill. For his own part, he would support the Amendment, and should vote for it; and he hoped that his hon. Friends on that side of the House would think twice before they voted against it; because he believed that under it they would be able to effect the maximum amount of restriction in the interest of the farmer, and the minimum amount of restriction against the consumer.

MR. BIGGAR said, the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) had said that these restrictions were not required; but he would ask him how he could reconcile that opinion with the conduct of the local authorities in Scotland, who, during several months of last winter, had entirely prohibited the importation into Scotland of Irish cattle? It appeared to him that if those gentlemen held the views which had been expressed by the hon. Member for Glasgow, the importation of Irish cattle would not have been prohibited. Seeing that such restrictions had been agreed to by the local representatives in many parts of the Kingdom, he did not think that any valid argument had been offered against the Bill.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question put, "That those words be there inserted."

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 357; Noes 48: Majority 309.—(Div. List, No. 77.)

MR. DODSON moved, in page 1, line 18, to leave out "afflicted," and insert "affected."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I rise to a point of Order. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether you are aware that after the first Division was called, and many Members had left the House, the doors were thrown open between the time the bell rang and the second Division; and those Members who, like myself, were in the Lobby and went to the doors to find what the second Division was about, found that the doors had been locked, notwithstanding the fact that no bell had been rung? They were, therefore, unaware that a Division was about to take place; and I want to know, under the circumstances, whether the Division was regular?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: I was one of those hon. Members who were thus misled. I was prepared to vote when the House was cleared the first time; but seeing that no Division was to take place I left the House, and I have not the slightest idea upon what point the second Division was taken. The bell was never rung at all, and I wish to know if there is any way in which I can record my vote?

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no doubt that there was some little confusion, and that the doors were not opened as soon as they ought to have been. I think the doors were thrown open as soon as the Clerk could get a messenger to go there; and I do not think that any hon. Member was prevented, in consequence of what occurred, from recording his vote.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that no bell was rung?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: With all respect to you, Sir, the point you have mentioned is not the one to which I desire to call your attention. The bell did ring for the first Division; but when the Division was called, no Division took place. The door was then open, and some Members left the House. They were not aware that a second Division was taking place, because the bell never rang.

THE CHAIRMAN: No doubt it is customary for the bell to ring whenever there is about to be a Division, and I gave general directions accordingly. I very much regret that those directions were not carried out; but they were certainly given.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the next Amendment upon the Paper stood in his name, and the object of it was to strike out the clause. After the decided opinion which the Committee had expressed in the last Division, he did not propose to take another Division; but he would be quite ready to support by his vote the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), or any other hon. Member who desired to divide upon the clause. He begged, therefore, to move the rejection of the clause.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 343; Noes 50: Majority 293.—(Div. List, No. 78.)

Clause 2 (Extension of provisions relating to quarantine).

MR. KENNY moved, in page 1, line 22, after the word "from," to insert "foreign." The object of the Amendment was to provide that the prohibition should apply to foreign countries only. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had already expressed his willingness to accept this Amendment. As the clause stood, and if this word were not inserted, it might give rise to misinterpretation, and the prohibition might be applied to Ireland. The clause itself referred to the Act of 1878, which related to animals generally; and if this word were not inserted there was a possibility that the clause would be applied to Ireland. It was to prevent this result that he proposed the insertion of the word "foreign;" and it was not necessary that he should detain the Committee any further in explaining the purport of the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 22, after the word "from," to insert the word "foreign."—(*Mr. Kenny.*)

MR. DODSON said, he was quite willing to agree to the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to*.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. JAMES HOWARD moved the rejection of the clause. For the information of the Committee, he might state that under Schedule 5, Part 2, provision was made for the admission of animals from the scheduled countries for exhibition and other exceptional circumstances. The Schedule provided that these foreign animals should be landed at a particular part of the several wharves, and kept at what were called quarantine stations. The Privy Council had power to issue Orders in Council prohibiting the exportation of animals suffering from other diseases than rinderpest. The Privy Council had already exercised this power in respect of foot-and-mouth disease in eight countries in Europe. The object of the clause was to allow the importation, from prohibited countries, of animals for exhibition and other exceptional circumstances; but, considering the difficulty of extirpating foot-and-mouth disease when it once gained a footing in the country, it appeared to him that the proposal contained in the clause was highly dangerous. The only reason for the introduction of the question in "another place" was that there had been some difficulty under the Act of 1878 in allowing of importation in peculiar cases. That argument was used in reference to the importation of certain performing bulls; he believed this clause to be totally unnecessary and highly dangerous. As far back as 1840 the late Professor Youatt traced the introduction of foot-and-mouth disease to the importation, in 1839, of certain animals of the bovine species for the Zoological Society. He, therefore, begged to move its omission.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the Clause.—(*Mr. James Howard.*)

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

Mr. DODSON said, he hoped the hon. Member would not press the Motion. He thought he should be able to satisfy the Committee that the hon. Member was mistaken in regard to the object of the clause. He had explained it on the second reading of the Bill. It gave the Privy Council the same power of admission for exceptional purposes from prohibited countries as they possessed in regard to countries scheduled for slaughter. If it was struck out of the Bill, there would be no dispensing power in favour of the pet regimental goat, and the learned pig, the performing bull, and other animals which contributed to popular entertainments, would be excluded. He appealed to all Members who were friends of education to allow the clause to stand. It would certainly do no hurt to admit a learned pig from a country in which there was no cattle plague, while at present England might be deprived of the display of its abilities and the opportunity of deriving instruction from it. Of course, no animals would be allowed to be admitted except under conditions which precluded the danger of infection.

Mr. CHAPLIN confessed that he had come down to the House prepared to oppose this clause; but, after hearing the explanation which had been given by the right hon. Gentleman, he would only say that it did not appear to him to be unreasonable, and, under the circumstances, he would not oppose it.

Sir JOSEPH BAILEY said, he should support the proposal of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard). These animals were constantly travelling all over every foreign country, exhibiting almost daily in different localities; and nothing could be more dangerous than to allow animals coming from a country in which infection existed to carry disease to localities hitherto free from it. It would be far safer to omit the clause; and it must be remembered that these animals were connected with exhibitions all over Europe.

Mr. DODSON said, he would remind the hon. Member that they were subject to quarantine.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD wished to know whether the clause was intended to apply to cattle plague countries? Would the right hon. Gentleman explain what the countries were to which it was applied?

Mr. DODSON said, it would apply to the prohibited countries; but was subject to stringent rules. The cattle plague countries were not the only prohibited countries at the present moment. France, for instance, was prohibited, not on account of cattle plague, but on account of foot-and-mouth disease.

Mr. MAC IVER said, it appeared to him that the clause, even on the statement of the Chancellor of the Duchy, was totally unnecessary; and he thought it would be highly imprudent, and even mischievous, to allow this importation of animals from prohibited countries. He thought the Amendment they had passed, and which had been added to Clause 1, was quite enough to cover anything objectionable proposed to be dealt with under Clause 2. He did not wish to give a silent vote, because the county in which his constituency was placed, more than any other in England, knew the terrible nature of the cattle plague, seeing that that county (Cheshire) had lost a considerable portion of its cattle from that disease. It was, to this very day, contributing towards a cattle plague rate; and it had substantial reasons for dreading any further importation of disease. Believing the clause to be wholly unnecessary, and even mischievous, he would cordially support the Amendment.

Question, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill" put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Amendment of Part Four of Schedule V. of the principal Act).

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY moved, in page 1, line 29, after the word "to," to insert the words "the route by which the animals are conveyed to this Country or to." The hon. Gentleman said, that a large part of his constituency had a great desire to import store cattle from the United States of America, and they did not think that, if proper regulations were observed, there was any risk of importing any contagious disease. The object of the Amendment was to give the Privy Council complete power to direct the route by which store cattle could be imported into the country. He intended to propose later on that, in addition to the powers conferred on the Privy Council by the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act of 1878, they should be able to make such Orders as they thought fit for probibiting the conveyance of animals by any vessel to or from any part of the United Kingdon for such time as they might consider expedient.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 29, after the word "to," to insert the words "the route by which the animals are conveyed to this Country or to."—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. DODSON had no objection to insert these words, though he thought they were covered by other words.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. JAMES HOWARD proposed to omit the words "or otherwise," in page 1, line 29; first, because he did not understand their effect; and, secondly, because they were not sufficiently precise for an Act of Parliament. He hoped to hear what their intention was.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 29, to leave out the words "or otherwise."—(*Mr. James Howard.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out and stand part of the Clause."

Mr. DODSON said, these words were calculated to be very needful; because under this provision not only the route by which the animals came might be required, but other particulars, such as a certificate of origin, the conditions and regulations on railways, &c.; and these words were intended to give the Department power to make any requirements of that kind which might appear to be necessary. These were words with which he should be very sorry to part.

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman was, no doubt, that which was in his own mind; but he thought that, if they looked to the fourth part of the 5th Schedule of the original Act, they would find that these words enabled the Privy Council to admit animals under any conditions whatever, because in the 4th section there was this provision—

"Shall allow animals, or any specified animals, to be landed without being subject under the provisions of this Schedule to slaughter or quarantine."

Therefore, to leave the words as was now proposed would be to make it competent to the Privy Council to admit animals for store purposes without any precautions or restrictions whatever. It was easy to see, that being so, that animals intended for store might bring in foot-and-mouth disease, just as well as animals brought in for meat.

Mr. PUGH said, he did not think the Committee would accept the view of the noble Viscount that where animals were admitted under this section the Privy Council would be able to make no regulations except with reference to quarantine.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, that as it appeared that the retention of these words would impose greater power on the Privy Council, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. DUCKHAM proposed the omission of the 3rd clause. The Committee had heard from the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) that it was desirable to have in that county for pasture cattle from the United States. They knew that in the United States there was a considerable amount of pleuro-pneumonia, and that Texan fever prevailed in Texas. According to the Buff Book, only last year, during August, September, October, and November, 28 cargoes, consisting of 17,000 cattle, were sent to Liverpool; but 276 animals were thrown overboard on the voyage, 19 were landed dead, and 2,364 were found to be suffering from Texan fever on their arrival in port. If Texan cattle were to be admitted without quarantine, it would seriously prejudice, not only the interests of stockowners, but also of consumers. The cattle plague prevailed in 1865-6, again in 1872, and again in 1877; and, in 1878, the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act was passed, with the object of keeping cattle plague out, of stamping out pleuro-pneumonia, and, as far as possible, guarding their flocks and herds from foot-and-mouth disease. Now, what was the nature of Texan fever? It was as fatal as the cattle plague, but it took considerably more time to develop; and animals might arrive here for store purposes in a state of incubation; no inspection was of value until the disease had developed itself. Besides, Texan cattle, themselves apparently healthy, were capable of conveying to other animals the germs of the disease. So treacherous a disease as that could not be too strictly guarded against and prevented from entering this country. During the last four years great efforts had been made to free the nation from pleuro-pneumonia, and now Ireland, Scotland, and England were very nearly free from it. But if animals affected by that disease were brought into this country for store purposes, they could never preserve their stocks from it. The time of incubation varied from two weeks to four months, and no examination could tell whether the disease was latent within the animal or not before it developed itself; and it was known that for 12 months after an animal had recovered from the disease, which was of rare occurrence, it was capable of conveying it to healthy animals. With this state of things before them, the Committee ought to hesitate very much before passing a measure that was calculated to create so much disaster to agriculture. It had been said that the agriculturists of the country wanted this measure for their protection; but as to protection, that was not so at all. He believed that, if they were polled, a large majority would vote against any measure of protection; they well knew that no measure calculated to enhance the price of food for the people would ever be allowed to pass. He maintained that by preserving the health of their flocks and herds they would reduce, and not increase, the price of food. Last year, owing to the severe losses in this country caused by foot-and-mouth disease, the price of meat rose far above the average of the past few years; and not only so, but £6,500,000 were sent abroad to obtain more meat than had been imported the previous year; and this, although there were more cattle and sheep and pigs in Great Britain and Ireland last year than there were in the preceding year, and a superabundance of food for the stock. With such startling facts as those before them, the Committee ought to see the necessity for guarding, in the strongest possible manner, against the introduction and spread of diseases. Anyone who would look through the statistics for the last 20 years would see that when the country was free from disease meat was reduced in price, and that the reverse was the case when disease prevailed. On these facts he moved the rejection of the clause.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the Clause.—(*Mr. Duckham.*)

MR. DODSON said, he thought the hon. Gentleman could not have fully comprehended the effect of this clause. When he had, he hoped the Amendment would be withdrawn. The clause provided that if part of a foreign country was free from disease, and complied with the conditions of the fourth part of the 5th Schedule of the Act of 1878, then we might, subject to quarantine and any further regulations we thought requisite, receive cattle from that part for store purposes.

MR. BIGGAR said, he was not satisfied with the right hon. Gentleman's statement. It was quite possible for one State in the American Union to be perfectly free from disease, and yet for there to be no certainty that cattle shipped from that State would not come through an affected State. It was not certain that the cattle would have an all-through transit, passing only through States that were free from disease. The clause, as it stood, was, he thought, calculated to increase the facilities for bringing in cattle from diseased States; and seeing that very stringent measures were to be taken against bringing in animals, even though they were to be slaughtered at the port of debarkation, there should be no lessening of the restrictions as to store cattle, which might scatter disease all over the country.

MR. CHAPLIN said, that after the concession made by the Government several Gentlemen on the Opposition side were anxious to meet them as far as possible; but he wished to ask for some explanation from the right hon.

Gentleman. He apprehended that this clause was not intended to apply chiefly to the United States. Undoubtedly, there were some parts of the United States that were perfectly free from disease, although other parts were not. He wished to know whether the Government had any information as to whether cattle disease had or had not been in existence all along the Atlantic sea-board for some time, as he believed it had been? Suppose there were some States—say the Western States—where the Government were satisfied there was no disease, and whence, therefore, it might be desirable to import cattle, how were they to be brought into this country? What route would the Government consider satisfactory? And suppose they were brought from those States, and it was desired to export them at the Eastern ports, would the Government consider it right that that should be done?

Mr. DODSON explained that under the 4th Schedule the Privy Council must be satisfied that the laws relating to the importation and exportation of cattle, the laws for the prevention of the introduction and spread of disease, and the general sanitary condition of the animals in a country, were such as to afford reasonable security against the importation of diseased animals. The danger in regard to the United States was this—there was pleuro-pneumonia in the States along the sea-board, there was none in the Western States; but up to the present time there had been no law in the Western States to prevent the free entry of animals from the Eastern States. If, however, the Western States passed such laws as would prevent the introduction of animals from the Eastern States, then there would be little danger to the Western States, and less risk as to importation from them.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he quite understood that the clause gave the Government discretion to a certain extent; but there was to be discretion as to admitting animals into this country from a specified port of America which might be perfectly free from disease, but with regard to which the animals, in order to arrive in this country, must go to another port which was not free, especially a port on the Atlantic sea-board, where he understood the right hon. Gentleman to admit there was pleuro-pneumonia at the present time.

Mr. DODSON replied, that in that case the animals would come to this country not from a sound but from an unsound State.

Mr. DUCKHAM asked what guarantee there would be that animals would not be allowed to come from an unsafe State; and also, whether this restriction was to apply to Germany, where rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia existed to a large extent?

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, the powers which the Privy Council would have under the 5th Schedule were only to be exercised with respect to a whole country; but the object of this clause was this—that in the case of, say, Schleswig-Holstein, if the cattle were in a healthy condition, and those of other parts of Germany diseased, the Privy Council could exercise these powers in favour of Schleswig-Holstein; whereas Clause 3 would exclude the whole of Germany. That he understood was the object of the clause.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he still thought the clause ought not to be agreed to. Suppose the State of New York was free, but an intervening State was not, how could the authorities here tell what route the cattle would take—whether they would come direct from a free State or through a State that was not free? In his view, no change should be made in the restrictions already existing; but this clause, instead of increasing the safety of cattle in this country, would increase, in a marked degree, the risk of our cattle being infected through foreign cattle.

Mr. KENNY said, he thought a Division might be taken, even if there was no chance of the clause being struck out, because of the great risk there was as to the practical workability of this clause. It was an extraordinary statement that had been made, that out of 17,000 cattle imported into Liverpool, 2,364 were suffering from Texan fever. What guarantee should they have that animals sent to Liverpool in future might not be suffering from this disease, although it might not have made itself apparent? He thought there should be some provision imposing quarantine for seven days, in order to secure this country from the risk of being infected by Texan fever.

Mr. DODSON repeated that this clause was required.

Mr. BULWER wished for some information as to the probable effects of this clause. He understood that without this clause, supposing, for instance, there was disease in one of the Departments of France, as the law now stood the Privy Council would be bound to prohibit the importation of cattle from the whole of France. If there was disease in the Department of the Seine or the Loire, this clause, as he understood it, would enable the Privy Council to admit cattle from other French Departments which were free from disease. He did not know whether his idea was correct; but the answer of the right hon. Gentleman would very much influence his Vote.

Mr. DODSON replied, that the Schedule of the Act of 1878, upon which this clause was founded, required the Privy Council to admit freely from countries when satisfied of the fulfilment of certain specified conditions which were clearly enumerated in the Schedule. This clause enabled them to admit from a specified part of a country, if that part complied with the conditions of the Schedule, but subject to quarantine and any other regulations judged requisite for safety.

Mr. R. H. PAGET failed to see that the clause would provide what the right hon. Gentleman stated, and he was afraid the right hon. Gentleman had fallen into an error. The Schedule referred to admitted animals without quarantine, and this clause would do the same. He contended that there was no quarantine in the clause.

Mr. DODSON said, that was not what the Government understood or intended. The 4th Schedule compelled the Privy Council to admit freely, without quarantine; but this clause provided for the requirements of quarantine.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, that if the right hon. Gentleman would undertake that if this clause, as drawn, did not give effect entirely to the principle he had enunciated, he would amend it on Report, he should be satisfied.

Mr. DODSON replied, that if the clause did not give effect to what he had stated to be the intention of the Privy Council, he would amend it so that it should do so.

Mr. BIGGAR said, this was a very important question, which he thought ought not to be settled off-hand. One of the great evils of Business in that House was haste and hurry to pass new clauses without proper consideration. What had occurred with regard to this clause? It was perfectly obvious that the Government could impose quarantine if they chose, and the right hon. Gentleman had said that he intended to use that power in a particular way; but the right hon. Gentleman's Successor might not know what his opinions and intentions had been, and some right hon. Gentleman who knew nothing about this matter might have the administration of a very mischievous Act. Another important consideration was as to the part of the country. According to the Bill as it stood a single parish, if it complied with the Act of 1878, might be able to sell cattle to the public, although every one of the surrounding parishes might be ravaged by foot-and-mouth disease or Texan fever.

Mr. KENNY wished again to call attention to this clause, because in its present shape he believed it would be entirely inoperative. The Chancellor of the Duchy had stated what his interpretation of the clause was; but that interpretation only stood good for the right hon. Gentleman, and for nobody else. The clause would be liable to a variety of interpretations; and, that being so, the danger remained of disease being brought into this country by dishonest people, who might endeavour to evade the specified ports in England, and smuggle diseased animals into other ports. The Privy Council were empowered to exact certain conditions, and to make certain Orders, but they might refuse to do so.

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *this day.*

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON asked when this Bill would be put down again?

Mr. DODSON replied, that he would put the Bill down for Thursday next, with a view not to proceeding with it on that day, but to fixing a day when it should be taken.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

MOTIONS.

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EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS.

RESOLUTION.

Mr. BRODRICK, in rising to call attention to the position of Elementary School Teachers appointed in 1846-51, and the great disadvantage to the cause of education resulting therefrom, and to move—

> "That the position of School Teachers in public Elementary Schools, appointed 1846-51, in respect of pensions, is detrimental to the best interests of education, and requires the further consideration of Her Majesty's Government,"

said, that the Motion which he had to make that evening related to a subject which was not unfamiliar to the House. On a previous occasion the Vice President of the Council had promised that he would take the subject into consideration; but, despite any consideration that might have been given to it up to that time, no action had been taken upon the subject. The interest which was felt on that subject was enormous, and he had received a very large amount of correspondence about it—more, indeed, than he had been able even to acknowledge. To those unconnected with the Teaching Profession it might not be an interesting subject; but it was one which had to be dealt with upon its prosaic details. A certain number of school teachers had been appointed in 1846, when the state of public education had been a matter of very serious consideration to Parliament, and when there had been a considerable difficulty in obtaining adequate teachers. Parliament had then put the matter on a definite footing; and it had been resolved that it was expedient to make provision by retiring pensions for those teachers who were disabled by age or illness. This had been followed by another Resolution, by which authority was taken to grant the required pension, but under certain qualifications to be possessed by the teacher. He thought that if they took the case of any other service where a retiring pension might be granted on certain terms, it was understood that when the man had fulfilled those provisions the pension would be given accordingly; but this was not the view taken by the Committee of Council, before whom the matter arose again in 1851. The Committee of Council appeared to have been frightened at what it had done; and it had been resolved that, the object having been to secure competent teachers, and that object having been obtained, the sum of £6,500 should be voted annually as a retiring pension, although the number induced to join had already reached 700 or 800 persons. It must be obvious to the House that during these five years, from 1846 to 1851, a number of teachers had taken office in the belief that no such limitation existed. Ten years later the matter had again come under the consideration of the Council. At that time Mr. Lowe was Vice President of the Council, and seemed to have been seized with the same violent desire for economy by which he had afterwards so distinguished himself, as he had deliberately declared that the pensions were no longer to be granted under any circumstances. After all the promises made, these very limited pensions were taken away, and no pensions given at all. It would hardly be possible to imagine a grosser breach of public faith, and it even seemed as if the moment chosen was specially selected to emphasize this view, for until 1861 no teacher appointed in 1846 would have completed the service necessary for a pension; so that the pensions were taken away by Mr. Lowe at the very moment when the State might be called on to pay them. Of course, the Council might shelter themselves under the words which made it permissive and not compulsory on them to grant pensions. The Vice President of the Council might say he was making an appeal *ad misericordiam;* but, even if the teachers had been under a mistake, they still had grievances of which to complain. Coming to the Committee of 1872, he would not admit that the Report of that Committee was in any way conclusive. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) would admit the accuracy of what he was saying. The Committee had met late in 1872; they had held a few meetings and examined a few persons. At the end of the Session they had issued a short draft Report, and asked leave to be reappointed in the subsequent Session. That reappointment had never been made, and that draft Report was the one upon which reliance had been placed by those who opposed these claims. The Committee had not taken a tithe of the evidence which could enable it to judge on the matter. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had confessed that the Committee ought to have been reappointed for the consideration of these affairs. Many Members of the House had spoken on the subject under great misconceptions, owing to the incomplete nature of the Report; for before 1872 there was no organization of the teachers to secure a proper statement of their views, and no evidence was given before the Committee of the views held by statesmen at the time of the Minute of 1846 as to the interpretation which they put on the undertaking given by the Government. He would, with the permission of the House, read one or two extracts, to show the view taken of this obligation by statesmen of that day. The Marquess of Lansdowne said—

> "I do think that any extension of the system of education in this country will be imperfect, which does not, to a considerable extent, ameliorate the condition of this class, and excite the hopes of reward. It is therefore proposed that a provision, small, undoubtedly, at first, but still which will be considered a very great object as a provision, however small, for old age, shall be made for well-conducted schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, who shall be reported as having for 15 years conducted unexceptionally schools of a certain size. . . . . This, no doubt, will prove a very useful stimulus."

Lord John Russell, who was then Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, on April 19, 1847, said—

> "I ask the House with confidence, whether it be not most important that the schoolmasters, to whom we intrust a task which it is so necessary they should discharge efficiently, should be able to look forward to some reward and emolument, not perhaps commensurate — for nothing can be commensurate in such cases—but more so than their reward is now, to the great and responsible duties they have to perform, and the importance of the situation they hold in life? With a view to these considerations, there is a proposition—on account of which no money will be required in the present year, but on account of which, in future years, if the grant should be continued, some may be called for — to provide retiring pensions for schoolmasters who may work themselves out in the service, and who, after performing the important duties I have referred to, might find themselves at an advanced age with no provision for the future, and with scarcely bread to eat."—(*Ibid.*, [91] 959.)

Mr. T. Duncombe, in moving an Amendment to the Motion of Lord John Russell, said—

> "He begged the House for a moment to pause and consider the amount of patronage that had already been created. . . . . Then look at the pensions and gratuities that would be at the disposal of Government and the Privy Council among the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses under the scheme. He wanted to know what necessity there was for schoolmasters, at the end of 15 years' service, having any pensions at all? There were many poor curates who had worked from 20 to 30 years, who had no pensions; and yet a schoolmaster, who should enter as a teacher at an age of 20 or 25, was not only to get gratuities during his service, but a retiring allowance at the end of 15 years. . . . . What he wanted was that this unconstitutional body (Committee of Council on Education) should not have the power of granting gratuities and pensions to the extent of some £2,000,000 of the public taxes."—(*Ibid.*, 995-6.)

Therefore, Mr. Duncombe had argued against the imposing of millions on the public taxes for teachers; whereas the actual sum to which the generosity of the Government had extended was £6,500 annually for a limited period. He thought it must be apparent to the House that, since the Committee of 1872 had not received evidence on this subject, the House had not been in a position to give a decision upon it. That was not all. He had evidence from these teachers to show that the Committee of Council in 1847 issued a broad-sheet to be hung up in the schools containing a statement that the Committee would grant pensions to schoolmasters if they would fulfil certain conditions. He had made a great effort to get hold of one of these sheets. The distance of time, however, was so great, that he had not been able to do so, but the Committee would take it that the fact was beyond a doubt. He desired, however, to pass to the reasons why this matter, having been reconsidered in 1875, should now be reconsidered again. In 1875 the noble Viscount (Viscount Sandon) said that after the debates of 1846 it was felt that the teachers had a moral claim which it would be unwise for any Government to disregard; and Lord Advocate Gordon declared, as to its legal aspect, that he should be sorry to be obliged to argue against it. If the teachers had a moral claim, that claim could not be discharged by granting a small portion of it only. A small sum—£6,500—was put aside for that purpose, and no doubt when the grant was made it was thought that it would meet the demands of the case—the teachers then had not been so long in the service, and consequently retirements were not so numerous. How were their claims met now by the sum voted in 1875? He was sure that the right hon. Gentleman had no more unpleasant task to fulfil than to select two or three cases in every 100 deserving applicants for pensions. On the last occasion there were 70 applicants, and out of these the right hon. Gentleman was only able to grant two pensions of £30 to men who were taught at the beginning of their career to expect that they would receive two-thirds of their salary. The very fact that Lord Sandon, in granting £6,500, also relaxed the conditions under which the pensions were granted, showed that he could not have contemplated such a condition of things. He had evidently hoped to pension all those affected, or he would have increased rather than relaxed the stringency of the rules. It was necessary also clearly to state that these men had had no opportunity of saving, for there was too much belief in these days that persons appointed early in life at very small salaries, on getting the advantage of the grant of 1870 or 1872, would be able to save something. It was very desirable that provision should be made by persons saving something from their incomes rather than by looking forward to pensions; but that was no reason why the Council should not carry out the promises they had made, and meet their legal claims. How did the case stand? These teachers, on first appointment, 35 years ago, were receiving from £40 to £60 a-year, the wage of an agricultural labourer; and how was it possible for any man to keep up the position of a schoolmaster, especially if he was married and had a family, and to save anything? That brought them to the gigantic evils they had now to face. His Motion was in the interests of education at large. People who had joined an honourable profession, after 40 years, had to choose between the charity of friends and the workhouse. If they had saved nothing, the workhouse was their only resource; and if, by great self-denial, they had been able to put by a small sum, they were absolutely in a worse position than those who had not been so provident, for their chance of obtaining a pension was diminished by that fact. The right hon. Gentleman would admit that any pension in his power went to the most needy, and not to the most deserving. Almost all these men when they were married had large families, like the clergy; no doubt for the same reasons, as they married early, and brought up their families as best they could. None of those who communicated with him had less than five, and some of them as many as 15 children. Many of them in their old age were afflicted with bodily infirmities—loss of sight, of hearing, and so forth — and they were perfectly ashamed to continue in their situations; but, as he had said, they had nothing to choose except to remain or to go to the workhouse. His request was not an indefinite or vague one; it was this. From the years 1862 to 1875 the grant, small in itself, but admitted by the Committee of 1851, and again in 1875, was withheld; if that grant had been given through that period, they would not have reached their present position, and he asked the right hon. Gentleman to restore the grant for that period of 13 years. These men had been 40 years in the service; and although he knew that when a man obtained a pension he always lived a long time, still, if the right hon. Gentleman could see his way to make the allowance, it would have a very considerable effect—at all events, it would mitigate the hardship for the present, and if a sum of £13,000 in all were given annually for 13 years, seeing the age of those concerned, there would be no difficulty afterwards in returning to the present grant. He did not by any means desire to increase the present charges of taxpayers any more than of the local ratepayers; he felt as bitterly as anyone the enormous amount of rates which the school boards and education in general demanded; but he would be prepared to get up in any assembly in the country, even of ratepayers, and if the case was fairly stated to them, he believed they would feel that this was a bitter grievance, and a violation of public faith, and in that sense he submitted his Motion to the House.

Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND seconded the Motion, which, he said, would not require many words from him after what had fallen from the hon. Member. The request of the teachers was very definite and precise. They did not ask for a general scheme of pensions; their request was limited to persons whose claim had already accrued, or must very shortly accrue. They asked that pensions should be granted to persons who were appointed teachers between 1846 and 1851. The total number of such teachers could be easily ascertained, and it was diminishing every year. He believed that the total number originally was 1,362, of whom 893 were males and 469 females, but that they afterwards decreased to 378, of whom 268 were males and 110 females. During the last 12 years these numbers must have fallen off still further; but he had been unable to ascertain the numbers. No doubt, the Education Department could easily give them; but he found that in 1872 only two pensioners had died out of 48, and nine other pensions had lapsed. If the right hon. Gentleman urged that what had been done was the work of Parliament, he replied by saying that the Minutes of 1846 and 1851 had just as much Parliamentary sanction and force as the Revised Code of 1861 itself. It might be said that those school teachers were not public servants in the ordinary sense; but he maintained that they were practically, to all intents and purposes, servants of the State, because, although they were employed by the managers, they were placed by the State under regulations so minute and precise that their position hardly differed, except technically, from that of servants of the State. Those who had studied the terms of the Minute and the evidence of Mr. Lingen, who drew up the Circular letter which explained and enforced the Minute, would see that the Privy Council, when it issued the Minutes of 1846 and 1851, was inspired in the first place, and mainly, by a desire for the good of the schools, and that the second consideration was the claim of the teachers on the public. The Minute of August 6, 1851, spoke of the removal of the teachers being effected in a manner consistent "with their claims on the public." So in each case their claims on the public were recognized. It might be alleged that the whole sum of £6,500, which was contemplated in the Circular of 1851, was not granted in any one year up to 1861. But, on the other hand, it should be recollected that the original offer made in the Minute of 1846 was one which contemplated pensions being given to those deserving teachers who should earn them by long and meritorious service, and whose claims could not accrue until the cessation of that service; and it was now that those claims were coming upon the public. Whether or not they were to have the £6,500 a-year for the 13 years during which the money was not paid, he thought the House might at least be asked to join in pressing for such an extension of the limited sum of £6,500 as would enable the Privy Council to meet the just claims of the teachers who entered the service during the five years between 1846 and 1851. The original grievance complained of rested entirely on the Committee of Council's interpretation of expressions used by themselves in previous years. The documents indicated a sort of feeling on the part of the Department that it was necessary to hedge—to use a colloquial phrase—as it had committed itself a little further than it was able to go, because it was said that their Lordships took powers, but did not pledge themselves that any pension should be granted as a right. The House would be able to read between the lines, and would perceive that their Lordships felt that in an unguarded moment they had not sufficiently limited the offer held out in 1846. The teachers had been induced by the offer then made either to enter the service or to remain in it on lower terms than they would have done if they had not had a right to expect a pension. Successive Vice Presidents of the Council had recognized the justice of the appeal now being made, and he believed that his right hon. Friend (Mr. Mundella) felt it strongly. He hoped that it would be admitted that the small amount of the previous Votes of the House did not afford any criterion of what ought to be the amount under the altered circumstances and the accruing claims of the present time. Considering the high moral character of those whose case he was pleading, their self-sacrificing labours, and their well-deserved influence with the rising generation, he thought the matter might be safely left in the hands of the right hon. Gentleman.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the position of School Teachers in public Elementary Schools, appointed 1846-51, in respect of pensions, is detrimental to the best interests of education, and requires the further consideration of Her Majesty's Government."—(*Mr. Brodrick.*)

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, that he would only intervene for a very few minutes between the House and the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), than whom no one was more competent to give an opinion upon the case now before the House; but he desired to say a few words in explanation, or addition, to what he had said in July of last year, when it fell to his lot, in the absence of his hon. Friend the Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick), to press the claims of these teachers upon the House. But, in the first place, he must congratulate that hon. Member for having had an opportunity, of which he had most ably availed himself, of stating this case fully to the House. When he (Sir Henry Holland) addressed the House last year it was late at night, and many other important educational points were pressed upon the Vice President at the same time, which naturally weakened the effect of the cause for which he then pleaded. After the full statement of his hon. Friend (Mr. Brodrick), he would not, of course, go into any details; but he desired to point out how, in one respect, he had not last year done full justice to the views of the teachers. He had then frankly stated that, as regarded the strictly legal view of the case, he was not quite prepared to agree with the teachers. The language of the Minute of 1846 was, no doubt, misleading; but he was of opinion that the Committee of 1872 had placed the right construction upon it, and that there was no absolute pledge in terms on the part of the Education Department to pay pensions to all teachers who fulfilled certain conditions. He had then stated that he was not surprised at the construction which they put upon the Minute; and he now desired to state that he thought, after reading the speeches made by certain Noblemen and Members of Parliament in 1847, which had not then been brought to his notice, that they were most amply justified in the view they had taken, even though it was not strictly legal. His hon. Friend the Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick) had cited some of these speeches; but he desired to refer to a speech which had not been cited, but which appeared to him the strongest of all. In February, 1847, Lord Lansdowne—then, he believed, President of the Council, but, at all events, the person of all others most qualified to explain and interpret the Minute of 1846—after pointing out that there

> "Was no class of men better entitled to the attention and favour of Parliament than the great mass of the schoolmasters of England,"

said, with reference to this very Minute—

> "It is therefore proposed that a provision, small, undoubtedly, at first, but still which will be considered a very great object as a provision, however small, for old age, shall be made for well-conducted schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, who shall be reported as having for 15 years conducted unexceptionally schools of a certain size."

It would be observed that this was an unconditional statement, except as to length of service and conduct; and that it was eminently calculated to induce teachers, and did doubtless, in fact, induce teachers, to enter the service upon the sure reliance of having pensions secured to them. Putting aside, then, the legal aspect of the case, these speeches gave the teachers an overwhelming moral and equitable claim to pensions. The Committee of 1872 evidently felt the strong nature of this claim, although these speeches were not, as far as he could make out, brought under their notice. That this feeling existed was shown by two facts. First, that an Amendment in favour of the teachers was only lost by a majority of two; and, secondly, that the Committee suggested their reappointment, with a view to their being enabled to consider and report upon various schemes of superannuation in favour of the teachers, which had been brought before them, but which they had not time to deal with. When replying to his (Sir Henry Holland's) speech last year, the Vice President of the Council promised "to make an appeal to the Treasury;" and he felt sure that the Vice President had acted up to that promise, and had made a *bonâ fide* appeal to the Treasury. He was afraid, however, that that appeal must have failed, otherwise this debate would not have been allowed to take place, and the successful result of that appeal would have been stated. If such were the case, he and others who supported the claim of the teachers must now apply direct to the Secretary to the

Treasury, whose absence he regretted, and they must endeavour by constant dropping to soften his stony heart. He would urge upon him that though Parliament was jealous, and very justly jealous, of any increase of expenditure, and especially, perhaps, of any increase in respect of the Education Department, still that Parliament would be ready to recognize any good grounds for such increase; and that there were, in this case, good grounds, public and private, for an increase to meet these pensions. The moral claim of the teachers constituted the private ground; and the public ground—namely, the promotion of education—was equally strong; for no one could doubt but that the cause of education suffered from the fact that these teachers were obliged to keep on, although incapacitated from health or age from doing the good service which, until so incapacitated, they had honestly performed. Although the schools over which they presided must necessarily to a certain extent suffer, these teachers could not retire, because, without pensions, they would have to drift into the workhouse. It was most painful to read the list of cases of teachers—some 133 in number—who were applying for annuities to the Church Benevolent Institution, on the ground of old age and ill-health. He was satisfied that the country would not grudge well-earned pensions to such teachers; and he, therefore, heartily supported the Motion now before the House.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, it was true that the Report of the Committee appointed in 1872 could not be construed in favour of the Motion. In 1875, however, when Mr. Whitwell brought the matter forward again, he (Mr. W. E. Forster) said that since the time of the Committee fresh evidence had come out, and that strong speeches had been made in both Houses, which it was impossible to read without admitting that the teachers had a great claim. He was quite prepared still to adhere to that statement. The original Minute on the subject said, "A pension may be granted" under certain circumstances. The question was whether "may" meant "must;" and, in the opinion of the Committee, it did not do so. When, however, he read the speeches that were delivered at the time when it was first proposed to grant pensions, the case seemed to him to assume a very different aspect. The words of Lord Lansdowne, who at the time spoke with more authority on matters of education than belonged to anyone else, excepting, perhaps, the then Prime Minister, could only be interpreted as a promise that pensions would be given to schoolmasters. An appeal was now made to the feelings of hon. Members; and it was said that it was undesirable that men and women should be compelled to continue working as schoolmasters and schoolmistresses when they arrived at an age at which they ought to retire, and that it was a great disappointment to them not to obtain the pension upon which they had counted. These were very good grounds for an appeal *ad misericordiam;* but there was also room for an appeal on the ground of public faith. The question was, what was the temptation that was held out to men and women to become masters and mistresses? He thought there could be very little doubt that a pension was part of the temptation. There was a much more important matter than the expenditure of public money to be considered, and that was the keeping of good faith. There was, in his opinion, an actual, positive claim on the part of masters and mistresses to whom the Motion referred to a pension under the conditions on which it was offered; and that was the reason why he spoke so strongly in 1875, and why he ventured to speak so strongly now. If they meant to keep good faith, the only question they had to consider was whether that Minute of Viscount Sandon's of £6,500 was sufficient; and he thought his hon. Friend who had brought the Motion forward had shown that it was not sufficient. He was sure all of them would feel, and that the State and their constituents—much as they might dislike the expenditure of public money—would feel, that the servants of the country ought not to be worse treated than the servants of any respectable business firm. For these reasons he most strongly supported the Motion.

MR. MUNDELLA said, that at the end of last year, and at the end of a very long night's debate, he made a promise that he would renew his appeal to the Treasury in favour of some additional aid for the purposes of pensions for teachers. The Mover of the Motion before the House had said that although he (Mr. Mundella) had made the promise, no action had been taken upon it. But the promise was made during last year, and immediately after the Recess he had communicated with the Secretary of the National Union of Elementary Teachers, and asked him to place before him a full statement of the claims of the teachers, and the arguments offered in support of them, and that statement was not sent in until the 14th of November. Since that time there had been no allotment of pensions, though the time for allotment was now at hand. There had, therefore, been no *laches* on his part, and no one had suffered up to now. He could assure the House that the allotment of these pensions was a very painful duty to him, as no doubt it had been to his Predecessors; whilst the number of pensions to give did not increase, the number of applicants was largely increasing. He might say that there were, in fact, no pensions to give except those created by the death of previous holders of them. At the last half-yearly allotment he had but two at his disposal, and there were over 70 applicants, all meritorious, all deserving cases. He had made his appeal to the Treasury, and had submitted the facts to his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury, who, he was glad to say, had not met him in any haggling way. His hon. Friend, however, was unable to admit that the teachers had any legal claim to a pension, and that view was also supported by the evidence of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir Ralph Lingen, and Sir Francis Stanford before the Committee in 1872. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth had said every teacher had the same sort of claim to a pension, as every barrister had a hope of becoming Lord Chancellor. The Minute of 1846 was in itself so ambiguous as to be misleading, and although one thing might be in the minds of the framers of the Minute, another thing was in the minds of the teachers who read it; and he was bound to say he thought the latter were justified in forming a conclusion that every teacher who fulfilled the conditions of Minute had a fair claim. There certainly was everything to justify the teachers in their claim. Between 1846 and 1851 a number of teachers were attracted into the profession by the pension which was then promised; and it was not until 1851 that the Lord President of the Council became frightened at the amount which these pensions would reach, and placed the limit of £6,500 a-year on the pensions to be given. Up to the year 1851 there was, in the mind of the teachers at any rate, no limit on the amount of pensions to be paid. The Secretary to the Treasury had given this matter a good deal of consideration, and he (Mr. Mundella) was thankful to find himself in the position of being able to accede to the case laid before the House by the hon. Member. No man in the House, or out of it, would enjoy more than he the change he was about to announce, for hitherto almost every Member in the House had applied to him, and brought before him, the claims of different teachers to pensions. He had submitted to the Treasury a proposal that they should make a grant for the purpose of these pensions; but the Secretary to the Treasury replied that this claim was either a sound and fair one, or it was not. Between 1846 and 1851 there was a great influx of teachers, and any definite grant that might be made might not be sufficient to meet all the cases. Of course, he only referred to the cases of those teachers who entered the profession between 1846 and 1851. Those who came in after 1851 came in on distinct terms, and they knew that the pensions were limited to £6,500 a-year. In 1861 pensions were abolished, and there was no claim for pensions in respect of teachers who joined since that year. Their position was altogether altered. But in respect of those teachers who joined between 1846 and 1851, with the distinct understanding that they would have pensions, the Treasury would find the money to give them the pensions to which they were entitled. The teacher at the present time was not in the position of a civil servant with a fixed salary. He had a position of independence, and could make his own bargain with the school managers. His pay was greatly increased, and the prizes of the profession were far more numerous than before. He hoped that these prizes would go on increasing in number, and this they would do in proportion as the English idea of education was raised. The improvement in the salaries of teachers even in very recent years was very remarkable. Thus, in 1874 the number of teachers whose salaries were under £100 a-year was 4,300, and in

1883 the number was 5,900. In 1874 the number whose salaries were above £100 and under £200 was 3,885, and in 1883 it was 7,740. In 1874 the number whose salaries were between £200 and £300 was 251, and in 1883 it was 994. The number whose salaries in 1874 were over £300 a-year was 18, and in 1883 the number was 191. Similarly, in 1874 there were only 492 schoolmistresses whose salaries were over £100; in 1883 the number was 3,095. The position of the teachers had been a rapid and steady advance since the passing of the Education Act. It was most important that it should be so; and he hoped that teachers would, by a combination of intelligence and association, make for themselves ample provision, and would not have to come to Parliament for any assistance in their old age.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT congratulated his hon. Friend the Member for West Surrey on the satisfactory result of his Motion. He wished, however, before the debate closed to understand exactly what the right hon. Gentleman had given to the teachers. He understood the concession amounted to this—that the teachers who entered between 1846 and 1851, and between 1851 and 1862, were to receive pensions, but in differing ratios. With regard to the first class, they were to have the whole of the pensions to which they were entitled—namely, two-thirds of their salaries.

Mr. MUNDELLA: Oh, no, no; in accordance with the Minute of 1846.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT believed that was one of the terms of the Minute of 1846.

Mr. MUNDELLA: That was the maximum allowance.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT: Then were the teachers who entered between 1846 and 1851 to receive pensions equal to two-thirds of the emoluments they received?

Mr. MUNDELLA: No.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, then he did not think the teachers had got what in the course of the debate hon. Members had been led to expect they would get, or that the teachers ought to get. Were they, then, to receive a pension the amount of which was to be determined by the right hon. Gentleman himself or his Successor in Office, and according to the circumstances of each particular case? It might be one-third or one-sixth, but in no case could it exceed two-thirds.

Mr. MUNDELLA: There is a fair guide as to the rate of the pension by the 200 pensions fixed in 1851. It is impossible to give a larger pension than that given to teachers in the past.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT: Were they, then, to understand that the teachers in the first class—those appointed between 1846 and 1851—who had a strong Parliamentary and official claim, if they had not an absolute legal claim—were to be raised to the footing to which he now understood the remainder of that class was to be raised? The House would observe that up to this time there were a considerable number of teachers surviving who were appointed between 1846 and 1851, and very few of those teachers had received any pension at all up to this time.

Mr. MUNDELLA: The hon. Gentleman forgets that there are 270 pensions running now, and those teachers have their full share.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT: But of the total number a very small proportion had received that pension. He understood, however, that the whole number appointed between 1846 and 1851 were to receive a pension if they fulfilled the conditions required of them, and that the amount was to depend upon the opinion which the Vice President or his Successor formed of their services in each particular case. What was to happen, then, to the teachers appointed between 1851 and 1861? They had not so strong a claim as the former class, but they had a strong claim on the Government for pensions in their turn; and he wished to know how much they might expect to receive of the amount obtained by the right hon. Gentleman from the Treasury? What were the real facts of the case with regard to the class of pensions referred to in the Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. Brodrick)? Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth in 1846 made a statement on the subject, which was worthy the attention of the House. In 1846 a pamphlet was published entitled *The School in its relation to the State*, issued as "an explanation of the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, in August and December, 1846." It was generally admitted that this pamphlet was written by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who was at that time Secretary of the Committee of Council. In that pamphlet he said—

> "Their Lordships desired to render the profession of schoolmaster honourable by raising its character, by giving it the public recognition of impartially awarding certificates or diplomas, and by securing to well-trained or otherwise efficient masters a position of comfort during the period of their arduous labour, and the means of retirement on a pension awarded by the Government."

There was no mention here of pensions which they themselves had subscribed for. The pamphlet goes on—

> "Their Lordships have, therefore, rendered superannuation pensions accessible to masters distinguished by long and efficient services, and who, by age or by any disabling infirmity, are compelled to retire. It cannot be doubted that such arrangements will raise this profession in public estimation by increasing its efficiency and respectability."

He would quote one more piece of evidence which was admitted to be written by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. In a letter dated March 11th, 1847, addressed to Mr. E. Salter, Secretary of the Manchester British Schoolmasters' Association, he said—

> "I had yesterday to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, in which you inquired whether masters of the elementary schools who have not been trained in a Normal school under the inspection of the Committee of Council are admissible to the advantages offered by their Lordships' Minutes of August and December last, provided that upon the Report of Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools my Lords find such masters to be efficient and deserving. . . . I informed you also that my Lords, being desirous to offer the strongest inducements to schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to render long and efficient services to the public, had opened the prospect of a retiring pension to this class of teachers."

He thought, if they were to haggle about the meaning of words, and to ask whether the claim was a legal or a moral one, they were pursuing a course of conduct very unworthy the House of Commons. [Mr. MUNDELLA: All that is admitted.] It was not admitted a few months ago; and if it was now admitted he did not think the right hon. Gentleman was quite candid when he quoted against his opponents the evidence of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth before the Committee of 1872. This was not a Party question, however, and he was sorry that during a portion of the time that this iniquitous state of things had been going on—he said it with shame—a Conservative Government had been in Office. He trusted that the manner in which those teachers had been treated during those 13 years would never again be imitated in the Public Service of this country.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he thought the Treasury and the Government had acted in a fair spirit in regard to the claims of the teachers appointed before 1851. He presumed that the pensions awarded would be something like those in the Code—namely, pensions of £20, £25, or £30. He thought the Department should give pensions on the more liberal scale of £30 a-year to those teachers of old standing who entered the profession before 1851. He hoped that the Department would not, for the sake of a small annual sum, disappoint the expectations of those teachers who joined between 1851 and 1862, during which period the Vote of £6,500 was suspended.

MR. WHITLEY said, he understood that the teachers appointed before 1851 would receive pensions; but if that consumed the £6,500, he understood the teachers between 1851 and 1862 would receive no pension. What he wished to know was, how the Government proposed to deal with the teachers between 1851 and 1862? Supposing the pensions to the other teachers consumed the £6,500, were they to have pensions or not?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he understood that the right hon. Gentleman proposed that pensions should be given up to the amount of £6,500 in each year, but that if after that allotment had been made any of the teachers appointed between 1846 and 1851 had not got a pension, then they would have a pension irrespective of the £6,500. [Mr. MUNDELLA: That is so.] He hoped the concession would be carried a little further, and that the Secretary to the Treasury would consider the claims of the teachers appointed between 1851 and 1861.

MR. COURTNEY explained that the Government were not going to make any concession which might countenance a general claim to pensions. As he understood, all were agreed in repudiating a general system of pensions. The action of the Government had reference strictly to the Minutes that had been quoted. The teacher who came in between 1846 and 1851 was entitled to appeal to the Minute of 1846, and to say—"I came in with the expectation that in certain conditions I should receive a certain pension; but subsequently the amount to be allotted to pensions was diminished, and after that for a time suspended altogether; that was in derogation of the expectation I had a right to look forward to, and so far you have wronged my moral expectation." The Government met that position by saying—" Whatever you had a moral right to look forward to shall be conceded, whatever burden may be thrown upon the Treasury." The teacher between 1851 and 1862 had the right to look forward to the chance of a succession to a pension in certain conditions, provided the total allotted to pensions did not exceed £6,500 a-year. The appeal of the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Lyulph Stanley) might be good as an appeal *ad misericordiam*, but the Government rejected it; they were only conceding those which were moral claims; and the moral claim between 1851 and 1862 was to a contingent share in £6,500. The Government restricted themselves to the full satisfaction of the moral claims. They all renounced the idea that pensions should be conceded to teachers as a class, and the Government were giving them only to those who entered the service on the faith of the Minutes; and to that extent they gave all that was demanded.

MR. BRODRICK said, he must express his acknowledgments to the House and the Government for the spirit in which his Resolution had been met, and before withdrawing it he would only ask for a further explanation as to the way in which the pensions would be distributed. When the total exceeded £6,500, would teachers appointed after 1851 have to wait till it fell again to that level, or would they compete on even terms with the teachers appointed in 1846 to 1851 for any vacant pensions in the original sum? If not, the teachers appointed in 1851 to 1862 would be in a worse position by his Motion.

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, that to the earlier class of teachers—1846 to 1851—pensions would be given in meritorious cases without regard to the total.

MR. MUNDELLA said, the pensions would be on the same scale as under the present Minute.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT wished to make a protest against the theory that there was no hope in the future for a general system of pensions for teachers. There seemed to him no serious difficulty about devising a scheme of regular insurance under State supervision, by which a fixed percentage of each annual salary should be put by. After a sufficient period of service the teacher might retire upon an annuity thus provided for, with the addition of a bonus from the State proportionate to the length of service, and perhaps to his past efficiency in the profession. This would be similar to the State assurance proposed by Prince Bismarck for Germany.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

TRADE AND COMMERCE—CONVENTION BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. TOMLINSON rose to call attention to the Correspondence respecting the Commercial Convention concluded between Spain and the United States relative to the West India Trade (Commercial, No. 10, 1884), and to move—

> "That, in view of the increasing difficulties placed by foreign Governments in the way of the due development of the Home and Colonial trade and commerce of the British Empire, by differential duties and bounties, it is incumbent on Her Majesty's Government to use every means for securing the adoption of the most-favoured nation principle as the basis of the commercial relations between the whole of the British Empire and foreign nations."

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter after Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 30th April, 1884.

MINUTES.] — PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*) — *Withdrawn*—Croydon, Norwood, Dulwich, and London Railway *.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Copyright (Works of Fine Art and Photographs) * [183]; Dean Forest and Hundred of Saint Briavels * [184].

Second Reading—Commons Regulation Provisional Order * [172]; Disposal of the Dead (Regulations) * [10], *negatived;* Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 (Purchase Clauses) [23], *debate adjourned.*

Report—Electric Lighting Provisional Order * [145].

Withdrawn—Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment * [26].

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (REGULATIONS) BILL.—[BILL 10.]

(*Dr. Cameron, Sir Lyon Playfair, Dr. Farquharson.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

DR. CAMERON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the Bill which he had the honour to ask the House to read a second time might be briefly described as a measure for the protection of society against the concealment and destruction of evidence of homicidal crime. In no country in the world—in no civilized country—were the laws which regulated burial so devoid of anything like effective security for the detection of foul play as in our country. Of late there had been brought before the public a novel mode of disposing of the dead, in the shape of cremation, which, totally unregulated, afforded even greater facilities than burial for the concealment of deeds of violence and wrong-doing. Within 18 months no fewer than four bodies were publicly cremated in England, and a distinguished Judge had laid it down from the Bench that there was nothing whatever illegal in cremation, even when practised in the most objectionable and irregular form. Since then the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, in reply to a Question by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), expressed his individual dislike to the practice, and stated that he would exercise whatever power the law placed in his hands for the purpose of its prevention; but since the right hon. and learned Gentleman made that announcement another body had been publicly cremated, and he did nothing to prevent, and had done nothing to punish the perpetrators, of that act—an act which in that case, as everybody must admit, was contrary to public decorum and decency.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Where, where?

DR. CAMERON: In Wales.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That was before my answer to the hon. Member for Northampton.

DR. CAMERON: No; it was attempted before, but it was done after the declaration of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. His inaction must, therefore, if he were aware of the fact and of the statement of law laid down by Mr. Justice Stephen, be accepted as a practical endorsation of the statement of the law laid down by that Judge, and a practical confession of his utter powerlessness to interfere in the matter. The object of this Bill was to afford something like a proper guarantee for the treatment and prevention of foul play in cases where the dead were disposed of by burial, and to provide for the regulation of cremation, which, uncontrolled as it was at present, was fraught with danger to the public, but which, under proper regulations, the promoters of this Bill believed afforded a chance of effecting a most desirable reform in the mode of disposing of those hundreds of thousands of dead bodies, which the harvest of death each year threw upon our hands. Their Burial Laws provided an elaborate machinery and certificates, and most people were content to imagine that they provided every precaution that could be required or provided; but anyone who looked into them would find it was an utter delusion to suppose that those laws provided adequate securities for the ascertainment of the cause of death or for the detection of foul play. Large numbers of people in this country died without having had any medical attendance whatever. Sometimes they received as much as was necessary to procure a worthless certificate; but many thousands were buried without the formality of any certificate at all as to the cause of death. The attention of the public and of the Government had been repeatedly drawn to this subject. So far back as 1843, Mr. Chadwick, in his Supplementary Report on Intramural Burial, dwelt on the necessity for the amendment of their Burial Laws; but nothing had been done. In 1851, in their Report on Extra-mural Sepulture, the Board of Health reported on certain defects in the present system of the registration of death, and the facilities consequently afforded for the perpetration of crime, to which they said their attention had been called by numerous witnesses of all classes. The Report of the Board of Health on Extra-mural Sepulture, published in the previous year, 1850, drew attention to the fact that, although the number of still-born infants at that time was estimated at 40,000, there was no provision whatever with regard to their burial; and only in one cemetery reported on in 1850 was there any rule requiring the production of any certificate that the child was still-born. The child alleged to be still-born was, without a certificate, and for a small fee of 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* handed to the sexton, interred without as much as an entry in the cemetery books. The law had been amended in this respect; but it was still very unsatisfactory in others, and the Returns of the Registrar General showed that in the last year for which his statistics had been prepared and presented to the House there occurred in England and Wales alone no fewer than 20,194 deaths in which persons were buried without any medical or other certificate as to the cause of death. That fact pointed to gross neglect. He found that in Ireland there occurred 2,229 cases in which death was certified after inquest, and 4,289 cases were entered in which the cause of death was ill-defined or not specified. In Scotland the state of matters was a great deal worse. According to the last Report of the Registrar General in Scotland, 20 per cent of all the deaths that occurred in that country were not certified. This, he was aware, involved an exaggeration, the result of the manner in which the Returns were made up; but in Glasgow, in 1882, 9 per cent of the total number of persons who died were buried without any certificate whatever as to the cause of death; in 1872-3, out of a total of 29,200 deaths that occurred in Glasgow during those two years, no fewer than 3,281 were either buried without any medical certificate as to cause of death, or were entered as without any medical attendance. A most remarkable fact brought out by their most painstaking medical officer of health, Dr. Russell, was that of legitimate children under five years only 28 per cent were uncertified, while among illegitimate no fewer than 52 per cent of the deaths were uncertified. In Scotland that state of matters was made worse by the fact that they had no Coroners, and the Procurator Fiscal would not look into any case, however mysterious the cause of death might be, unless he believed death had resulted from some criminal act. There was no family in Scotland who would not look upon an attempt by the Procurator Fiscal to view a body in a private house as tantamount to a charge of murder. The matter was brought under the notice of the Government 40 years ago by Mr. Edwin Chadwick in the Report to which he had before referred, and which contained extracts from the evidence of such well-known men as Dr. Scott Alison, Mr. William Chambers, and Mr. Hill Burton, the historian, which showed the scandalously lax nature of the Scottish law as to the verification of the cause of death and the investigation of mysterious and suspicious occurrences. Those opinions showed the thoroughly unsatisfactory state of our law as regarded the verification of the cause of death incident to burial. It was a popular delusion that the detection of poison by exhumation was always possible. It was perfectly true that fractured bones remained to testify to deeds of violence for a number of years; but putrification speedily set in to destroy the softer tissues. Certain poisons might be discovered in the bodies of persons buried for months and years after burial; but the subtle organic vegetable poisons, and even some non-organic poisons, such as phosphorus, participated in the decay of the victim, and consequently could not be traced. Moreover, modern scientific research had shown that putrefaction in fermentation in animal matter gave rise to sepsine and other alkaloids of a poisonous nature. It was necessary to be very cautious about forming a conclusion from physiological tests as to the presence of poison in a body. The fact that animals died after the administration of substances extracted from the viscera of persons exhumed in a state of putrefaction did not prove that the viscera contained poison before putrefaction set in. Taking these facts into consideration, the supreme importance attached to a prompt verification of the cause of death was apparent; and in France, Germany, and other countries its importance was recognized by the existence of the official known as *le médecin vérificateur.* It had been recommended by the Board of Health in this country that health officers should attend in all private houses, verify the cause of death of an inmate, and report any suspicious circumstance to the public authorities. This, however, would be too expensive and inquisitorial a system if universally applied; and he, therefore, proposed that it should only be resorted to in cases in which no certificate of death was produced. If everything was correct, the burial officer would certify to that effect; if not, the case would be reported to the Coroner in England and Ireland, and the Procurator Fiscal in Scotland, officers whom he did not desire to supersede. As such a system, however, might cause delay in burials in rural districts, he thought that such districts might, for the present at any rate, be exempted from its operation. He did not say the Bill met all the shortcomings of our wretched Burial Laws; but he claimed it would be a step in the direction in which reform was most urgently required, and which might be met by existing machinery without offending popular susceptibilities. Now, he came to the proposals in his Bill which dealt with the subject of cremation; and, that being a novel method of disposing of the dead in this country, he felt himself at liberty to suggest precautions which would be intolerable in the case of the old-established custom of burial, and which would afford a security for the detection of foul play infinitely superior to anything which it would be possible to engraft upon the slovenly system of their Burial Laws. At the present moment cremation in this country was absolutely uncontrolled, except so far as it might give rise to a nuisance, or lead to a disturbance of the public peace. There was no regulation of it, no certificate was required, and consequently it might be performed in any place and by any person. Captain Hanham, for example, cremated his mother and his wife in his private grounds in Dorset; and he himself, when he died, was cremated in the same place by his friends. Dr. Price, the so-called Welsh Druid, cremated his child on an open fire on a Welsh mountain; and he had announced his readiness to undertake the same duty for any other person. The English Cremation Society had erected a crematorium at Woking. That Society had hitherto abstained from commencing active operations, owing to the uncertainty of the law on the subject, and to the attitude taken up by the Home Office. But it had now announced that, in consequence of the judgment of Mr. Justice Stephen, it was prepared to undertake the cremation of any body sent to it. The Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers had appointed a Committee to consider the propriety of erecting a crematorium at Ilford. Now, though he had not the smallest doubt, from the constitution of the Cremation Society of England, which embraced amongst its members some of the most eminent men in the Legal and Medical Professions, that any cremations undertaken by it would be conducted with the most perfect regard to public security and decorum; and though, if the Commissioners of Sewers erected their crematorium at Ilford, the same remark would apply to any cremations conducted under their auspices—these bodies would be the first to admit that it was impolitic to intrust absolute discretion in a matter of such importance to any society or irresponsible body of men, and still more to any eccentric individual like Mr. Price, or even to more intelligent enthusiasts like the friends of Captain Hanham. He (Dr. Cameron) proposed, therefore, that the Secretary of State should license places to be used as crematoria, and that it should be an offence punishable by heavy penalties to burn a body in any place not licensed for the purpose. He proposed that no cremation should be allowed without a special permit from the registrar of deaths, to be granted only on the production of a medical certificate given by the personal attendants on the case, or after a *post mortem* examination, and given under heavy penalties in case of any false statement, to the effect that death had resulted from natural causes, and that there was no doubt on the point that the cause of death was so and so, and that there was no reason whatever to suspect that it had been accelerated or caused by any criminal act. In addition to this, he proposed that the Home Secretary should be empowered—if the right hon. Gentleman did not covet the duty he was sure some of his Colleagues who had not very much to do might be found to take it off his hands—the Judge Advocate General, for example, who had shown a natural talent in that direction, might possibly be induced to undertake it—to frame regulations. These regulations would naturally deal with such subjects as the prevention of anything like precipitancy or indecorum in the conduct of cremations. He thought they might very properly also provide for the investigation, by some independent official, of every case in which cremation was asked. He thought that in cases where cremation was desired we might very safely introduce something analogous to the Continental system of *médecins vérificateurs.* The official might inquire in the circumstances of the case, and might be empowered, in case of anything suspicious transpiring, to suspend the disposal of the body temporarily until an examination had been made. Now, there was not the smallest difficulty, from a medico-legal point of view, in making cremation infinitely safer, so far as public security was concerned, than anything that was found under our present Burial Laws, even with any improvements which it would be possible to engraft upon them. There only remained, therefore, he thought, to discuss the policy which should guide the Government in dealing with the subject. It might be dealt with in three ways. It might be regulated, or the law on the subject might be left as it was, or it might be prohibited altogether. The arguments against leaving the law as it stood, in his mind, appeared to be insurmountably strong. The legality of cremation did not rest solely upon the judgment of Sir James Stephen, for the opinions of the highest authorities in the possession of the Cremation Society had been given to the same effect. In his judgment in the case of "Williams *v.* Williams," Mr. Justice Cave inferentially admitted the legality of cremation; and in their correspondence with the Cremation Society two successive Home Secretaries had not ventured to assert that cremation was illegal. One of them proposed, in certain circumstances, to introduce a Bill making it illegal; and that showed that in his mind there was nothing at present illegal in it. Nor was the legalization of it a matter of recent date. As it was legal now, so it was in the last century, when, in 1769, the body of Mrs. Pratt was cremated at Tyburn Cemetery. But the fact of the legality was now universally known; and there was nothing to prevent any criminal who thought he might get rid of evidence of a crime from availing himself of it. Especially was this the case with the crime of infanticide; whereas, in a case recently reported at Scarborough, it had always been a common practice of murderers to get rid of the bodies of their victims by burning them in domestic fire-places. It seemed, to his mind, needless to contend further as to the inexpediency of leaving the law as it stood. The question was, therefore, whether the practice should be regulated or prohibited altogether? To regulate cremation would be to follow in the steps of every civilized nation that had hitherto dealt with the subject. To prohibit it, in his opinion, would be to take a reactionary step, one fraught with total disregard of the teachings of sanitary science and of the sacredness of individual liberty; and which would mark us as the least enlightened, as regarded the problem of how best to dispose of our dead, of all the great countries of the world. Cremation was legal in the United States of America, and in many of the large towns there crematoria had been erected. It was legal in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. A public crematorium was in 1874 erected by the Municipality of Vienna; and the Municipality of Lisbon, where cremation was optional, had decreed that during epidemics cremation should be compulsory. In France an order had been given to cremate the remains of hospital patients which had been dissected; and he had a Bill there, which was interesting as having been the last of M. Gambetta before the French Chamber of Deputies, proposing to render cremation generally optional in France. Now, wherever the subject of cremation had been discussed an overwhelming consensus of scientific opinion had been in its favour. As to the Home Secretary's statement that cremation was repugnant to public opinion in this country, he could only say that during the last few months the subject had been very largely and widely discussed in the Press of this country; and, so far as public opinion was reflected in the Press from *The Times* down to *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, it had been almost unanimously expressed in support of optional cremation. He did not mean to say that if this Bill became law, and crematoria were established to-morrow, that there would be any great general rush to get cremated. Public opinion was too strong for it to become general all at once; but of this he felt certain—that the great majority of the enlightened and intelligent portion of the community were sufficiently alive to the dangers of our present system of burial, and desired to see those dangers lessened by allowing a free option for anyone who wished to dispose of his body in a sanitary way; and as to the poor, they had good reason to know the hideous scandal and indecency to which the present system of burial condemned them, and he was certain that a vast number of them would rejoice at anything which would tend in any degree to diminish the overcrowding which condemned those dearest to them to the nameless horrors of putrefaction in a common grave. But, even if only a small majority were desirous of escaping the horrors of the grave, why should they be forbidden to carry out their desire? On what grounds, in a matter where public policy pointed all the other way, were they justified in allowing a particular interpretation of public sentiment to override the sacred principle of individual liberty. The other day he had a letter from a lady residing in a fashionable part of London, who said that to her death would be deprived of half its terrors if she could be cremated instead of being buried, and it was in consequence of a similar sentiment expressed by his mother that Captain Hanham overcame all obstacles and cremated her. Why should they interfere with such a preference. On every ground of policy it would be most rational to prohibit burial rather than cremation. Thirty years ago the Board of Health, in a Report bristling with horrors, emphatically condemned the existing state of things, and they made the heroic proposal to take possession of all burial grounds and establish national cemeteries. It might be said that Burial Boards had been established and large public cemeteries opened since then. But large cemeteries existed then, too; and the Board of Health reported that, being conducted on purely commercial principles, burying as many people as possible in the smallest area, they did more harm than good. They stated that even when they wrote almost all the existing large cemeteries in London were already closely approached by the habitations of the living, the outer boundary line in some cases, as that of Norwood, being separated from the dwelling houses by scarcely more than the width of a street. The Board of Health based their recommendation not merely upon that, but upon the nature of the present system, which demoralized the poor by consigning them by scores and hundreds to festering pits described by the Board of Health, and which he had seen himself, with hardly enough earth to cover the coffins. The Report was published very shortly after the outbreak of the great cholera epidemic, and the Board of Health stated that in many instances outbreaks of cholera occurred in consequence of the proximity of inhabited districts to those burial grounds; and if anybody examined the Report in detail it would be found they had only too good grounds for making the assertion. At the time that Report was issued it might have been said that, however plausible the alleged connection of cause and effect between burying grounds and outbreaks of cholera and other epidemics might be, science could show no demonstration of it. But of late years that defect in the argument had been amply supplied, and scientific men all over the world had proved satisfactorily that that connection did exist. It had been proved that many, if not all, zymotic diseases were due to the invasion of the system by minute microscopic organisms which multiplied themselves in the blood and tissues, and gave rise to those disturbances which constituted the phenomena of each disease. It had been shown that buried in earth the spores or seeds of their organisms retained their vitality for an indefinite period, and that, if brought to the surface by the spade or through the agency of earthworms, they might find their way into the food we ate and the water we drank, and within our bodies once more renew the pestilential cycle of their existence. In medical literature many instances were recorded where outbursts of plague occurred through opening ground where patients had been buried; and in this Report and elsewhere there was ample proof of the potency of earth to preserve and spread the infections of many other diseases. M. Pasteur had recently shown in a most conclusive manner that whole districts in France had been poisoned by splenic fever owing to the burial of animals that had died of disease. The germs of disease were brought to the herbage by earthworms, and found their way into the watercourses; and scientific agriculturists of France were now discussing whether the bodies of animals ought to be disposed of by burning, or whether they might not be rendered innocuous and converted into a manure by destruction in sulphuric acid. The same with regard to yellow fever. A Commission had been recently appointed in Brazil to inquire into the nature of that disease, and that Commission had reported that it, too, was due to one of these organisms, which, under suitable conditions of temperature and moisture, was capable of multiplying itself in earth, and that churchyards in which yellow-fever patients were buried were literally hot-beds for the spread of the disease. If they took the earth from a graveyard where yellow-fever patients had been buried and washed it with water, the water would wash out a sufficient number of the organisms to convey the disease to healthy animals. Cholera was a disease with which in this country they were more concerned than with yellow fever. They had all heard of the recent discourses regarding that disease made by Dr. Koch's Commission. These showed that cholera also was caused by the invasion of the system by another of the organisms to which he had referred. Dr. Koch had shown that if matter impregnated with cholera organisms was spread upon moist earth these organisms rapidly multiply under favourable conditions of temperature; and that would explain the connection which the Board of Health had told them they had found to exist between cemeteries or graveyards and outbreaks of cholera epidemics. Professor Tyndall published a letter during the cholera scare in *The Daily News*, calling attention to the way in which Bristol was preserved from an attack of that disease in 1876. On the occurrence of a case of cholera there every precaution was taken. The dead body of the man who died was embedded in M'Dougal's powder in his coffin, and in this way the germs were burned and destroyed almost as effectually as they would have been destroyed had the body been cremated. If you locked up a body swarming with choleraic organisms in a lead coffin, so long as it remained there the living were free from all danger from it; but if you put the body in a wicker coffin, as in the "earth to earth" system, you allowed every facility for those organisms of disease to be conveyed into the earth and watercourses, and so afforded means for spreading disease. The only link in the chain of the argument which was wanting was, how did these organisms find their way into the watercourses and spread the diseases? Well, there was no secret in the matter. To anyone who knew anything about graveyards and cemeteries, it was needless to say that many of them were very badly drained, and that coffins in many cases lay soaked with water. Dr. Mapother, a well-known scientific gentleman in Ireland, had described the churchyards there as being generally situate on high eminences, in such a manner that the drainage from them percolated into the surrounding wells from which the residents in the various districts obtained their water supply; and the same gentleman also described one churchyard with which he was acquainted as situate upon the banks of a river from which some 30,000 or 40,000 persons drew their water supply. Again, in 1874, in consequence of some irregularities in the neighbourhood, an investigation was made into the case of the cemetery at Tooting; and it then transpired that the entire drainage from that cemetery went into a brook which flowed into the River Wandle, from which a large number of persons drew their water supply. And the same was the case with the Finchley Cemetery. Numbers of cemeteries and churchyards drained into the Thames; and he thought that would be an interesting Return which showed the number of graveyards in the Valley of the Thames which drained into the waters of that river before these waters were supplied to the inhabitants of London for drinking purposes. The only rational objection to the process of cremation was the medico-legal one. So far as the destruction of evidence of crime by cremation was concerned, that was simply and solely a question of degree. It had been shown by direct experiment that mineral poisons, such as salts of copper, zinc, &c., could be perfectly well detected in the ashes of animals poisoned by those drugs when they had been cremated. And as to vegetable poisons, the traces of most, if not of all, of them were destroyed more or less quickly by the putrefactive action of dead bodies; and if they wanted to insure the detection of vegetable poisons, they must take steps to secure what they had not at present—namely, prompt verification of the cause of death. Under the system of cremation which he proposed they would have an infinitely better chance of securing prompt verification of the cause of death than under any of the Burial Laws at present existing. So long as they allowed 20,000 to die annually and be buried in England and Wales without taking the trouble to demand any evidence whatever as to the cause of their death, although they had died under circumstances of the grossest neglect, and often under circumstances provocative of suspicion, it was absurd to argue against cremation that it might be abused as a means of doing away with the evidences of illegal causes of death. As to the skilful poisoner, it was childish to think of baffling him by preventing cremation, so long as they allowed him to remove the viscera of his victim, under pretence of embalming the body, or to deport it from this country, in order to bury or burn it outside our control, in some German or Italian crematorium. He would only add in conclusion that, in a letter written from the Home Office on this subject in February, 1882, the following sentence occurred:—

> "In Sir William Harcourt's opinion, the practice of cremation ought not to be sanctioned, except under the authority and regulation of an Act of Parliament."

On that point he was entirely at one with the Home Secretary; and for the purpose of giving effect to his and the right hon. and learned Gentleman's views on the subject he had introduced this Bill. He therefore begged to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Dr. FARQUHARSON, in seconding the Motion, said, he had been a convert to cremation ever since he had attended the hospital and dissecting-room. He thought that, whatever conclusion the House might come to on the question, there could be no doubt it was one well worthy of its consideration. His hon. Friend had made out an impregnable case. He had shown them the dangers connected with the existing mode of disposing of the dead, and he had shown them how those dangers could be removed. This was a question of very great importance in all large and growing communities in England, where, in conjunction with Wales, there were 500,000 deaths annually. It was quite obvious that these bodies must be destroyed in some way, which simply meant their resolution into their natural elements; and it seemed to him that common sense would most naturally be in favour of the quickest process of destruction. The system of burial now carried on in this country was one which impeded, in many essential ways, this process of destruction, which ought to be quick. The process, under existing circumstances, lasted from 25 to 40, or even 50 years; whereas the process of burning might be efficiently done in less than one hour. They were all aware of the unsanitary evils which had arisen from the burial of corpses in large towns. These were recognized 20 years ago, when intra-mural interment of dead bodies was prohibited. It was calculated that London doubled its population in 50 years, so that those parts which now formed part of the suburbs would in half a century become part of the interior of the City; and they knew, further, that the air around those graveyards was laden with morbid matter, and that, as a consequence, the health of persons resident in the neighbourhood suffered, and that through their weakened state of health the inhabitants of such districts were more liable to become victims on the outbreak of epidemics than those of the healthier surroundings. The practice of cremation had been described as revolting, illegal, un-Christian, &c.; but he thought his hon. Friend had shown how important that system of destruction really was. They had heard of the dangers of the present system of burial. These dangers were bad enough in the country; but they must be specially concentrated in the commercial undertakings in London which were known as cemeteries. They knew that great overcrowding took place there. There were 20 or 30 persons put into one grave, with only a nominal piece of ground between each. If a person was not rich his grave was opened in 12 years, the bones were thrown into some adjoining field, or used for manure, or ground down, or sold to a bone merchant for what they would bring. Sentiment was rather on the side of the advocates of cremation than otherwise. They had naturally some feeling as to where they should lie; and the pictures that they saw of the old churchyard, with its mouldering monuments lighted up with evening sun or moonlight, gave expression to a very proper sentiment; but if we could take a look below the ground and see what was going on there—see the horrible and loathsome appearance of the bodies—he thought the charm of the sentiment would somewhat disappear. Even granting to the full the poetical associations of a rural graveyard, how many of us could expect to be buried under such conditions? Most of us must necessarily be interred in large suburban cemeteries, and there certainly was nothing poetical about such a burial. They were carried to a place where they had never been before, a service was conducted by a person whom they had never seen in their lives, and in a very perfunctory manner, and eventually horrible desecration of the graves took place, and the remains were flung away. He invited the House to contrast that with what the process of cremation would be. The body would be taken to the crematorium, part of the service would be said, the body would then be lowered, and the process of burning would go on for about an hour. The ashes would then be removed, and the rest of the service could be said. The ashes could be put away in any way that the relations liked. They might be buried in the ordinary way; or, better still, following the old custom of the Romans, they might be put into a monumental urn and placed in the crypt of the church. The operation of cremation could be carried on with perfect decency. He had been present, along with Sir Spencer Wells, at the cremation of a horse; no one could have known that anything particular was going on; there was not a trace of smoke, and there was no smell; and the ashes which remained were white, and extremely pleasant looking. He did not know whether he would be in Order in showing the House what they were like. [Here the hon. Member produced, and held up for the inspection of the House, a small bottle filled with a white powder, which, he explained, were the ashes, not of the identical horse that he had seen cremated, but of a cow cremated some time before under precisely similar conditions.] It was cremated in one hour, and the ashes had an appearance not unlike frosted silver. He believed that the sentimental argument would be entirely in favour of cremation. To borrow an expression used by Sir Spencer Wells, it was a question of purification *versus* putrefaction. From the point of view of crime, Sir Henry Thompson had pointed out that in doubtful cases the stomach and portions of the liver might be preserved, and it had been shown that a great many metals might be readily detected in the ashes. If this discussion had no other outcome than to show that the precautions now taken against poisoning in this country were extremely lax, he did not think that day's Morning Sitting would be thrown away. About 500,000 people died annually in England and Wales, and about 80,000 died in London. These bodies must be got rid of in some way without offence to the living. They must be buried out of sight and destroyed. It was calculated that if one body occupied each grave, it would require an acre for 1,200 persons. Therefore it was necessary to take every year from the area of land 500 acres. The country could not afford to give away so much land. Cremation was quick, clean, cheaper than burial, and more harmless to the surrounding population. Bodies could be cremated for less than 15*s.*, while an ordinary burial did not cost much less than £10. The nation, he believed, was coming round in favour of cremation; many of the clergy advocated it; some of the Bishops were tending that way. In Italy, Germany, and even Japan, cremation was not only legal, but it was tolerably extensively adopted. All that was asked was that persons should be allowed to be cremated if they liked; this was a purely permissive Bill. He prophesied that before another generation passed away this process of disposing of the dead would be universally employed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Dr. Cameron.*)

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I have listened with great interest to the very able and moderate speeches of my hon. Friends who have brought forward this Bill. They must excuse me for making a criticism on those speeches; and it is that those speeches have really no relation, or very little relation, to the Bill, and that, if the main propositions of those speeches are to be accepted, this Bill ought not to be read the second time. That is rather a broad statement, but I will endeavour to justify it. Hon. Gentlemen who have listened to those two speeches will agree with me that they involve two main propositions. The first of those propositions is that the present Burial Laws are extremely defective in not providing against the improper dealing with dead human bodies, and that fair and adequate provision should be made in that respect. The second proposition is that the present method of disposing of such bodies is so injurious to the health of the public, and, as the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) thought, the consequences of following that method are so alarming, that some other method of disposing of human bodies should be adopted. If those two propositions had been established, what should we have expected the character of this Bill to be? Why, we should have expected that it would have provided for the universal examination of human bodies before they were buried, and for the universal burning of all bodies. But the Bill provides for neither of these things, and why? My hon. Friend, being a man of experience and prudence, knows that a Bill to effect those objects would be totally and entirely impracticable. For my own part, I believe that great defects do exist in the Burial Laws of England with reference to certificates of death. Recent circumstances have brought the subject of these laws particularly under my notice, and during the last few weeks I have been examining most anxiously the operation of those laws in connection with the crimes which were lately committed in Liverpool. I was certainly astonished to hear so great a scientific authority as my hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow say that it was only ignorant people who supposed that poisons could be detected in the human body for a long period after death.

Dr. CAMERON: I did not say that. The right hon. and learned Gentleman must have misunderstood me.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member said that a great many persons disappeared, and that the existence of mineral poisons could be detected with equal certainty in the case of bodies cremated as in the case of bodies buried. I myself have only dabbled a very little in science; but I was surprised to hear that the presence of arsenic could be detected in the case of cremated bodies, because I have always understood that arsenic was sublimated by heat. It must be recollected that poisoning by arsenic is one of the commonest things in the world. [*Laughter.*] Those hon. Members who laugh do not know as much as I do on the subject.

Dr. CAMERON: What I said was, that direct experiments had shown that arsenic was found in the ashes after cremation.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am bound to take my hon. Friend's authority; but I had always supposed that fire sublimated arsenic. With reference to the present mode of granting certificates of the cause of death, I think that much greater caution should be exercised in the granting of these certificates than is the case at present; and I shall be exceedingly glad to see some well-considered measure, having for its object the amendment of the present law on this part of the subject, introduced. But this Bill contains no provisions that will strengthen the law on that point. First of all, it admits the ordinary certificate, which we know is most carelessly given in many cases. It is only where an ordinary certificate is not given that another certificate is substituted. And then there is the extraordinary proposition that the provisions of this Bill are not to apply to any place except where the population is under 5,000. If we are going to have a measure to remedy that defect, it will not be a measure like this. What was the use of taking precaution against poisoning illegitimate children, or improperly making away with them, and then to exclude from its operation the whole of the rural districts? It was impossible that Parliament could accept a measure so framed on a subject like that. One of the difficulties which my hon. Friend has felt is—where are you to get the people to make the examination? He invokes the aid of the central officer of health, who is to make the necessary examination for a fee of 5*s.*—that is to say, that this officer is to be expected to make a perfect analysis of a human body for 5*s.* In the course of events the Home Office has had occasion, in particular cases, to direct the analytical examination of human bodies; this requires the highest qualities of science, and a most difficult and expensive matter they have always found it to be. In a country village, however, it would be a simple impossibility to obtain anything like such an examination that would be satisfactory or of the slightest real advantage. The hon. Member, however, has said that these examinations would only be necessary in cases of suspicion. But in most instances the suspicion does not arise at the moment of death. In many of the cases with which the Criminal Courts have had to deal, suspicion has not arisen until months after the death, and in such cases the Bill would afford no security whatever. Therefore, as far as this part of the Bill is concerned, what I have to say is this—that I do not dispute that the present system of interment is unsatisfactory, and that I do not say that greater precautions ought not to be taken, but that the first three clauses of the Bill are utterly inadequate to meet the evil to which the hon. Member has referred. But these clauses, which are intended to effect the reform of our system of registration, and of the granting of certificates, are merely supplementary to the main feature of the Bill, which is that which relates to cremation. Upon this subject I must entreat the indulgence of the enlightened while I endeavour to state why I am not in favour of the proposal contained in this part of the Bill. We all know that the enlightened are not very tolerant of the vulgar; but I may tell the enlightened that it is the vulgar who form the majority of mankind. It is quite true that the law of England on the subject of burial is very defective, and is practically indefensible; but still we must remember that it is only in very modern times that England has become so very enlightened. In former times there used to be a very commonplace quality with which we used to get on very well—that of common sense—which had its peculiar laws and habits which were adapted to inferior capacities; and when those laws and habits came to be subjected to the searching tests of philosophy and enlightenment it was found that a great many holes could be found in them. It is now said that it had been discovered that it is not illegal to cremate human bodies, and to cremate, being legal, entitles it to being authorized and regulated. That may be so; but the same assertion applies equally to many other methods of disposing of dead bodies. It is true that the judgment of Mr. Justice Stephen states that there is nothing illegal in cremation; but equally there is nothing illegal that I know of in cannibalism. That is a proposition perfectly clear. I have read the judgment of Mr. Justice Stephen on the question this morning, and it certainly goes to that extent, because it declares that there is nothing in the law which requires that a dead body should be disposed of in any particular way; and therefore to allege that this judgment is a judgment inferentially in favour of cremation is as unfair a use of it as it would be to import it as a judgment in favour of cannibalism, or any other method of disposing of the human frame. All that it says is that the law is practically silent upon the subject. But what I say is that the common usage, the common sentiment, and the common feeling on this subject has been so strong hitherto that it has been unnecessary that any particular provision should be made with regard to it. That is the real history of the law on this question. Then we come to the proposition of the hon. Member. He says that we must regulate cremation because the people of the country desire to be cremated. He challenged me for saying that public sentiment was not in favour of cremation, and asked where I found the grounds for arriving at that opinion. He says he has read all the newspapers—I have not time to do that—and that they are all in favour of cremation. Then, when he comes to the point, he admits that people would not rush to be cremated; and I cannot help thinking his study of the subject has brought him to very much the same conclusion as I had arrived at. My hon. Friend is a courageous man; he is a logical man, which is the quality of his countrymen. I observe the two promoters of this Bill are both from Scotland, and I believe its ablest supporter represents a Scottish University where we know that science has developed more than anywhere else, more particularly the science of logic; but with all his courage and ability the hon. Member has a great power to work against—namely, the experience and the sentiment of mankind almost from the earliest period of history. The most enlightened, the most civilized, and the most refined nation of antiquity—that of Greece—did not burn their dead. It is true that in *Homer* descriptions may be found of the burning of the dead in pre-historic times, and I doubt whether the universal proposition laid down by Wachsmuth, that the Greeks never burned their dead, can be supported. I think that that proposition is too wide—indeed, Socrates speaks of both manners of disposing of the dead. The Greeks, however, did not adopt burning as a general practice. The Greeks followed the method which we have adopted in more recent periods. They forbade burials within cities, and they insisted on extra-mural interments. Then as to the Romans. With regard to the Romans, no doubt, burning was in the time of the Empire adopted. It was not the usual practice of the Romans in the time of the Republic. I remember that Sylla was the first of his family—the first of the Cornelian Gens—who was burnt, and he caused himself to be burnt, in order that he might not be served as he had served his great rival, Marius, whom he had dug up after burial. That pretty well fixes what the practice was at that particular time. No doubt after that time burning was largely adopted by the Romans, and that for two or three centuries they burnt their dead; but there were some curious exceptions. When a man was struck by lightning he was supposed to be sanctified by the stroke; and I remember the fine phrase of Mr. Canning, referring to King George III. in the decay of his age. He spoke of him as "Scathed by Heaven's lightning, but consecrated as much as blasted by the blow." The Romans also buried in the case of infants whose teeth had not been cut. But they often used burial very frequently otherwise. The word *sepulcrum* applies both to burial and burning. We have all seen a sarcophagus. We have seen the memorials of Roman remains in England. They may be seen in the Museum at York and other places, and actually so perfect that the imprint of the mortuary cloth may be traced upon the covering of the dead. Therefore it is clear that burning was not the universal practice of even Imperial Rome; but that burial was used as well. Therefore, if you look to the history of mankind—and, after all, mankind had some wisdom even before we were born—if you look back 2,000 years, how small a space of that period it is during which the civilized world adopted this method of disposing of its dead. Why, it would not be two or three centuries out of 20 centuries of Christianity that the practice of burning prevailed. For 18 centuries, it may be said, indeed, to have been rejected by the opinion of civilized Europe. Did I say 18 centuries? I should have said 15 centuries, for the Roman influence prevailed for about three or four centuries. Now, it may be said in these enlightened times that there was prejudice connected with religious ideas; but that is not the cause why the present system has endured. My hon. Friend referred to the practice on the Continent of Europe. There was a time when France was not under the influence of religious prejudice. When the Goddess of Reason was installed in Paris there was no ground why the religious influence should prevail, and why cremation should not have been adopted. But it was not adopted in France. My hon. Friend referred to a Bill by M. Gambetta which might have been passed; but I gather from him that cremation at the present moment is illegal in France. But if that is so, it is not under the predominant influence of religious prejudice. No, Sir; it is not religious prejudice. It is a prejudice, if you please. I would call it a sentiment founded upon the sympathy, in my opinion, of mankind. At all events, my hon. Friend must go a great deal further before he can establish anything like a consensus of opinion in favour of the system he advocates. He has told us that there are crematoria established in various places; but he has not told us what use is made of them. That is very important. If he could show us that in those countries where they are established use is made of them by millions of people, by thousands and tens of thousands of cases, we might think that it was insular prejudice, and that there was a public sentiment in favour of its being universally employed. That would have advanced his argument. But he quoted nothing in that way worth speaking of. There is only one great authority I can find which he has actually converted, and that is the Commissioners of Sewers of the Corporation of London. Well, the Corporation of London is a body of advanced opinions. They had a Bill the other day dealing with the water supply. Now they are going to dispose of human bodies, and they are going to establish a great crematorium at Ilford. Whether they are building for themselves a great funeral pyre to dispose of the Corporation it is not for me to say; but perhaps they desire that their death should not be like that of other men, and that they should vanish in a fiery chariot. But as to this new method, I cannot accept even the authority of the Commissioners of Sewers against the general opinion of the world of the practice of collective ages. The question is, what is the character of the evils made out, and what are the methods to deal with it? Now, my hon. Friend read largely from the Reports of the Commissioners of Health; and I gathered from him that they were the Reports in *The Times.* He referred to Mr. Edwin Chadwick, who took a great interest in public health. This was many years ago. A great deal has been done in the reform of burial since then in regard to burials in crowded populations and matters of that kind. Instead of having them in the City of London and in the midst of crowded populations, you have burials at Woking and other cemeteries. My hon. Friend (Dr. Farquharson) is afraid that the soil of England will be exhausted by burial grounds. We have not come to that yet. They are hardly so extensive as deer forests at the present time, and therefore I do not think that is an argument. I once saw a remarkable statement that the whole population of the globe could stand on the Isle of Wight; giving each man a yard square to stand on. Well, if you lay him down a yard square would equally accommodate him; and if you come to dispose of the population of the globe in that way, I do not think territorial earth hunger is an argument which will conclude this question. I look on this matter, as I said before, as one of the unenlightened. I know that to-morrow, for the remarks I have made, I shall be denounced as a Philistine, and that the philosophers will do me to death. I always sympathized a good deal with the Philistines, and I always thought that the strong man was very hard upon them, and I console myself with the reflection of the instrument he employed for their destruction. Therefore, if I am attacked by the philosophers, I feel that after all we are the majority of the world, and that though the philosophers do come down upon us very harshly, still there are always some of us who survive. But, to speak seriously, my hon. Friend is kind enough to make the pivot of his cremation turn on the Home Secretary. I always maintained that the Home Secretary has got a good deal too much to do, and I am painfully conscious that he has a great deal more to do than he can properly do, or properly does, and the creation of all these new duties is in itself an evil. How am I to undertake the duties that are here laid down? I am to determine how many, and where the crematoria are to be placed. I am afraid that my decisions on the subject would not be satisfactory to my hon. Friend. Then I am to determine the regulations under which people are to be turned into those silver-frosted fragments, as my hon. Friend (Dr. Farquharson) called it, and put in glass bottles. These things are imposing on the Executive duties that I feel entirely unequal to. I see before me my Predecessor (Sir R. Assheton Cross), and my probable Successor. If he is willing to state that he is prepared to accept those duties my hon. Friend will have received valuable support; but, at the present time, it seems to me that we should be doing a thing which would be extremely unwise and extremely imprudent if we were to endeavour to force on the mind of the people, when they are not prepared for it, a measure of this kind. I believe that practical politics and practical statesmanship differ in that respect, that philosophical speculation must take account of the sentiment and, if you please, the prejudice of mankind; and I do not think that the proposals which have been advanced by my hon. Friend—propositions which, I venture to say, are by no means commensurate with the Bill—are those which would be acceptable, or could be safely adopted. So far as the Bill itself is concerned, I have pointed out that it does not correspond with those propositions, and it does not make an adequate reform in the certificate of death, and consequently upon that footing could not be accepted; and that, as regards cremation, it proposes to introduce a thing which, if it were introduced, would not accomplish the objects of my hon. Friend, which could only be accomplished by a general and compulsory system of cremation; that it is not worth while for his purpose, and therefore, if not worth while for the purpose of the general good of the community, it certainly is not prudent to introduce a matter which I think would be the cause of very great dissatisfaction and very great alarm, in disturbing a system which on the whole, whatever may be its defects, is correspondent to the wishes and the necessities of the community.

Sir LYON PLAYFAIR: The Home Secretary objected to the Bill of my hon. Friend on the ground that it did not carry out the full advocacy of the speech he made in its favour. My hon. Friend knew that it would be only possible to give a permissive Bill for cremation of those who believed it was a salutary process. His speech certainly went much further, and I trust in my remarks I shall keep within it. It is a mere simple permissive Bill, removing an illegal disability which may at present attach to cremation, and giving those securities against crime which are so necessary to prevent cases of secret poisoning. I have placed my name on the back of this Bill, not because I think that cremation is in all cases the best method of disposing of the dead, but because it is a perfectly safe and innocuous process, and as such should not be prejudiced by any legal disability. The means of burning bodies in a complete way are perfectly known, and are efficiently practised in foreign countries. The means of burying in a safe and complete way are also known, but are rarely followed in practice. So that, as a fact, cremation is a process of disposing of the dead in a way which is completely innocuous to the living; while burial, as commonly followed, is a perpetual menace to the health of the survivors in countries of large and increasing populations. The Home Secretary is a high classical authority; but my reading in history as to burying and burning is different from his. From the earliest times, burning was practised in the interior regions of Asia; and in the Western World it was followed by the Thracians, by the Celtae, the Sarmatiae, and other nations. Both processes, burning and burial, have been so extensively adopted in all ages and among all countries, that a main argument against burning consists in the fact that an effort is being made to revive a plan which has been abandoned by common consent in some Pagan and in all Christian countries. At one time burning was at least as general as burial. Indeed, in past ages it was more general than burial, with the important exceptions of Egypt, Judea, and China. Even in these countries burning of bodies was not unknown. Among the Jews, Saul and his sons were burned, and their ashes were buried under a tree. In great plagues also, as in the Vale of Tophet, the bodies were burned for sanitary reasons. At Rome the burning of bodies was practised from the close of the Republic to the middle of the fourth Christian century. In Greece, at one time at least, it was so universal that the only exceptions to it were in the cases of suicide, persons struck by lightning, and mere infants. Why, then, was this general process abandoned? Both the philosophies and the religions of the Old World had great effect in supporting or opposing the two systems of burial and burning. In the old philosophies matter was supposed to be derived from earth, or air, or water, or fire; and living bodies formed from these were after death resolved into them. So the earth philosophers preferred burial, and the air and fire philosophers preferred burning. Religious beliefs acted more powerfully in the selection of funeral rites. Egypt, believing firmly in immortality, embalmed bodies to preserve them for a future state, so that the greatest punishment of the malefactor was to burn his body. So it was in the primitive belief of Christians, that the actual bodies of dead men were to be changed into glorified bodies for immortality. This belief gave a great impulse to the burial of the dead, and it was increased by burning dead and living bodies for heresy, so that burial became a sign of faith, and burning of unbelief. Amid all these changes, the main purpose of burial or burning was never lost sight of, and that was to conceal or destroy the dead body. It was touchingly expressed by Abraham, on the death of Sarah, when he asked for a piece of land "that I may bury the dead out of my sight." The very word "burial" is derived from an old Anglo-Saxon word which means concealment. The dead are to disappear from the living. Socrates put the case wisely when he said that he did not care whether his body was burned or buried, provided his friends did not think that they had burned or buried Socrates. To him it was true, as our great poet expresses it—

"Death makes no conquest of this conqueror,
For now he lives in fame, though not in life."

Lucan, writing in the first century, also shows in what estimation both processes were held, when he says—"*Tabesne cadavera solvat an rogus haud refert*"—whether decay or fire destroys corpses matters not. This philosophy of the past has again become the philosophy of the present. Surely, there is no educated man in this 19th century who could believe that immortality is chained to the body of the dead. Not so believed the glorious martyrs who were burned at the stake,

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or thrown to wild beasts in the arena, or, in later times, those who were beheaded for their faith and thrown into the felon's pit. All were equally certain with old Sir Thomas Brown that "there is nothing immortal but immortality." Both religion and science have now come to the belief that the disposal of the dead is a question of sentiment and convenience. Either burial or cremation produces exactly the same end—the resolution of the body, and differs only in regard to the time in which the resolution is effected. Burial resolves the body into its simple gases and solids, according to its efficiency, in from three to 20 years. Burning produces exactly the same gases and solids in one hour. The earth in its effective state is simply a slow, burning furnace; the crematory is a rapid one. In the earth the body is slowly burned by the air within the pores of the soil. All the organic part of the body passes into gases, which escape into the air as carbonic acid, water, and ammonia. When everything is favourable to burial—when there is no intervening coffin to retard the decay, when the soil is sufficient in quantity and porosity—the decay or slow burning goes on as Nature intended, innocuously to the living, and in fulfilment of an infinitely wise purpose of the great Creator. For these ultimate gases into which the body is resolved constitute the whole aerial food of plants, and are by them constantly moulded into new forms of organic life. And when we make our burials in this simple and complete way there is no violation of any natural law; but we help to fulfil the great cycle of the world, that death and life continually alternate; for death is a source of life, and the dissolution of one generation is necessary for the life of the succeeding one. That is the ideal burial advocated in Mr. Seymour Haden's eloquent letters, "Earth to Earth;" and to it I have no exception to take or preference to give in favour of cremation. But is that the sort of burial which prevails in this country? The description of the actual condition of burial is too repulsive to give, so I will simply say that we do everything to postpone, although we cannot defeat, the beneficent laws of Nature as to the resolution of dead bodies. We inclose our dead in impermeable coffins, often in brick graves, under conditions in which natural decay is substituted by putrescence. In the case of the poor what is called a grave is only a hole in which coffin upon coffin is piled, separated only by thin layers of earth wholly insufficient for absorption. That is not a grave; it is a pit of putridity. I have beside me an official Report upon the way in which paupers are now buried in a Lancashire workhouse close to the living inmates. I will not shock the House by quoting from it. Burial, as commonly practised in this country, both among rich and poor, shows little respect to the dead, and is a continual menace to the living. It destroys the soil, it fouls the air, it contaminates the water, and is a fertile source of human disease. Are you, then, surprised that a reaction against the abuses of burial has taken place, and that scientific men have proposed to re-establish burning as one means of remedying these abominable evils? The body is subject to the immutable law of resolution by decay, as the great provision of the Creator to nourish plants required as food by new generations. You may retard the operation of the law by bad systems of burial, or by embalments; but in the end it governs you. The bodies of the old Pharaohs have existed for thousands of years; but they are now gradually dissipating in our museums by decay. In this case the process of decay is inoffensive; but what it is in even the best of our churchyards I do not venture to describe. Cremation yields to this law instant obedience. The body yields in the furnace the very same gases which it yields from the soil. The time only differs. In the one case an hour is sufficient; in the other case 20 years may not suffice. The ultimate processes are not merely similar—they are absolutely identical. Both fulfil the end—"Ashes to ashes, dust to dust"—but in cremation that is a reality; in burial only a postponed hope, which the survivor may never live to see realized. Why, then, should we hesitate to give legal facilities to those who desire to treat their dead in this way? The burned bodies of martyrs are as sacred in the history of Christianity as those which are buried in the catacombs of Rome. Of the two modes of disposing of the dead let the living choose their own plan, on the condition that both are conducted with decorum, and with full regard to the known wishes of the deceased and to the feelings of the survivors. Let religion still hallow the event by the beautiful services which all Christian countries adopt on that solemn occasion. I admit that, until the religious feelings of the country look upon cremation with favour, it is not likely to be extensively practised. But if you reject this Bill, you are bound to reform your Laws of Burial, and to bring its practice into some unison with existing knowledge. At present it is a scandal to the most elementary laws of public health. It is desirable to look upon the graves of those we have loved with the tenderest associations of the past, and with the brightest hopes of the future. But burial, as now practised, is to every man of science an evil to the living and a want of honour to the dead. If you deny to those who desire cremation the right to use it, at least meet this demand by reforming your modes of burial; at all events, bring them into consonance with Nature's laws, which are much wiser than our statutes. Burial and burning have the same end, to resolve dead bodies into the aerial food of plants —the one slowly, the other quickly. Over a dead body man has no further power, for chemical and physical forces then reign supreme. It seems unreasonable to refuse to those who wish these changes to be quickly effected, through burning, the right to do so. You cannot help the same end arriving at last. The great and abounding air into which passes all the foulness of the living and all the decay of the dead will continue to be, as it is now, the ultimate grave of organic death and the cradle of organic life. Old Bishop Hall was very near this truth when he said—" Death borders upon our birth, and our cradle stands in the grave." Why should you not allow those who know this truth to produce the final and inevitable result by a process of rapid burning, instead of by a prolonged process of decay in the soil? Only one real argument has been used against the Bill, and that is that burning of a body might destroy the evidences of crime. The Bill takes special precautions that crimes of violence could not escape detection. But secret poisoning might in some cases remain undiscovered, although by this Bill, with its carefully framed methods of medical examination, it is far less likely to remain undetected than on the present system. Secret poisoning is effected either by mineral or organic poisons. All the mineral poisons, except arsenic, and perhaps mercury, would remain in the ashes of the burning, and these could be retained. As to organic poisons, they would be destroyed by burning, as they are now destroyed in the grave, by putrescence; so as regards these both burial and burning are equally at fault. The common form of arsenical poisoning would, however, be detected after burial, and probably not at all after burning. This is an admitted objection to it. Although the medical certificate required by the Bill would render such occasions rare, they might occur, as they do now, not infrequently, in ordinary burial. But to what extent? I never heard it urged that cremation of our Indian subjects is any hindrance to the administration of justice in our Indian Empire. But, admitting the evil to some extent, to me it appears to be as nothing compared to the good which would follow. I do not, indeed, believe that burning will become at all universal. But if it be brought into competition with burial, that as a system must be greatly improved, and be brought under laws which will render it compatible with decency and with public health. So that the good which would follow by the introduction of a competing system for the disposal of the dead would amply compensate the living for the rare, though possible, chance that an isolated crime might remain undetected.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had listened with attention and pleasure to the able speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair). He was himself quite indifferent to the particular mode adopted for disposing of human remains, whether by burial or by cremation; but bodies must be got rid of somehow. They were apt to be disagreeable to the living; the present practice of interment was attended with drawbacks; and, therefore, we were bound to consider fairly the proposed alternative. He had lived for a long time among Hindoos, with whom cremation was habitual. In and about Calcutta there were, perhaps, 500,000 Hindoos, who, at one time, used to throw their dead into the Hooghly. That was prohibited, and then, burial being unknown among them, cremation was adopted, under a completely European administration, without any remonstrance on the part of either Christians or Mahomedans. Considering how great was the population, it was surprising how simply and easily it was done in an inclosure which was almost in the centre of Calcutta. At first, in anticipation of offence to the living, science was called in aid, and a furnace and a high chimney erected for the purpose of carrying off the fumes to Heaven; but somehow the scientific process did not commend itself to the Hindoos, and they were allowed to return to the historic funeral pyre. He was bound to say, from personal observation, that by this plan the dead were disposed of rapidly and without offence, and no complaint was made on the part of the outside public. He could not concur in the assertion that no inconvenience was felt in prosecuting inquiry in cases of supposed poisoning; on the contrary, there had been inconvenience from too rapid cremation, just as there would be from throwing bodies into the Ganges, in a country where it was necessary to dispose of bodies more quickly than in this country. We did not know how far poisoning was common in this country; still less did we know how far it might be common in India; and sometimes he had had reason to suspect that it prevailed more than we supposed. It was, therefore, possible that the rapid disposal of bodies might have some effect in promoting poisoning. There was a law in India under which childless widows inherited the property of their husbands; and it had often been remarked by administrators that, according to statistics, there was an extraordinary number of childless Hindoo widows, and this led to the suspicion that a good many of the husbands had been made away with. In this country it was possible to take greater precautions than were possible in India, because it was not necessary to dispose of the dead so rapidly. The precautions provided by the Bill would probably be sufficient. The only other objection he had—namely, the waste of good matter for manurial purposes—had been disposed of by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh; and, as the final result was the same by both processes, he was prepared to vote for the second reading of the Bill.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that as we were not all philosophers nor all Hindoos, we could not argue this matter as if we were either the one or the other. He shared the feeling of the Home Secretary as to the danger that would ensue from cremation so far as the detection of crime was concerned. We must consider how far the adoption of cremation would effect the probability of crimes being committed without their being detected. It was curious that even in India those who buried their dead would not have the philosophic method of cremation, but would revert to the somewhat crude and unphilosophical method of burning on the funeral pile; and the House had just heard, on the high authority of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), that apprehensions were entertained as to the rate at which poisoning prevailed among the Hindoos. As a matter of fact, even organic poisons had been known to remain a long time in the body; they had been found in bodies that had been exhumed, and the result had been the conviction of poisoners. On the other hand, it was certain that even arsenic would be largely dissipated by the process of burning. The adoption of the process of burning would, therefore, produce in the minds of the people a feeling that, in spite of medical certificates, they would be exposed to the risks of poisoning, because their bodies would be disposed of so quickly, and with them would disappear the evidence of crime. The argument that opposition to the Bill implied interference with the law of Nature which converted our bodies into the food of plants could scarcely be treated as one affecting practical politics. There might have been a menace to the living in the conditions of burial some years ago; but improved regulations had been adopted, and now no practical danger could ensue if the Burial Laws were properly carried out. It was said that we should still have to improve our Burial Laws unless we adopted cremation. If so, we should still have to improve them, for the Bill was only permissive, and under it cremation would not become general for a long time. One of the greatest arguments against the Bill was that it was against the public sentiment. It was immaterial what might have been done among the Greeks and the Romans; but, if cremation had been introduced by either, by the common consent of Europe the practice had ceased. When it was proposed to begin it at Wokingham seven or eight years ago, very strong representations were made to him against it; and if the attempt had been made it would have led to disturbance in the country. He did not think it safe to allow the experiment to go on; his endeavours to stop it had been followed up by those of his Successor, who deserved the thanks of the country for the attitude he had taken. The attempt to prove what the results of the decomposition of the human body were and must be, whatever happened, would have been a good lecture at the Royal Institution; but practical politics were not governed by philosophy. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Lyon Playfair) had said that the only difference between burial and cremation was that one system took years, and the other a few hours. Even if he could prove that, yet cremation was against the opinion of the majority. They must consider, not whether there were a few people who wanted it, but that the mass of the people were against it. Where was the demand for it? A number of philosophers, who thought it was the perfection of science, would be glad to see it carried out; but they did not represent the common feeling of the country. It was said that the sentiment of the country had arisen from the belief that the actual body would rise again hereafter, and that impression might still prevail in spite of all philosophy. Nothing but imperative necessity should induce Parliament to do anything which would shock the feelings of the masses of the people on the subject of the burial of the dead. This should not be done unless it was absolutely necessary for the health of the living. No such statement had been made; and the fact that the sentiment of the people was against it was evident. ["Where?"] Where? everywhere. He had the best means of knowing what happened several years ago when he was in Office, and he believed his Successor had found there was no change in the feelings of the people. He agreed with everything the Home Secretary had said; and, therefore, he should heartily vote against the second reading.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, they had had a very extraordinary exhibition that day. They had seen a Secretary of State and an ex-Secretary of State running amuck against the laws of Nature, the laws of science, and the laws of the country. As he understood it, it was pretty well admitted by those who acknowledged the decision of the Judges that cremation was legal. It had been stated so from the Bench; but the Home Secretary had congratulated his Predecessor upon having resisted. And when his Predecessor got up, he boasted that he, in defiance of the law, had interfered to prevent cremation. Well, that was a very astonishing state of things in a country which, up to the present time, he had hoped was a law-abiding country. As for the laws of Nature, they were jeered out of the House. It was perfectly monstrous, the Home Secretary said, for anyone to allude to such things in Parliament. The late Home Secretary had said that they were not within the scope of practical politics. Well, they were anxious to bring them within the scope of practical politics, and that was the reason that excellent Bill was brought in. The Home Secretary had told them that he and others would feel afraid that they might be poisoned if other people were burned. He had said—"My relations would immediately poison me. One cousin would poison me, another cousin would burn me, and neither cousin would hang for it." Well, he thought that was within the range of practical politics. His hon. Friend (Dr. Cameron) had pointed out that there were 20,000 persons who died every year, and were buried without any species of medical certificate. He did not suppose that all those persons were poisoned; but they might have been, so far as the law was concerned, just as well as if they had been cremated. [An hon. Member: They could be dug up.] No; they could not be dug up. Nobody did. When once they had got a relative underground they kept him there. He remembered once the Home Secretary stating in that House that he was an old Whig. Now, it seemed to him that an old Whig was almost worse than the oldest Conservative, because the right hon. and learned Gentleman literally carried his Conservatism beyond the grave. What was his argument? He had talked about the Greeks and the Romans; but, living in the full light of the 19th century, what had the Greeks and the Romans to do with it? What struck him was the ignorance displayed by the Home Secretary. Had the right hon. and learned Gentleman never read of Thucydides? Speaking of the plague in Athens, Thucydides said that it was so common then to burn the corpses, and the people were in such a state of excitement, that they took some of their friends before they were dead to act as faggots for those who were dead. The right hon. and learned Gentleman told the House that the Romans did not burn their dead in the days of the Republic, and he argued that Republics were so much better than Empires that we ought not to do so now. That was a very doubtful question. He thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman would find that the Etruscans did burn their dead.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The Etruscans were not Romans.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: The right hon. and learned Gentleman was continually making discoveries. He never said they were. But the Etruscans preceded the Romans, and the Romans acquired a very large portion of their civilization from the Etruscans. If, therefore, it were admitted that the Etruscans were in the habit of burning their dead, they might assume that the Romans also burnt their dead. But what on earth did the matter signify? It did not signify one atom. Then the Home Secretary said—"Look at Christianity! when Christianity came they ceased to burn the dead." But did the right hon. and learned Gentleman remember that he was alluding to ages when Europe was in a state of barbarism; and that it was at that time that they ceased to burn their dead and began to bury them? He would point out to the right hon. and learned Gentleman that, so far as many of the sects of the Church were concerned, they had certainly been in favour of burning, because they burnt on both sides heretics, even before they were dead. Then the right hon. and learned Gentleman told them that it was a matter of sentiment —no; not a matter of sentiment, but of feeling. He did not know who had that feeling. So far as he was concerned, it was a matter of absolute indifference to him whether he was buried, or burnt, or anatomized—or anathematized. It was a matter of absolute indifference to him what became of his relatives. He did not see that they would gain anything by being burnt or by being buried. It was a question for the living, not for the dead. Why they objected to burial and why they wished to inaugurate cremation was, that those who remained on this Globe would benefit by cremation. They might talk about cemeteries, but the corpses did gradually get into the soil—they permeated the water and they did a vast amount of injury. The Home Secretary and the late Home Secretary seemed to be under the impression that the Bill obliged everybody to be burnt. It did nothing of the sort. They did not in any sort or way wish to interfere with the late Home Secretary being buried if he wished it. They were not going to insist on burning him. That was a matter for himself and his friends. What they simply asked was that when a person desired to be cremated, not that the law should permit him, for the law did that already, but that the cremation should take place under certain regulations. All the arguments against the Bill had been against the system of cremation. He hoped the House would assent to the Bill. It allowed the matter to be optional. It was what he might almost call a local option after death. The Bill was the consequence of a considerable number of persons desiring that cremation should take place under fair and legitimate rules and regulations which would render abuse of the system impossible.

Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD, referring to the death of a lady which occurred 10 years ago in the parish in which he resided, expressed the opinion that the fearful circumstances which were brought to light after the body was exhumed would not have been revealed if cremation had taken place. He ventured to say that this was a question for the living rather than for the dead; and he very much doubted whether the safeguards proposed in the Bill were adequate. He hoped the House would pause before hastily passing the second reading.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS said, that when the practice of cremation had become extensive among the Romans poisoning increased very much. A lady named Locusta had had considerable opportunities for exercising her art, and detection became very difficult. There were but few mineral poisons whose traces would remain after cremation; and if local authorities established on a large scale a crematorium, where the bodies of the poor would be consumed, it was likely that poisoning by arsenic would be greatly encouraged. He differed from hon. Gentlemen who thought that we might trust to popular sentiment. Changes in that respect occurred very rapidly. He did not think that either the consistency or persistency of popular sentiment on the subject could be trusted; and it would be almost impossible to provide safeguards against an abuse which existed in an imperfect form under our present system. He agreed with his right hon. and learned Friend as to the scientific aspect of the subject; but when it came to be a question of police the matter would be found to be very difficult. He believed there was very much less secret poisoning now than in former times; but we could not afford to relax any of our existing precautions.

Mr. WARTON said, he regretted very much that the Bill had been brought forward. Of the four Scotch Members who had supported it three were of scientific eminence; and their opinions on vaccination and vivisection had hitherto been received with a respect which in future were less likely to be extended to them. The debate, however, showed that the Home Secretary, when he spoke the sentiments of his own heart, was a thorough Tory, for a more admirable, sound Tory speech than that of the right hon. and learned Gentleman he had never heard in the House. The earliest instance of a contract on record was when the Patriarch Abraham paid a price in silver for a burial-place in which to lay his dead. The natural sentiment with regard to a burial-place where our bodies must remain until the Resurrection must be stronger than with regard to an urn containing a handful of ashes.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, it seemed to him that those hon. Gentlemen who promoted the measure had no very clear idea in their own minds as to how it was to be worked. Accordingly, they adopted a practice that was not uncommon, and threw the responsibility of making regulations on the Home Secretary. An excellent sentiment was growing up in favour of so disposing of the dead as to allow Nature to complete her work naturally; and if legislation were proposed with the object of discouraging the use of lead coffins and brick graves he should give it his support. Such an amendment of the Burial Laws would completely meet the main argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair). There was, however, no reasonable chance of a general approval of the practice of cremation. Nearly every civilized race felt horror at the thought of submitting the bodies of their relatives to cremation. There was evidence in Rome and elsewhere to show that, from the earliest times, Christians were opposed to the practice of burning the dead.

Mr. FINDLATER said, it was admitted by everyone that cremation could take place with perfect ease. The Bill did not propose to legalize cremation, for it was legal already. The measure would only regulate the practice, and place it under proper restrictions. He regretted that the Home Secretary should have treated the subject in a spirit of *badinage*. What, he asked, was the relevancy of references to the Greeks and Romans? Those nations knew nothing of the germ theory of disease, whereas we knew that our rivers and springs were being poisoned by the germs emanating from dead bodies. Replying to the argument that cremation might frustrate the detection of poisoners, he said that a Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies had reported that experiments conducted by chemists of eminence showed that arsenic and other poisons could be found in the ashes of poisoned animals after cremation. He should support the Motion for the second reading. [*Cries of* "Divide!"]

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he was not surprised that the House should be anxious to go to a Division after the rollicking Scotch morning which they had had. He wished, however, to be allowed to point out that the provisions of the Bill did not afford absolute security against the disposal by cremation of the body of a poisoned man. A certificate would be necessary before cremation could be carried out, signed by the medical attendant of the deceased in his last illness. Suppose a case in which the medical man himself should be the culprit; there would be nothing to prevent him from signing the certificate for the disposal by burning of the corpse of his victim. In his opinion, the Bill was simply a measure designed to put 5*s.* into the pockets of the Medical Profession every time a person died. Much had been said about the interest which the poor felt in the question of cremation. He knew well that many poor people in ill-health preferred to starve in their own houses rather than go into the workhouse, so great was their fear of a pauper grave; but the horror with which they looked forward to a pauper's burial would be greatly increased if they were told that they would be burnt. The Bill represented the crude effort of some scientific men to foist their views upon the House; and he trusted that those views would not be adopted.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 79; Noes 149: Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 79.)

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 (PURCHASE CLAUSES) BILL.—[BILL 23.]

(*Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. William Shaw, Mr Charles Russell, Mr. Lea, Mr. Findlater.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. T. A. DICKSON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the object of the Bill was to amend and extend the Purchase Clauses embodied in the Land Act of 1881. Now, so far as the main object of the Bill was concerned, he was happy to say there was no difference amongst the Irish Members sitting upon any side of the House. They all agreed that the Purchase Clauses required both amendment and extension. He did admit that there was a difference of opinion as to the method by which the object should be carried out; but the end that they all had in view was to give vitality to these clauses, They all agreed that something on the part of the Government of a comprehensive nature must now be done, for it was well known to Irish Members that the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act were practically useless, and had been almost inoperative. He need hardly remind the House that the Purchase Clauses were first inserted in the Church Act of 1869, and were known as the Bright Clauses. These clauses were inserted in the Land Act of 1870, they were amended in 1872, and then finally amended and embodied in the Land Act of 1881. Great results were expected in Ireland when the Purchase Clauses were amended in the Land Act of 1881; but he thought the House would admit—and Irish Members would admit—that up to the present time these clauses had been a dismal failure, and that the creation under them of a peasant proprietary in Ireland was as far off as ever. The House stood committed to an amendment of these clauses, for on the 12th of June last year the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) carried unanimously a Resolution that the Purchase Clauses urgently required to be amended; and the House, in passing the second reading of the Bill, would merely give effect to that Resolution. What were the actual results under these clauses up to the present time? Under the new machinery brought into operation by the Land Act, they had only 330 sales to tenants up to the 31st of December, 1883, or during two and a-half years' operation they had only 330 sales to tenants, involving 15,000 acres of land, and purchase money amounting to £150,000; so that at the present rate of progress it would take 1,000 years to realize the intentions of Parliament. Now, why had the Purchase Clauses failed? In his opinion they failed simply and solely because of the vexatious and technical difficulties introduced into the Land Act. These technical difficulties, he believed, were three—first, no matter what security might be offered, the Land Commissioners could only advance three-fourths of the money; second, the rate of interest could not be varied, nor the term of repayment; and, third, the Land Commissioners were unable to purchase estates, unless three-fourths of the tenants representing two-thirds of the entire rental agreed to buy. Owing, therefore, to the total absence of elasticity in the Land Act of 1881, the Land Commissioners were so tied up that they had to refuse an enormous number of applications. What did the last Report of the Land Commissioners say? Their last Report said that, although £225,000 was sanctioned for purchases, only £150,000 was paid; and all this was owing to the technical difficulties with which the tenants were unable to comply, so that the result now was there was stagnation in the market for land. The Encumbered Estates Court was blocked, and the mortgagees were only waiting to close and sell properties that were heavily encumbered. The public would not purchase, and the tenants could not. It rested, therefore, with the Government, in the interests of both landlord and tenant, to abandon patchwork legislation in connection with the Purchase Clauses, which had been pursued for the last 12 or 13 years, and courageously set about seeing that the intentions of Parliament should be carried out, and something done to create a number of freeholders in Ireland. The Government, in doing this, would be only following the example of every country in Europe. Every State in Europe had given its attention to this matter, and England alone was behind, although there was no country in the world where the creation of occupying proprietors would work with better results than in Ireland. The Bill which he now brought before the House was merely a contribution to the solution of a question which must before long be settled. He had mentioned the three difficulties which destroyed the working of the Purchase Clauses. The first was the inability on the part of the Land Commissioners to advance more than three-fourths of the purchase money—he proposed in the Bill that the Board to be created under it, and to be called the Land Corporation, should have power to advance the whole of the purchase money. For the money advanced the Corporation would have ample security. They would have the security of the fee simple in the land, and the security of the tenant's interest or the tenant right. He would remind the House, and the English Members especially, that the tenant's interest, as defined and settled by the Land Act, was a very important interest. It was equal, in many cases—he believed in the majority of cases in Ulster—to the fee simple; and, on the average, all over Ireland the tenant's interest would amount to one-half the value of the fee simple. The advance would, therefore, be secured by the fee simple and the tenant's interest as well. It provided, as a further safeguard, that the tenant's title in the land purchased should not be confirmed until five years of the annual instalments had been paid by him. By this time the tenant would have a substantial interest in the land he purchased, and the Corporation would have ample security for the money they advanced. He desired to strongly impress upon the House the absolute necessity that the whole purchase money should be advanced. Let the House remember that Ireland was but slowly recovering from the depression of the last few years; and, bearing that in mind, he thought every Member would agree with him that it would be impolitic to compel the tenant to have recourse to the money-lender, or to deprive himself of the small savings that he would require to work the land, or to sell his stock, in order that he might raise the purchase money. He believed, and it was generally admitted by all acquainted with the subject, that the Government would be better secured by advancing the whole of the money than they would by advancing three-fourths of it, and thereby driving the tenants into the hands of money-lenders, who would exercise a pernicious control and influence over them. If this course had been pursued with regard to the glebe lands sold to tenants under the Purchase Clauses of the Church Act of 1869, the present owners, especially in Ulster, would not be in their present embarrassed condition. What was the evidence of Mr. Morrough O'Brien before the Select Committee in 1878? He said that he was told by the tenants that they had to starve themselves in order to raise the necessary one-fourth of the purchase money, and in one instance a tenant had to sell his entire stock—two cows and six sheep—and borrow at the rate of 20 per cent, in order to become the owner of his land. If the whole of the purchase money was not advanced, he ventured to say that the sales in Ireland would be few and far between; because they all knew that, in consequence of the Land Act of 1881, the tenants could not now be frightened by the terror of the new and unknown landlord, and not compelled to borrow at 20 per cent, or starve themselves. The tenants were now secured from eviction, except for non-payment of the judicial rent. He would say emphatically that it was the interest of both landlord and tenant that the whole purchase money should be advanced; and he hoped that the Irish Members would reject any proposals of the Government on the subject, unless the advance of the whole of the purchase money was conceded. Under the Bill he proposed that the rate of interest should not be less than 3½ per cent, and left the terms of repayment entirely at the discretion of the Land Corporation, to decide according to the merits of each estate and case, and to deal with them upon a sound commercial basis. A difficulty in connection with the inability of the Land Commissioners to carry out the Purchase Clauses was the impossibility to get three-fourths of the tenants on an estate representing two-thirds of the rental to agree to buy. Now, what he proposed was that the Land Corporation should be able to purchase estates *in globo*, and hold them over until transferred to the tenants. In proposing this he followed the suggestion made by Judge

Flanagan, of the Landed Estates Court, before the Commission in 1878. Judge Flanagan said—

> "You must have a person or persons who would have an interest in the tenants, and who would be prepared to come forward and buy *in globo* estates for sale, and then sell them back to the tenants. It is the only chance of selling largely to the tenants."

Now, that was exactly the principle embodied in this Bill. He was aware that great divergence of opinion existed amongst Irish Members as to the mode for extending the Purchase Clauses; and he brought forward this Bill as a contribution to the discussion, and as an attempt to solve the difficulties now existing. The Corporation that he proposed to establish would be partly a public and partly a State Institution. He proposed that the State should guarantee 3 per cent on £10,000,000 sterling. He was anxious that this should be held out to the Irish people as a source of investment, especially to the agricultural community. The deposits in the Irish banks at the present moment were about £35,000,000, and depositors were paid on that sum about 1 per cent; and he had no doubt that before long these depositors would be ready to invest their money in a Corporation such as this, which would give them a State guarantee of 3 per cent on their money. This would not only be a financial gain to the people, but a great political advantage to the State. He would be glad to see the Irish people having a National Institution of this kind, where their deposits would be safe, and where they would get a reasonable interest for their money. An impression existed, principally in England, that if these facilities were given there would be a great rush upon the part of the tenants to buy. No greater delusion could possibly exist. He would remind the House that the transactions in the Encumbered Estates Court during the most prosperous years did not exceed £1,000,000 per annum. He did not believe that all the facilities for purchase offered by this Bill would lead to sales of more than £1,000,000 a-year, so that the operations would be very gradual, because there was now no pressing necessity on the part of the tenants to buy; and he also believed that when the present glut in the land market was removed it would be found that the proprietors of great estates had not the slightest intention of selling. He proposed under this Bill that there should be no law costs, and that the amount of the purchase money should cover all the liability of the tenant. The costs at present to the tenants in the Encumbered Estates Court amounted to 11 per cent of the purchase money; and where the amount of the purchase money was only £150, the costs reached 18 per cent, or four years' purchase. There was a strong feeling about this in the North of Ireland; and he believed that, unless some special arrangements were made, the people would be very cautious about becoming purchasers. It was a well-known fact that tenants would rather pay £10 more for their land than £10 in costs. He had now given the House in bare outline his project, and it did not go one step beyond what the Select Committee had recommended in 1878. One of the Land Commissioners examined by Mr. Bright—Mr. Justice O'Hagan—said that the Commission proposed by him "should have all matters connected with the purchase and sale of land absolutely in their own hands." It had been suggested to leave the working of these Purchase Clauses in the hands of the Land Commissioners. He had no objection if they placed in the hands of the Commissioners extensive powers, and left them absolutely free to deal with every case. If, however, they placed extensive powers in the hands of the Commissioners, could they believe that they could utilize them? Why the Land Commissioners were unable to grapple with the appeals, and 9,000 appeals were waiting for hearing. Their hands were full, and they had more work than they would be able to accomplish for the next four years. Public opinion in Ireland was anxiously awaiting for the solution of this question, and for the creation of a peasant proprietary. The question which they had now to decide was, whether they would allow the people facilities for becoming the owners of the land which was waiting for sale, or let it get into the hands of speculators? He earnestly hoped that Her Majesty's Government, for the sake of the peace and prosperity of Ireland, would facilitate so desirable a result when they had the opportunity. They were now face to face with the very same position of affairs as existed in 1850; and he hoped that the blunder then made would not be repeated, and that they would now enable the tillers of the soil to become the owners of the land which they cultivated. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. T. A. Dickson.*)

Mr. PLUNKET said, he would only detain the House for two or three minutes. He had no intention of moving the rejection of the Bill; but it must be understood that he did not in the least degree assent to it. If he moved the rejection of the Bill it would be his duty to give some reasons for doing so. He would not, however, waste a moment of the time of the House. He was anxious to hear the statement which the Chief Secretary had long promised them, and which men of all classes in Ireland had been long looking forward to with the greatest anxiety. The right hon. Gentleman, he trusted, would now address the House and state the view of the Government.

Mr. PARNELL: Sir, I should have been very much better pleased if the right hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down had informed the House what measure he was prepared to support of this kind. I doubt very much if the right hon. and learned Member would support any Bill such as has been introduced. I welcome this Bill as a step in the right direction; but I scarcely think that the time has come yet in Ireland for any large transfer of property from landlords to tenants, either under this Bill or any other proposal which has yet been made, unless very special facilities were offered by the Government. I doubt very much whether Irish landowners, as a class, are desirous of selling their interests in the land at the price which tenants would be willing to give for it. I doubt very much if the time has yet arrived for such a project. I am very much disposed to think that on the great majority of estates in Ireland the measure would be ineffective, and that its operations would be confined to those which are already in the market, and which must be sold, owing to the fact that the margin which has been left for the benefit of the original owners who have petitioned for the sale has been absorbed, or nearly absorbed, owing to the very great depreciation in the value of land which has taken place in that country. As regards the main question of the sale of land in Ireland to the tenants, I scarcely think that we shall be able to approach it on the basis afforded in the Bill of the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson). All Parties in this House now entertain the belief that it would be most desirable that the purchase facilities of the Act of 1881 should be extended, so as to enable tenants upon estates in Ireland to become owners of their holdings upon fair and reasonable terms. It certainly would have afforded some light to the House if the right hon. and learned Gentleman had given some information to the House as to the views of his Party upon the Bill of the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Dickson). I can only say, with regard to this Bill, that I recognize in it a sincere attempt at, if not a solution of the Irish Land Question; it certainly is an attempt to solve the present difficulty with regard to the sale of estates in Ireland. I believe that if the Government were to see their way to the adoption of the measure, a very considerable number of estates now in the market waiting for sale from various causes would be transferred, enabling the tenants to become the owners of their holdings upon reasonable and proper terms. I do think that it would be most desirous that the owners of encumbered estates in Ireland should be afforded an opportunity of selling, and the tenants an opportunity of buying, their holdings. I think, however, in all probability, unless very exceptional facilities were afforded by the Government, such as the extension of the repayment period over a larger number of years, and that a greater amount of the loan was advanced, no very great progress would be made upon a large scale just now. I have always held that the Land Question in Ireland will never be settled upon a firm and sure foundation until the occupying tenants have been made the owners of their holdings; and I consider that it would be very well worth the while of the Government, whether Conservative or Liberal, to settle the question upon that basis, and to create in the nation a spirit of contentment and peace amongst all parties. I believe that one result would be to do away with the necessity, from their point of view, of "exceptional legislation," and of having to keep up a large garrison of military and police. Yet I am convinced that if the sale of land in Ireland took place under certain conditions and at a certain price, the result would be that the taxpayer eventually would be no loser whatever, and that not one shilling of extra taxation would be incurred by enabling the Irish tenants to pay in just instalments for their land. While I say this, I say, also, that I think the time has scarcely come yet when the operations of the Bill of the hon. Member could be carried out upon any extensive scale. However, the condition of the land market in Ireland will afford the Government an opportunity of making an experiment, and seeing how far the tenants on these encumbered estates are desirous of purchasing, and also of ascertaining the price which they are disposed to give for their holdings. They can then judge by the course of things during the next few years what probability there would be of the success of a more extended scheme of purchase from the result in this case. If it be found that the tenants upon such encumbered estates purchased their holdings at prices which are accepted by the Courts having the jurisdiction of the sale, and that the instalments are paid with reasonable punctuality, it would afford a strong inducement to the Government to adopt a larger scheme in the course of a few years. It would be an encouragement to the taxpayers of the Three Kingdoms to undertake larger and greater risks with a view to bringing about a permament and lasting settlement of the Land Question, which, as anyone with any experience of the actual situation of affairs in Ireland knows, is the only accepted means of leading to tranquillity and peace in that country. The subject of the present Bill is divided into two questions—Are the landlords willing to sell, and are the tenants willing to buy? I have already answered these two questions by saying that, in my opinion, the landlords are not willing to sell at present at such prices as would enable the tenants to buy. The tenants are not willing to give 20 years' purchase on the judicial rent. When the question comes to be considered it will be fought upon that. The tenants will object to having to pay the entire taxation upon these estates, county cess, poor rate, and Income Tax, with the knowledge that they would have an inflexible landlord, instead of having, as at present, a few rare examples who are flexible. When they would understand that the demands of the tax-gatherer could not be avoided, postponed, or delayed, they would rather look forward to the time when the Healy Clause of the Land Act will be a reality in existence instead of in theory, as at present; and when, instead of having to pay for the improvements of their predecessors in title 20 years' purchase of a judicial rent, they will themselves obtain the benefits of such improvements. The Irish landlords, unless they received a further loan, would not permit the tenants to purchase under these conditions; and, therefore, I hold that, unless the period of repayment were very materially extended from 35 to 52 years, the tenants would not be induced to buy at such a rate as the landlords would be willing to sell at. I should be very glad to know the sentiments of the Government. They appear to shrink from placing themselves in the position of creditors on an extensive scale to the Irish tenants. The Land Act of 1881 preserved the landlords as a buffer between the Government and the tenants. I do not know whether the opinion has been modified within recent years; but the announcement that they intend to propose some scheme of purchase would rather appear to indicate that they are favourable to the assumption of a greater risk by the State than they were when the Land Act of 1881 was passed, and that, so far as regards the encumbered estates which are now in the market, and must be sold whether the price obtained for them be high or low, they are disposed to experiment on a somewhat larger scale than hitherto. I believe that the experiment can be tried with perfect safety. I think that in all probability an expenditure of £10,000,000 a-year extending over a period of 10 years—that would be £100,000,000 altogether—would enable most of the land in the occupation of tenants subject to the operation of the Land Act of 1881 to be purchased, and that long before the expiration of the 10 years you would have repaid in annual instalments a very considerable portion of the sum lent during the first three years, and that possibly, if it were worked out by an actuary, it would be found that at no time during the 10 years would the State have lent more than a total sum of about £50,000,000. In all probability, what will result from the present situation will be an experiment on a large scale as to the feasibility of establishing a peasant proprietary. But I shall regard the discussion as important if the Government evinces now less repugnance to pledging the credit of the State on a larger scale than formerly. There is one most important condition which is absolutely necessary to be satisfied, so as to secure the success of an experiment, even upon a limited scale. I refer to the advance of the whole of the purchase money. Whether that advance is to be through an intermediate body, such as the Company which has been established under the Tramways Act, which would take upon themselves some portion of the risk, or whether the advance is to be to the occupying tenant himself, I look upon it as an indispensable condition for the purchase of any quantity of land by the tenants that the whole of the purchase money be advanced by the State. Whether they would extend the period of repayment is another question. I think an extension would facilitate purchases. Perhaps the House is not generally aware of the important provisions contained in the direction of advancing purchase money in the second part of the Tramways Act of last Session. It is claimed by the Company which has been formed for that purpose that the Land Commissioners now, if permitted by the Treasury, could advance the whole of the purchase money of an estate to the Company, though, when the estate comes to be resold to the tenants by the Company, only three-fourths of the purchase money can be then advanced to the tenants. Thus the Company is rendered responsible for the repayment of a quarter of the purchase money. It appears to me that by a development of the principle which is contained in this portion of the Tramways Act you might obtain a solution of the difficulty weighing upon the mind of the Government as regards advancing the whole of the money—that if some intermediate body in a responsible and solvent position, either a public Company with a subscribed capital at its back, or a local body, such as a County Board, or in the absence of a County Board the Board of Guardians, with power to levy rates on the locality, could be established, that then the Government might with safety advance to such a body the total purchase money, while reserving to themselves the right to hold this body responsible for the payment of one-fourth in case of the failure of the tenants. That is the construction which has been placed by a lawyer of ability upon some sections of the Tramways Act. We have not yet got the opinion of the Land Commission. But it is hoped very shortly that an opportunity will be afforded to the Treasury of declaring what is their interpretation of the Act; and if their view should be that the whole of the purchase money can be thus advanced, a very important step will be taken in the simplification of this question. There is another important question with regard to leaseholders. They will be unable to take the same advantageous terms of purchase as those yearly tenants enjoying judicial tenures with reduced rents. The leaseholders will be compelled to purchase on the basis of their own high rents, which, in all probability, are 50 per cent over those paid by the tenants from year to year having judicial tenures. Hence it will follow that the risk to the State of the element of repudiation will be very much augmented as regards these leaseholders, and it will be impossible to carry out a symmetrical scheme of purchase. I think if the Imperial Exchequer is asked to advance a large sum of money to enable Irish landowners who must sell to dispose of their estates upon comparatively advantageous terms, where there is at present no market for them, those who are responsible for the safety of the taxpayers as regards these transactions should ask the landowners to permit the leaseholders to enter the Land Court, to allow them to have fair rents fixed, so that the State may be assured that if this experiment is tried it may turn out satisfactory to the Government and to this country. If sales are carried out to any extent, and the leaseholders buy with the rest, as they must, and on the basis of the old unreduced rents, I confess I cannot feel that confidence in my own mind that the transaction, so far as regards these leaseholders, will turn out as satisfactory to the State as I should like. I think, therefore, that the State might ask that this important class, the leaseholders, should be admitted to the benefits of the Land Act.

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, if a long declaration of policy had been expected from me I should not have had time to make it. I have, however, no such declaration to make, and the limit of time allowed me will suffice for what I have to say. The debate, though short, has been interesting and instructive; and my only regret is that my right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Plunket) had not given the House the full benefit of his remarks. The announcement I have to make is important, as every stage of so important a matter as this must be. It is simply this—that the Government have been maturing a scheme, which is now almost in the very last stage; and it is a scheme which they believe will be satisfactory to the persons interested in this question. That speculation has not been diminished by what has taken place in this debate. It is unnecessary for me to enter into the objections which the Government feel to the Bill brought forward by my hon. Friend. My hon. Friend, I take it, felt that, as a private Member, he could not lay down a comprehensive machinery for carrying out the purchase of land by a Government Department; and I conclude that, being well versed in business, he sought for a means of obtaining that end by means of a commercial body. But the objections which the Government take to this scheme are vital. They are strongly of opinion that if the Government guarantee is not to be a mere gift to the shareholders, it will be necessary for the shareholders, in order to obtain interest for their money, to make that money, in some shape or other, out of the tenants of Ireland. But the tenants have shown their determination that not a penny shall be made out of them if they can possibly help it. That is the real objection which lies at the bottom of our unwillingness to accept the scheme of my hon. Friend. I think, however, that that scheme is admirably drawn up, and if a land bank which will stand between the Government and the tenants and landlords could possibly be devised I cannot imagine how it could be better devised; but the only land banks which have hitherto been concerned in carrying out these transactions have been Government institutions—I refer to Prussia; and the Government think that a machinery more straightforward and convenient than even such institutions can be invented, and has been to a very great extent invented in their hands. I wish this scheme to come before the House as a whole, and I will not, therefore, enter into any details; but I shall take the earliest opportunity of unfolding it. On all sides this is allowed to be a most momentous business, and the assurance that the Government is on the eve of embarking upon such a scheme is, at all events, a very important stage. I do not wish that the House should be able to read between the lines of my speech in any important respect. I may say I agree very much with what has been stated in the course of the debate. I agree as to the paltry results of the purchase system, as to the importance of an independent body which shall practically be able to give its full time and attention to this business; as to the importance, if possible, of obtaining the tenant right as a part of the security, if that might be obtained by just means; as to the immense importance of doing everything to diminish or limit the legal expense of the transaction. And if——

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

MR. GIBSON said, that the matter had already been postponed twice, and five weeks ago they were told that a statement would be made that day. Now they were referred to that elastic period —an early date. Did that mean a week —he called that an early date, though not very early—[Mr. TREVELYAN dissented.]—or a fortnight, or when?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have conferred with my right hon. Friend beside me (Mr. Childers), and I have no reason to doubt but that he or I shall be able to lay the outline of the Government proposal before the House in the shape of asking leave to introduce the Bill, in the course of a fortnight, or, at any rate, two or three days over that time, or possibly a day or two more.

QUESTION.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE SLIGO CONSPIRACY TRIAL.

In reply to Mr. SEXTON,

MR. TREVELYAN said, that the Sligo prisoners would be brought up to-morrow, when evidence would be taken against them. They would be allowed to see their legal advisers.

MOTIONS.

COPYRIGHT (WORKS OF FINE ART AND PHOTOGRAPHS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HASTINGS, Bill to amend and consolidate the Law of Copyright in Works of Fine Art and in Photographs, and for repressing the commission of fraud in the production and sale of such works, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. HANBURY-TRACY, Sir GABRIEL GOLDNEY, Mr. AGNEW, and Mr. GREGORY.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 183.]

DEAN FOREST AND HUNDRED OF SAINT BRIAVELS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill to facilitate the opening and working of certain of the lower series of coal seams in Her Majesty's Forest of Dean, and in the Hundred of Saint Briavels, in the county of Gloucester; and for other purposes connected therewith, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 184.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 1*st May,* 1884.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Lord North, after the death of his mother.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Settled Land (52).

Committee—Report—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order * (61).

EGYPT—THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE. QUESTION.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: My Lords, I wish to put to the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a series of Questions of which I have given him private Notice—first, Whether it is intended by Her Majesty's Government to propose a Conference on Egyptian affairs; and, if so, when and where it will be held; secondly, what the subject matter of the Conference will be, whether it will be limited strictly to the discussion of financial affairs, or will embrace the administration of the government of Egypt; and, lastly, whether any of the Powers, and, if so, which of them, have agreed to that proposal from Her Majesty's Government?

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, the matter is still under negotiation, and, therefore, I can only give general answers to the Questions. Her Majesty's Government have issued a Circular to the five Powers, and have also sent a despatch to the Porte, proposing a Conference to consider whether there should not be some change made in the Law of Liquidation, and, if so, what that change should be. It is proposed that the Conference should be held either in London or at Constantinople; but that question is not yet settled. I may add that from Turkey we have yet had no answer. Four Powers have agreed to the proposal. France has also, in courteous terms, agreed to the principle of the Conference, but wishes to have some preliminary communication with Her Majesty's Government.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON thanked the noble Earl for his statement; but said that, as the question was one he did not wish to lose sight of, he would ask him on Tuesday next whether he could supplement his answer by any further statement.

“THE ATTORNEY GENERAL *v.* CHARLES BRADLAUGH, M.P.”—ACTION AT BAR. PETITION.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he had received a Petition from Mr. Bradlaugh, who described himself as a Member of the House of Commons, stating that an action at Bar had been raised against him by the Attorney General, for certain penalties he was alleged to have incurred, and that he was desirous that an officer of their Lordships' House might attend the hearing, and praying that, for the purposes of the case, the said officer should be allowed to produce the Journal of their Lordships' House for the year 1882. He did not know the Petitioner, nor what the question was, nor whether the books would be relevant; but he supposed their Lordships would agree to the request, and leave the Court which heard the case to decide on the value of the evidence.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that the usual course was for the Petition to be laid upon the Table, and for a Notice of Motion in accordance with the prayer of the Petition to be given.

Petition read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

LORD BRAMWELL gave the necessary Notice of Motion.

SETTLED LAND BILL.—(No. 52.)

(*The Earl Cairns.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL CAIRNS, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the object of the Bill was to remove some technical difficulties that had arisen in connection with the working of his own Act, which was passed a few years ago. That Act, he reminded their Lordships, was introduced in the House of Lords; and when it came back from the House of Commons at the close of the Session, it was found that a number of Amendments had been made. At the time he (Earl Cairns) expressed the opinion that these Amendments would give rise to difficulties, but said that the stage of the Bill was too critical to justify them in restoring it to its original condition. The experience they had gained since the Act came into operation showed that the fears he had expressed were well founded. Difficulties had arisen which it was the main object of this Bill to remove.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl Cairns.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that, in his opinion, the measure was a necessary one.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* the 13*th instant.*

EGYPT—ENGAGEMENTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT (DESPATCH OF 19TH SEPTEMBER, 1879).

OBSERVATIONS.

EARL GRANVILLE: I beg to lay upon the Table an addition to the Paper already presented to the House in reference to the despatch of the 19th of September, 1879 (Egypt, No. 11, 1884).

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I rise for the purpose of calling attention to the despatch of the 19th of September, 1879 (Egypt, No. 11, 1884), from the Foreign Office, recently laid upon the Table, and to the interpretation placed upon it by Her Majesty's Government. The matter of which I have given Notice is not one of leading or paramount importance; and in the present state of anxiety in respect to all that has taken place in Egypt I feel that I have to apologize for the comparative triviality of the question concerning which I propose to offer a few remarks to your Lordships. The truth is that the Prime Minister has publicly placed a certain interpretation upon a despatch of mine which I cannot admit to be correct, and which, if I passed without observation, I should be held to have admitted. The matter has arisen in this way. The Prime Minister the other day received a deputation from a Conference convened by the Working Men's Peace Association, who presented resolutions which were passed at a meeting of that Association expressing horror at the wholesale slaughter of thousands of brave men in the Soudan, and urging on the Government the necessity of redeeming their pledges to the country by retiring, and thus staying further effusion of blood. To these resolutions the Prime Minister answered that they would receive his respectful attention, and added this curious sentence—

> "It cannot be too clearly understood that the covenants under which the country has been acting in Egypt were not made by the present Government."

Well, that was a strange statement, and the Prime Minister's attention was naturally called to it in "another place." He was asked by Baron de Worms whether he could state what were the covenants under which Her Majesty's Government had sanctioned a military expedition to the Eastern Soudan; and whether under them the Government were precluded from giving relief to General Gordon at Khartoum? The answer of the Prime Minister was that—

> "The covenant to which the Question of the hon. Member refers was one made by the late Government earnestly to support the Government of the Khedive."

The Prime Minister was then asked whether he could produce the covenant, and he said that it depended upon two consents—the consent of the late Government and the consent of the French Government. Mr. Bourke at once said that, on behalf of the late Government, he would give the consent to the production of the Paper; and, in consequence, the despatch has been laid upon the Table of your Lordships' House. But I must notice, in passing, that Mr. Bourke consented to the production of the whole covenant, and not to a fragment of it. Therefore I saw, with some regret, that when it was produced it showed considerable omissions, and that those omissions materially affected the sense of the despatch. I am bound, however, to say that when I state that, I do not for a moment suggest—indeed, it would be absurd to do so—that there was any intention on the part of the Foreign Office, or of the noble Earl opposite, to produce a garbled despatch. I am quite aware what was the course followed. The despatch was sent to the French Embassy, and it was printed in the form in which it came back from the Embassy; but it is not the less true that, as printed, it did not entirely exhibit the true state of the case. What I have to call attention to in this despatch, and the interpretation which the Prime Minister has put upon it, refers to two points—first, the meaning of the despatch; and, secondly, the Government with whom the alleged covenant was made. The covenant under which, according to the Prime Minister, England has been acting alone in Egypt during all these lamentable occurrences is contained in these few words. The result of the conversation between myself and M. Waddington was an arrangement, upon certain points, "that the Native Government should receive our earnest support." Thus it appears that in a conversation I had with M. Waddington, I had said, and I afterwards recorded the fact in a despatch, that the Native Government should receive our earnest support. That is the covenant which, according to the Prime Minister, he has been acting under in Egypt during the past four years. It is material to ask what did I mean by "the Native Government." As the despatch is presented, it is not very easy to see, as nothing is said; but there is one important omission which, by the great courtesy of the noble Earl opposite, I have obtained in a printed form, and it is now upon the Table of the House. There occur in it these sentences—

> "I thought it right to inform His Excellency that I believed M. de Blignières to be adverse to the present arrangements. I urged that explicit instructions should be given to him. These M. Waddington promised to give, and said he would make M. de Blignières understand that the system of European Ministers could not be resumed."—[Egypt, No. 14 (1884).]

These were the important and emphatic words—

> "That the system of European Ministers could not be resumed."

The House will remember that an experiment had been tried; Sir Rivers Wilson had been made one of two European Ministers at Cairo; that disturbances had followed; that it had been necessary for the European Ministry to resign; and that the Dual Control was instituted in its place. The great question for the moment was whether the European Ministry should be restored, or whether a Native Ministry should be appointed and supported in its place; and in view of that I pressed that M. Waddington, who quite agreed with me, should make it clearly understood that the European Ministry could not be restored; and we agreed that the Native Government should receive our earnest support. That was the meaning of the words "the Native Government." What that meant was that Riaz Pasha and his Colleagues should receive our earnest support; and because we agreed that Riaz Pasha and his Colleagues, as distinguished from Sir Rivers Wilson and M. de Blignières, were to receive our earnest support, therefore, four years later, the Prime Minister contends that it was under that covenant, and it alone, all the melancholy events have taken place in Egypt. But I will ask the noble Earl opposite to go a step further, and to say to whom was this promise made. If it had been a promise made to the Khedive, I could understand that the Khedive might have misunderstood it, and might have supposed that it was a promise to support him against any insurrection that might arise. But that promise was not made to the Khedive; it was made to the French Government; and will anyone tell me that since that everything that has been done by England in Egypt since the battle of Tel-el-Kebir has been done in pursuance of that covenant with the French Government? Is it not a matter of notoriety that ever since then —in fact, ever since the bombardment of Alexandria, not only has England not acted in that country in deference to the wishes of, and in pursuance of the covenant with, the French Government, but in spite of the great reluctance and unwillingness, recently culminating in exasperation, on the part of that Government to whom we profess to be so friendly? When we consider what has taken place in Egypt, when we consider that the results of the course pursued by the English Government in Egypt have been the abandonment of General Hicks, the compulsion of the Khedive's Ministry, whether they liked it or not, to the abandoning the greater part of their Empire; the retention of Suakin, which was no special object to the Khedive or to the Native Government; the tremendous slaughter which has been committed without any apparent effect upon the safety of Suakin or the solution of any other of the difficulties of Egypt; the sending of General Gordon on his lamentable and hopeless mission to Khartoum; the abandonment of garrison after garrison in the Soudan; the suffering the barbarous tribes to advance from Obeid to Khartoum, and from Khartoum to Berber, and to make themselves masters of the whole country of the Soudan; and, considering that these have been the prominent and salient features of English policy in Egypt, is it not somewhat surprising to learn that all this has been done in pure deference to the French Government, simply because we were under the covenant with the French Government made five years ago, in a conversation between myself and M. Waddington, and because that covenant contained the words that the Native Government should receive our earnest support? My Lords, I do not intend now to criticize any particular point in the general policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt. For that other opportunities will occur. I am only dealing now with the particular contention of the Prime Minister, that the whole of his conduct is covered by my pledge in this despatch, and that it is under the covenant I made to France that he has done all that he has done, and neglected all that he has neglected to do. To attach such results to such a covenant as appears from these words is not mere sophistry, but derision.

EARL GRANVILLE: I will, my Lords, confine myself entirely to the point which the noble Marquess desired to elucidate —namely, the contention between himself and Mr. Gladstone, though the noble Marquess managed, as is usual with him, to put in a few words of bitter censure on the Egyptian policy of Her Majesty's Government. In the first place, I should like to give some explanation as to the Paper in question, as to which I admit the noble Marquess has given a perfectly true and historical account of how it came to be produced at all. Having received the full assent of Mr. Bourke to the presentation of the despatch on behalf of the late Government, there only remained M. Waddington and the French Government whose consent it was necessary to obtain. The first six paragraphs of the despatch were of a personal and confidential character as between the noble Marquess and M. Waddington; and I had not the slightest doubt that both of them would wish that the personal passages should be omitted. I therefore sent to M. Waddington the despatch, saying that I presumed he would not object to its publication, but that probably he would prefer that the personal passages should be omitted. In reply, M. Waddington said he had no objection to the publication on condition that those passages were omitted, and that an additional passage of a similar private character should also be omitted. I then presented the despatch which constituted the agreement made between the noble Marquess and M. Waddington. The noble Marquess is good enough to say that there is not the slightest suspicion that we had in any way tampered with the despatch; but I am bound to say it never crossed me that the previous sentences which were omitted really bore on the question of the agreement. Further, after hearing the explanation of the noble Marquess, I do not see how they do so apply. The noble Marquess said very truly that Mr. Gladstone had stated that we had inherited a covenant from Her Majesty's late Government, and that Mr. Gladstone quoted this despatch when pressed to do so—

"The result of our further conversation was an agreement on the following points:—1. That the Commission of Liquidation should have power to deal with the Unified Debt as well as the other liabilities of the Egyptian Government. This concession M. Waddington made unwillingly, but said that he had no alternative, as his own counter proposal met with no support from any of the Powers. 2. That before any money was appropriated towards payment of the creditors, a sufficient sum should be set aside to provide for the expenses of Egyptian administration. 3. That the Native Government should receive our earnest support. 4. That the two Governments should make it clearly understood to the Khedive that they would not tolerate the establishment in Egypt of political influence on the part of any other European Power in competition with that of England and France, and that they were prepared to take action to any extent that might be found necessary to give effect to their views in this respect."—[Egypt, No. 14, (1884.)]

That appears to me to be a most complete declaration on the part of two great Governments to give support to a smaller Government. The noble Marquess has complained that Mr. Gladstone rests solely upon this despatch; but I do not know that this was the case. I think it was perfectly impossible that Mr. Gladstone should not also take into consideration that it was primarily the late Government, followed, it is true, by France, and subsequently by other Governments, who forced the late Khedive to resign and put the present Khedive in his place, subject to his following their advice in all important particulars; and this was the origin of the position in which we find ourselves. I have often given credit to the noble Marquess for having so steadily supported the present Khedive, and for having contended that England's honour was bound up in supporting him. I could quote from five or six different speeches of the noble Marquess in and out of Parliament passages in which the noble Marquess has expressed in the strongest words that we were pledged to have recourse to force if we wished to fulfil our obligations.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I said in consequence of obligations incurred by the action of Her Majesty's present Government.

Earl GRANVILLE: Exactly; I am coming to that. The noble Marquess chooses to anticipate the argument which might be used. The noble Marquess says—"In consequence of the action of the present Government." It is open to me to dispute that, and to say that it is perfectly impossible to disconnect the action of Her Majesty's Government following on the assurances and acts of the late Government. But that is a matter of opinion on which the noble Marquess is, no doubt, a much greater authority than myself. I will, however, just quote from that greater authority. Speaking on May 15, 1882, the noble Marquess said—

> "With respect to Egypt itself, it appears to me that Her Majesty's Government, both by the engagements which they themselves have entered into, and by the engagements which they have necessarily inherited from their Predecessors"—

the absolute words of Mr. Gladstone—

> "are bound to give their support to the present Viceroy of Egypt, so long as his Government is in accordance with the principles which they approve. They are bound to give him that support, not merely as a matter of sentiment, not merely in words or in notes, but in something stronger if the need should arise."—(3 *Hansard* [269] 651.)

My Lords, that was the explanation of our obligations and the acts of our Predecessors given two years ago by the noble Marquess before he was challenged with regard to this matter; but now that he is challenged he gives a most able and, I quite admit, a most ingenious explanation of the facts.

Amended extract of despatch from the Marquess of Salisbury to Mr. Malet, of 19th September 1879: *Presented* (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

EGYPT—EVACUATION OF THE EASTERN SOUDAN.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord STRATHNAIRN rose to ask the Government—First, their reasons for the evacuation of East Soudan by the troops under General Graham after his great successes over the rebel forces had created a panic and a complete depression of the "morale" among them, so that he was able to detach cavalry patrols from Suakin to considerable distances through the south and west, as well as through the northern district in the direction of Berber, proclaiming English supremacy over rebellion and anarchy; second, further to ask Her Majesty's Government whether this sudden and unexpected retreat from the scene of action, ordered by them, had not as seriously damaged British influence as General Graham's successes had previously raised it in that part of the world; third, whether this most serious loss of influence has not endangered the position and life of General Gordon, as well as the lives and properties of foreign consular agents and of a large number of loyal inhabitants in the Soudan districts; fourth, whether, even at this late hour, it would not save the dangerous situation now existing in the Soudans to concentrate Indian cavalry and infantry at Suakin, a safe port and base, in addition to making a military demonstration from Assouan southwards, which could be turned, when required, into a real movement? And whether these dispositions to attack the enemy in front and rear, thus placing him between two fires, might not have a wholesome effect in arresting a further development of rebellion round Khartoum and Berber, and throughout the Soudans? The noble and gallant Lord said that the object of these Questions was to show by official facts the serious and unenviable responsibility to the country, which rested upon Her Majesty's Government, for their incomprehensible policy in having abandoned the most satisfactory position, either in a political or a military sense, secured to them in East Soudan by the great and decisive successes of General Graham and his troops, and in having descended into its antithesis, a retreat to Cairo and England, which was, to the minds of Orientals, a certain proof of weakness, whether in policy or warfare. The Soudanese, Zulus, and Lazzees were the bravest populations in the East; but, brave as they were, they were not free from this Oriental characteristic. And the British successes at the last general action of Tamanieb were marked by unusual terrors of war; no less than 6,000 men killed on the field by the improved arms of the Royal Artillery and Infantry, which left an indelible impression on the minds of the Soudanese soldiers, and of their countrymen, of the invincible power of British troops. Nothing could have effaced this except the evacuation. The Soudanese troops, in fanatical devotion to the Mahdi's cause, rushed to the attack, recklessly exposing themselves to the iron storm of case of the battery under Captain Holley, to whom the country could not be sufficiently grateful for the all-important service he and his brave gunners, as General Graham said in his despatch "not protected by Infantry," rendered at a critical moment. The enemy were shot down before they could reach the guns like the Austrians in the campaign with the Prussians in 1866. The Austrians charged often and gallantly; but before they could reach their opponents, they were shot down by the Prussian *Nadelgewehr*. The Soudanese had practical proof at Tamasi and Tamanieb that even the Mahdi, by whose orders they fought, and in whose service they died, could not save them from either death or defeat, a proof the more impressive, as their best fighting men, their leaders, were the first to fall. They broke, dispersed, and fled in complete disorder in every direction, never to rally again, until encouraged to do so by the policy of the Government. He took a glance at the great interests which the Government had sacrificed, and the bad passions of rebellion, anarchy, and massacres, which they had developed by their retreat. From the moment the transports conveying our soldiers disappeared from Suakin the Mahdi and all the former germs of disorder revived, and every newspaper teemed with afflicting accounts of the desperate state of things in the Soudan. But had Admiral Hewett and General Graham "*par nobile fratrum, quos gloria junxit*," remained, they would, with the good common sense of Englishmen, have established temporary order and government by the issue of a resolute and sensible Proclamation calling on the Native authorities of every grade to do their duty faithfully, promising them support and reward if they acted with loyalty, justice, and energy; and, on the other hand, proclaiming suspension from their duties if they acted in a contrary manner. The English Commanders might have collected confidential information respecting the Slave Trade, which would have enabled Her Majesty's Government, in concert, if possible, with the Egyptian Government, to adopt measures calculated to lessen the horrors of slavery, although unable to abolish it altogether. Worst of all, the Government abandoned, and exposed to great peril, their Representative in Soudan, at Khartoum, the only fortified stronghold in Upper Egypt. The excuses the Government had made were of no avail, and the country would universally condemn the policy which Her Majesty's Government had pursued.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I have listened with attention to the interesting essay which my noble and gallant Friend has been good enough to read to us; and your Lordships will easily understand that I do not feel myself competent to enter into the military details with which his Questions are chiefly concerned. I say Questions, because the Notice he has given is really more of an argumentative statement of his views. I shall, therefore, shortly say, with regard to his first Question, that Her Majesty's Government are certainly of opinion that the only object of keeping the body of General Graham's Army at Suakin after the victory he gained would have been if we intended to send them on to Berber. We believe, rightly or wrongly, that the difficulties of sending large bodies of troops to Berber at that time were great indeed. I think it would have been possible to have sent a few Cavalry; but the thing would have been one of extreme risk, and certainly recent events have not disproved the necessity of the caution we exercised in that respect. With regard to the second and third Questions, I can only say I do not agree with the views of my noble and gallant Friend; and, as regards the fourth, I will not now give an opinion. Papers lately presented give some reasons against the use of Indian troops for this particular service; and I may remind my noble and gallant Friend that another distinguished officer, Lord Napier of Magdala, though disagreeing with the Government, deprecated the other day the use of Indian troops, and wished that British troops should be exclusively employed in any operations that might be undertaken.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 1*st May*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—*Postponed Resolution* [April 21] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolutions in Committee*—National Debt Act, 1870, &c.; Coinage and Banking Acts.

Ordered—First Reading—Shop Hours Regulation (Liverpool) * [185].

Committee—Representation of the People [119]—R.P. [Second Night].

Considered as amended—Fisheries (Ireland) * [27].

Third Reading—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders * [145], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Stage Plays (Oxford and Cambridge) * [84].

QUESTIONS.

WAR OFFICE—CLERKS OF THE LOWER DIVISION—HOLIDAYS AND SICK LEAVE.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the Secretary of State for War, with reference to the Petitions which he has received during the last five years from Lower Division Clerks in the War Office, on the subject of holidays and sick leave, What are the points which have been referred to the Treasury; on what dates the first and last communications to the Treasury were made; whether any reply has been received from the Treasury; and, when he expects to be in a position to give his decision on the questions referred to in the Petitions?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that the communication with the Treasury on the subject referred to in the Question had not yet been concluded. As soon as a final reply had been received from the Treasury, he would have no objection to give whatever information he possessed on the subject.

BURIALS—NONCONFORMIST FUNERALS AT MAIDENHEAD.

MR. G. PALMER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has seen a statement in *The Maidenhead Advertiser* of 19th March, that, at the burial by a Nonconformist minister, in the churchyard of All Saints, Boyne Hill, Maidenhead, of a girl named Annie Barnes, the funeral party were not allowed to enter by the churchyard gates, but had to enter through an opening in the churchyard fence, which had been made for the purpose; whether he is aware that this is the second occasion on which the same obstruction has been offered to a Nonconformist burial in All Saints' churchyard, and that the vicar, the Rev. A. H. Drummond, has declared his determination to pursue a similar course in future; and, whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the facts; and, if they prove to be as stated, will give directions for instituting legal proceedings against the vicar?

EARL PERCY said, he would ask, in reference to the same statement, Whether it is the fact that the church, vicarage, schools, and curate's house form a quadrangle, out of which a path leads through and under the church tower to the churchyard, which lies entirely on the other side of the church, and that, consequently, this path is only used by funerals which go to the church; whether the "opening in the churchyard fence," referred to in *The Maidenhead Advertiser*, is an entrance which has existed for many years, with gravel properly laid up to it, giving direct access to the churchyard; and, whether at the time of the funeral the gates of the quadrangle were unfastened, and many of the attendants actually went through them?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have received a communication from the Vicar, from which it appears that the facts are correctly stated in the Question of the noble Lord. I may state that the Vicar writes that he has already written to inform the Bishop that he is willing, in deference to his Lordship, in future to permit such funerals to use the entrance through the gates of the quadrangle if it is desired. I hope this will put an end to any further difficulty.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—THE WEST INDIA COLONIES AND THE UNITED STATES.

MR. TENNANT asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Earl of Derby had yet come to a decision on the points raised by the recent West Indian deputation, especially as to the inclusion of the West Indian Colonies in the favoured nation clause with the United States, and the proposed allowance of reciprocal trade or tariff arrangements between the Colonies themselves and the United States?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No decision has yet been arrived at on the points mentioned; but my noble Friend (the Earl of Derby) is in communication with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and both the Colonial and Foreign Office are giving their earnest attention to the matter.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHING TREATIES—REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMISSION.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Anglo-French Commission, which has recently been sitting in Paris, on the subject of the Newfoundland Fishing Treaties, has made its Report; if so, whether such Report will be laid upon the Table of the House before it comes into operation; if not, whether such Report contains provision to render the assent of the Newfoundland Legislature a condition precedent to such Report having any operation; and, whether the Report denies, and sets at rest, the pretensions of France to any territorial rights beyond those expressly conceded on the seashore to the subjects of that nation by treaty, for mere fishery purposes?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The Joint Commission will not make any Report. It was appointed for the purpose of considering whether any arrangement could be made for the continued exercise of the French fishery rights in such a manner as to give increased facilities for British subjects and the development of Colonial industries. The British Commissioners have signed a project of arrangement, subject to the confirmation of the two Governments, and the Newfoundland Government will be consulted before the arrangement is confirmed. The two British Commissioners will go to Newfoundland to explain what is proposed. Papers will be presented to Parliament containing the Reports made to Her Majesty's Government by the British Commissioners and other correspondents. The French Government put forward no pretension to any territorial rights beyond those expressly conceded by Treaty for fishing purposes on the seashore, and Her Majesty's Government believe that the new arrangement, which keeps within the lines of the Treaties, will prove very advantageous to British interests.

In reply to a further Question from Mr. JOSEPH COWEN,

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: There are provisions in the projected arrangement which will undoubtedly require the consent of the Colonial Legislature to give them validity.

POST OFFICE—TELEPHONE LICENCES.

MR. GRAY asked the Postmaster General, Whether the licence granted by the Post Office to the Northern Telephone Company for a Telephone Exchange at Newcastle-on-Tyne contained a condition requiring the Company to sell to the Postmaster General, on terms to be fixed by arbitration in default of agreement, as many telephonic instruments as he might demand for use by him in any place and for any purpose he may think fit; whether such a condition exists in former similar licences; whether, at the time such licence was executed, the Department was in possession of and had official cognisance of the terms of the licences granted by the United Telephone Company, of which the Northern Telephone Company is a subsidiary Company to all its subsidiary Companies, one of the conditions of which is that the United Company shall not sell for use, or permit to be used, the telephonic instruments of which it controls the patents in the districts of the subsidiary Companies save through the said Companies; whether, at the time such licence was granted and accepted, the Department was in possession of a copy of the licence of the United Company to the Northern Company containing the above stipulations applicable, amongst other places, to Newcastle-on-Tyne; whether the Department was at that time officially aware that the Northern Company did not own, and had no right to sell, any of the telephonic instruments known as the "Blake Transmitters" and "Edison Receivers," having only the usor of them for its district from the United Company; whether, under the circumstances, in the event of the Northern Company using the "Blake Transmitter" or "Edison Receiver" at Newcastle, he intends to seek to enforce the clause in the Post Office licence requiring the Company to sell to him instruments which it does not own and cannot sell; and, whether, in the event of the Department by any means obtaining possession of or control over "Blake Transmitters" or "Edison Receivers," it will attempt to use them in any of the districts of any of the subsidiary Companies to which the United Company has already sold the right of exclusive use of those patent instruments under agreements, of which the Post Office had official knowledge when it granted its licences to the said Companies?

MR. FAWCETT: I think it would not be possible, without describing in detail the policy of the Post Office with regard to telephone licences, to give a full answer to all the Questions which have been addressed to me by the hon. Member; and it is less necessary that I should do so in view of the Notice he has given of raising a debate on the entire subject when the Telegraph Estimates are considered. I may say, however, that the licence which was granted to the Northern District Telephone Company was in every respect the same as that which it was decided to grant, after the conclusion was come to nearly two years ago to allow any responsible persons, on conditions which were considered necessary in the interests of the public, to obtain a telephone licence. I was aware of the general nature of the relations existing between the United Telephone Company and the Northern District Telephone Company at the time the licence was granted to the latter Company for Newcastle; and it was, in my opinion, for the Northern District Company, who were in intimate relations with the United Telephone Company, to consider how they could carry out the stipulation which they agreed to accept. There has been no occasion hitherto for the Department to call upon the Company to fulfil the condition of supplying telephones which they are using; but I do not think it would be expedient for me to give any assurance which might fetter the action which, in future, it might be in the interests of the public desirable for the Department to take with regard to obtaining a supply of telephones and the manner in which they should be used.

COURT OF BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND)—UNCLAIMED DIVIDENDS.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether any steps have been taken to discover and pay to the proper owners the forty thousand pounds which is lying derelict in the Irish Bankruptcy Court?

MR. COURTNEY: I am sorry to say this matter is still unsettled; but steps are being taken to enable any *bonâ fide* claimant to dividends to search for and discover whether any sum owing to him is lying derelict in the Irish Court of Bankruptcy. I do not think the burden can be thrown upon the Court of searching out claimants, as notice is always given to creditors when dividends are declared.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked why the list that was annually made out was not published, so that the people might see what the dividends were?

MR. COURTNEY: The lists are quite open to the public.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA — COST OF ANNUAL CHANGE OF LOCATION.

MR. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a Return showing the annual dates since the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown in 1858, of the migration of the Government of India from Calcutta to Simla, and the dates of its return to Calcutta; and, the extra annual cost imposed upon the taxpayers of India in consequence of this annual migration of Government? He would also ask, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a Return showing the ages of the respective members of the Indian Council, their professions, the length of time which each has resided or served in India, and the period which has in each case elapsed since the termination of such residence or service?

MR. J. K. CROSS: There are no materials at the India Office which will enable me to give the first Return asked for; but the question shall be submitted to the Government of India. The second Return shall be presented, if the hon. and learned Member will move for it; and if he will consult me as to the form of the Return, it shall be made as complete as possible.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—THE CREW OF THE "NISERO."

MR. STOREY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any further news of the crew of the *Nisero,* of Sunderland; and, whether, in view of the fact that those British subjects have been prisoners now for some months, any and what effectual steps are to be taken to secure their release?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have received Mr. Maxwell's Report of his mission to Tenom, which I regret to say has been unsuccessful. It contains a copy of a letter, dated the 10th of March, from the chief officer of the *Nisero,* acknowledging the receipt of clothing and provisions, and stating that, although suffering himself in health, the rest of the crew were well. A telegram has since been received from Singapore, to the effect that the latest news of the crew was of the 31st of March, when it was reported that one of the crew—an Italian—had died, that three were ill, and that the party were in great straits for want of food. Telegraphic instructions were immediately despatched to the Governor of Singapore and the senior naval officer to make every effort to convey provisions to them. A telegram has been received in answer from Singapore, announcing that H.M.S. *Pegasus* leaves for Tenom to-day with supplies for three months. In consequence of Mr. Maxwell's report as to the origin of these hostilities, Her Majesty's Government have placed themselves in communication with the Netherlands Government with a view to offering their mediation, and thereby obtaining the release of the prisoners and a cessation of hostilities.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND —SYLLABUS OF LECTURES, &c.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there would be any objection to direct that every Fellow of the University and every Examiner who receives pupils should for the future print for public circulation a complete and explicit syllabus of his lectures, with a full list of the works to which in his lectures he is in the habit of referring, said syllabus to be carefully revised each session; that a copy of such syllabus be forwarded, at the expense of the University, to all candidates in the special courses; that the calendars of the several colleges to which fellowships are allotted shall be published before the next ensuing University examinations begin, the addresses of the establishments where they are sold to be inserted in *The Royal University Calendar*?

MR. TREVELYAN: So far as I have been able to ascertain, the preponderance of opinion among gentlemen in responsible positions in connection with the Royal University and the Queen's Colleges is not favourable to the proposition contained in the earlier part of the Question. The reasons given are rather of an argumentative character, and the very complicated nature of the proposals and of the objections to them—the Royal University being opposed, and the Queen's Colleges divided in the matter—renders the subject one which can hardly be satisfactorily dealt with in answer to a Question, but may properly be referred to the impending Commission. With regard to the suggested publication of the College calendars before the time fixed for the Royal University examinations, I believe that, in the case of the Queen's Colleges, this is already done. I am informed that they are published "two months, six months, and some months" before.

THE TRUCK ACT—SICK CLUBS AND PENSION FUNDS.

Mr. BROADHURST asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the stoppage of a portion of workmen's wages by employers, for the purpose of contributions to sick clubs or pension funds, is a violation of the Truck Act?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), in reply, said, that there had been a decision on this subject given by the Court of Appeal in February last; but he was sorry to say that it was somewhat complicated. The result seemed to him to be that the practice described in the Question would be within the Truck Act, unless the payments were made under written agreement to the effect that they should be allowed, or unless they were absolutely paid over to the medical officer of the Society.

RESTORATION OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY—LEGISLATION.

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he is now able to state when the measure will be introduced which is to provide the funds required for the urgent repairs of Westminster Abbey?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, that the Bill to provide funds for the restoration of Westminster Abbey was in a forward state of preparation. It would also provide for the maintenance of cathedrals generally.

PORTUGAL—THE CONGO TREATY.

Mr. HOULDSWORTH asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, in the event of the Treaty with Portugal being ratified, the various Treaties and Engagements between Her Majesty the Queen of England and the chiefs and headmen of the Congo River and adjoining territory, recorded in the Paper, "Africa (No. 3, 1883)," will be thereby cancelled; if so, whether the said chiefs have given their consent; if not, how Her Majesty's Government propose to fulfil their obligations under these Treaties, or to enforce the stipulations contained therein in respect to the suppression of the slave trade and to freedom of commerce? He would further ask whether any representations have reached the Foreign Office from the Congo Natives by the steamer *Senegal*, which arrived this week?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have already answed this Question, and have stated that the Treaties and Engagements will be superseded by the Treaty with Portugal. The Treaty not only takes full security for the suppression of the Slave Trade, but contains new and valuable stipulations with that object. The Foreign Office has not received any information by the *Senegal*.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: My noble Friend has not answered the Question whether the Chiefs have given their consent to the new Treaty?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I stated the other day that they were not consulted.

THE CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS—AMALGAMATION.

Mr. RITCHIE asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is in contemplation to amalgamate the Customs and Inland Revenue Departments; and, if so, when the amalgamation is likely to take place?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, said, he was not at present aware of any such intention.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—FLOODS OF THE LOWER BANN.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, When he expects to lay upon the Table of the

House the Report of the Board of Works upon the Floods of the Lower Bann, which, several weeks since, he mentioned as having been received by the Treasury?

Mr. COURTNEY: The Government are giving their best consideration to the question how, and by whom, the present unsatisfactory condition of the Lower Bann is to be remedied; but as my hon. Friend thinks that it will be useful to publish at once the Report of the Engineer to the Board of Works, we have no objection to doing so, and I will lay it on the Table of the House as soon as possible.

AFRICA (EAST COAST)—THE SLAVE TRADE.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether a Copy has ever been presented to Parliament of that "Draft Treaty for the development of commerce and suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa," which is stated by Lord Granville in his Despatch of January 23rd, 1883 (Africa, No. 2, C. 3885, pp. 9 and 10), to have "formed the subject of negotiation between the two Governments (of Portugal and the United Kingdom) between 1878 and 1881;" and, if so, whether he will kindly give the House a reference to the volume in which such Copy can be found; and, if not, whether he will now lay a Copy upon the Table of this House?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The draft of the Treaty for which negotiations were initiated by the late Government and subsequently suspended, was not presented to Parliament, as it is contrary to the usual practice to do so. I may, however, add that the Articles referred to in the despatch which the hon. Member quotes are given at full length in a foot-note for the information of the House.

PUBLIC OFFICES—THE NEW WAR OFFICE AND ADMIRALTY—NEW DESIGNS.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he can give the House any further information as to the result of the recent competition for the erection of the New War Office and Admiralty?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, that 128 persons had sent in designs, of which the judges had selected nine, the authors of which were to compete with more elaborate designs to be sent in on June 21, when judgment would be given.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—CONVENT NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Has he yet formulated his plan for increase of emoluments for Convent National Schools in Ireland; and, if so, will he give some particulars of his scheme?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, no plan has yet been formulated; but the Irish Government has been in communication with the Commissioners of National Education since the debate raised by the hon. Gentleman. I may state, however, that in the event of the Treasury consenting to any arrangement which would involve increased expenditure, the Estimates which are already before the House would not admit of such arrangement taking effect during the present financial year.

Mr. BIGGAR: Could not the right hon. Gentleman bring in a Supplementary Estimate?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Treasury should be consulted, and I am afraid there would be considerable difficulty in getting them to consent.

NAVY—THE GUNBOAT "FORWARD."

Mr. TOMLINSON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the statement in *The Times* of the 20th March, to the effect that on the 9th March the *Forward* gun vessel, tender to the Channel Squadron, arrived from Malta and had to lie to for forty - five hours, being very much overladen, and had to throw overboard a large quantity of her deck cargo; and, whether the Board of Trade possess any jurisdiction over vessels belonging to the Royal Navy?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, the Board of Trade had no jurisdiction over vessels of the Royal Navy. As to the statement contained in the first part of the Question, he had been informed by the Admiralty that the *Forward* gunboat arrived safely at Suda Bay. The Admiralty had no information, confirmatory or otherwise, of the statement contained in the Question.

INDIA (MADRAS)—THE MYSORE TERRITORY—CONCESSIONS TO BRITISH OFFICIALS.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Madras Officials, who are Concessionaires of the gold yielding land conceded on advantageous terms to them by the British Resident of Mysore during the Regency of the Rajah, continue to receive their pensions and salaries; and, if so, whether this is in accordance with the rulings of the Secretary of State's Despatches, No. 22, of 25th November 1862, and No. 17, of 9th July 1863, categorically prohibiting Civil and Military Officers from holding land in the Mysore territory?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: The Government of India, some months ago, directed that the three officers connected with the Mysore concession who are still in the Service should at once sever such connection. They do not, however, think it necessary to go further than this, having no doubt that these officers acted in the *bonâ fide* belief that they were not contravening the orders of the Government in acquiring their shares in the concession. As regards retired officers concerned in the matter, Government has no ground for interfering with their pensions. The Papers explaining in more detail the views of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State are now complete; and if the hon. Member will move for them they shall be presented.

BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—BUILDING GRANTS FOR SCHOOLS.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the National Education Commissioners have made a rule under which assistance is refused towards the erection of any school, even though vested in local trustees, if the teachers employed in it are religious men or women; and, if so, what is the reason of the rule?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Under the rules of the National Education Board, schools taught by men or women belonging to religious Orders are ranked as convent or monastery schools, and are therefore ineligible to receive building grants. The rule in the matter is not a new one, but has been in operation for many years.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether it was a fact that any school belonging to private persons, although certificated teachers, were deprived of assistance from the mere fact that they were held by nuns?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that that was a case that obviously would seldom occur, and he would not like to interpret off-hand the rule with regard to it. He would like to have a case brought before him, before deciding the point.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether, within the last few days, the Commissioners of National Education had written to a parish priest in the Queen's County, stating, with regard to a school vested in local trustees, that whether vested or non-vested, the school to get assistance must be taught by lay teachers.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Yes, I will inquire.

THE MAURITIUS (CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT).

Mr. WODEHOUSE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether representations have been made to Her Majesty's Government in favour of changes in the constitution of the Colony of Mauritius; and, if so, whether he will lay upon the Table of this House any Correspondence relating to the subject?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir, there have been such proposals, and the Correspondence on the subject is being prepared for presentation to Parliament and is nearly ready.

THE NATIONAL DEBT—REDUCTION OF INTEREST.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, seeing that the Prime Minister, when Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1853, declared in his Budget speech, with reference to the reduction of the interest on the Public Debt, "that a large operation of a compulsory character was out of the question," he will explain whether the note appended to the National Debt Act of 1876, from which he now claims to derive compulsory power, has, since its enactment in 1752, acquired a new signification, or whether he derives such power from other, and, if other, what statute?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I have spent some time in reading the Budget Speech of 1853, and I am sorry to say that I have failed to find the words which my right hon. Friend quotes; but whatever the circumstances of 1853 may have been considered to be, those of 1884 are such as in our opinion justify the plan about the Debt which I have explained to the House. The Act—not of 1876, as my right hon. Friend says, but of 1870—consolidates the enactments relating to the Debt, and what he calls "a note appended to the Act" is the Schedule, the terms of which as to Consols and Reduced Three per Cents are explicit.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD: What authority has the right hon. Gentleman for the assumption that he has compulsory power for the conversion of Consols?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): It would be impossible to explain the arrangements as to compulsory conversion in an answer to a Question. I will give full information on this subject in debate.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether any and what action, in the conversion of Three per Cent. Stock into Two and a-half per Cent. Stock, has been taken, consequent on "The National Debt Act, 1884," and, if action has been taken, he will present to the House a statement of the amounts and terms of conversion, including the rate of interest at which the Terminable Annuities were calculated, and the amount and nature of the addition given beyond the equivalent value; and, whether, also, the operation has been with the public or the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to my right hon. Friend I have to say that under the National Debt Act, 1884, £4,000,000 Consols held by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt on account of the Post Office Savings' Banks Fund were cancelled as from the 28th of March last, and the Commissioners received in exchange £4,000,000 Two-and-a-Half per Cent Stock, with an annuity for 20 years of £35,121. A copy of the Treasury Warrant under which this conversion was made was presented to Parliament on the 3rd of April last, but was not printed. The market price of Consols being 102¼, and the market price of Two-and-a-Half per Cents being 90⅞, the difference was 11⅜, and to this difference 2 per cent was added, under the arrangement between the Treasury and the Commissioners provided for by the Act. The rate of interest at which the Terminable Annuity was calculated was 1·4769 per cent for half a-year, that being the interest yielded by Consols at the price of 102¼. The Acts authorizing the operation limit it to stock held by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt on account of Post Office Savings Banks.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked whether it was within the scheme to lay aside one-half per cent saved in interest as a sinking fund for the National Debt? The right hon. Gentleman did not refer to the matter in his Budget Speech.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS), in reply, said: On the contrary, I fully explained the point in my Financial Statement, and my remarks were accurately reported in *The Times*.

STREET TRAFFIC (METROPOLIS)—CONGESTION AT KNIGHTSBRIDGE.

VISCOUNT NEWPORT asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether his attention has been directed to the dangerously congested state of the traffic at Knightsbridge; and, whether he can make any suggestion for relieving it?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: If I am correct in assuming that the part of Knightsbridge referred to by my noble Friend is that close to Albert Gate, I may inform him that my attention has been called to a congestion of traffic there, although I should not go so far as to speak of it as dangerous. Looking, however, to other more urgent improvements which the Metropolitan Board is called upon to carry out, and to the great expense which widening the Knightsbridge Road would involve, I am not, at the present time, prepared to offer any suggestion for relieving the traffic there.

METROPOLITAN WATER SUPPLY.

Mr. GREGORY asked the honourable Member for Finsbury (Mr. Torrens), Whether he will consent to limit the operation of the Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment Bill to the Metropolitan area, and to introduce Amendments to that effect in the Committee on the Bill?

Mr. W. M. TORRENS, in reply, was understood to say that the promoters of the Bill would offer no objection to an Amendment limiting the operation of the measure as desired. They would thus be enabled to make applicable the provisions of the Valuation Act of 1869, which only extended to London. He further wished to state that if any doubt were entertained by the Companies as to their legal right to contest the ruling of the Assessment Committees or of the Assessment Sessions, no objection would be made to the insertion of a clause in Committee expressly giving them a *locus standi* for the purpose.

EGYPT—MR. O'KELLY, M.P. FOR ROSCOMMON.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, as Mr. O'Kelly, M.P. is an accredited special correspondent of a London daily newspaper, and as he has been stopped at Dongola, on his way to the residence of the Mahdi, where he contemplated carrying out his instructions in regard to his correspondence with the aforesaid newspaper, he will telegraph to Dongola informing the Egyptian authorities there of the peaceful character of Mr. O'Kelly's intentions, and intimating to them that he ought not to be hindered from fulfilling his duties to his employers; and, whether it is to be understood that special correspondents of English newspapers may be prevented, by the Egyptian officials in the Soudan, from proceeding to the residence of the Mahdi?

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: Might I ask whether Mr. O'Kelly is not the specially accredited correspondent of an American newspaper?

Mr. LABOUCHERE: If the hon. Member asks me, I may say he is not. He is acting exclusively for a London newspaper.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have ascertained that, as I stated the other day, Mr. O'Kelly was not arrested; but that, on the 27th of March last, he was informed at Dongola by the Governor that he could not start for Obeid. It is believed he has started for Lower Egypt. The Egyptian Government, with our concurrence, acted entirely within their right in taking the above steps. The answer to the second part of my hon. Friend's Question would depend on the circumstances of each particular case. Mr. O'Kelly was not at all interfered with as a newspaper correspondent, and I need hardly say there is no intention of interfering with newspaper correspondents properly authorized.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I did not gather from the noble Lord on what grounds Mr. O'Kelly was detained; whether he, being an accredited correspondent for a London journal, was rightly and justly stopped by the Egyptian authorities; and I, therefore, ask on what grounds he was stopped?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: He was stopped on grounds of public policy, having reference to the relative positions of the Mahdi, Mr. O'Kelly, and the Egyptian Government.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I have not yet gathered any answer to my Question why Mr. O'Kelly was stopped, because Mr. O'Kelly had not then made the acquaintance of the Mahdi; therefore, I ask on what specific ground was he stopped?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I am afraid I cannot give any clearer answer than I have already given.

Mr. PARNELL: I wish to ask the noble Lord, whether he has not been informed, on good authority, that the commission which Mr. O'Kelly received from the London newspaper was a commission to reach the Mahdi, and to act as the correspondent of that London newspaper in the camp of the Mahdi; and, if so, how can he say that Mr. O'Kelly has not been interfered with as a newspaper correspondent?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In answer to the first part of the hon. Member's Question, it was assumed in the Question of my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) that Mr. O'Kelly was the correspondent of a newspaper, and I answered it on that assumption. In regard to the latter part of the hon. Member's Question, it would be better if he would give Notice of it.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Are we to understand that the English Government is at war with the Mahdi, or is he at war with any friendly Power; and, if not, will the noble Lord say whether any Englishman or Irishman could not proceed to his Court?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I think that Question involves matter of argument.

MR. O'BRIEN: Might I ask the noble Lord, whether he has any information that it was at the instigation of Mr. Clifford Lloyd that Mr. O'Kelly was stopped?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No.

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL—THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, in the event of the Merchant Shipping Bill becoming Law, it would in any respect bring within the scope of its provisions vessels belonging to the Dominion of Canada and other of our Colonies?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, certain provisions of the Merchant Shipping Bill—for example, those relating to compulsory pilotage, to detention, and to inquiries—cannot apply outside the limits of the United Kingdom, but will apply to Colonial vessels within those limits. Certain other provisions, such as those relating to insurance, to liability, and to tonnage, which are not limited to the United Kingdom, like existing provisions on the same subjects in Acts already passed, apply to all British ships, including ships belonging to Canada and the Colonies, subject, however, to provisions in the Merchant Shipping Acts which give to Colonial Legislatures, should they think fit so to do, power to alter the law with respect to ships registered within their jurisdiction.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL PROPOSALS — PROPOSED RESTORATION OF THE GOLD COINAGE.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If it is the intention of the Government to take light half-sovereigns at their nominal value in exchange for sovereigns during the next three months; and, if so, whether there will be any limit imposed in respect either of the amount which may be tendered by any one person at any one time, or in respect of deficiency allowed on individual coins; and, whether the Treasury has received any precise information as to the number of half-sovereigns now in the Banks of Australia and other Colonies?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that, under the law as it now stands, light half-sovereigns are not current coin of the Realm, and that Government is debarred from giving sovereigns for them if they are not of their nominal value. If the Bill which I am about to introduce passes, we shall take steps, with the aid of the banks, to withdraw all light half-sovereigns at their nominal value, by giving a sovereign for every two half-sovereigns, unless they have been tampered with or are 4*d*. below that value, in which case they will be, as now, treated as bullion. We have no information as to the number of half-sovereigns which may happen to be at any given time in the banks of Australia or other Colonies; but the total amount of half-sovereigns issued from the Sydney and Melbourne Mints since their foundation is less than £2,500,000 worth, and half-sovereigns are not usually sent as remittances to or from the United Kingdom.

In reply to a further Question,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, he did not think it would be possible to withdraw the whole of the light half-sovereigns within three months; but they would be withdrawn as soon as possible.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—ARRESTS AT TUBBERCURRY, CO. SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the case of the eleven persons arrested at Tubbercurry, county Sligo, more than a month ago, upon a charge of conspiracy, the accused have been several times remanded after having, on each occasion, been brought before a magistrate in private, and although no evidence tending to criminate any of them was on any occasion produced on the part of the Crown; whether the accused have not been allowed to see their friends, professional or otherwise; whether the stipendiary magistrate who ordered the remands denies having made any order to debar the prisoners from receiving visits; and, if so, who is the person responsible for preventing communication between the prisoners, their advisers, and their friends; and, whether, with reference to the expiration, on Friday next, of the current remand in these cases, the agents of the Crown have been instructed to cause or assent to a public hearing of the charge, and to agree to the discharge of the prisoners from custody unless a case is put in evidence against them? He would further ask, in view of the undertaking given by the right hon. Gentleman on a former occasion, that the examination of these men to-day would be held in public, and that the Crown would use every effort to have that done, whether the following telegram despatched to him (Mr. Sexton) that afternoon, from Sligo Prison, accurately represented what had taken place:—

> "Remanded again in gaol to-day without going into evidence. We believe they intend to rob us first, and then try to convict us?"

MR. TREVELYAN: It is true that the prisoners have been four times remanded without evidence being adduced against them; but the remand in each case was upon affidavit, showing it to be necessary for the interests of justice. Their professional adviser and their immediate relatives have not been refused access to them, and the remanding magistrate denies he has given any instructions for such refusal, as none has taken place. I am informed that one further short remand until Monday next will be necessary, when evidence will be gone into against all the prisoners, and the investigation will be held in public.

MR. SEXTON asked if they might take it as settled beyond any doubt that that course would be taken next Monday?

MR. TREVELYAN: That will certainly be done.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES—THE BROOK STREET, LIMEHOUSE, SCHEME.

MR. RITCHIE asked the honourable baronet the Member for Truro, What number of the labouring class will be displaced for the purposes of the Brook Street, Limehouse, Scheme, confirmed by "The Metropolis (Brook Street, Limehouse) Provisional Order Act," 1883, and upon what terms the land, when cleared, will be let for the purposes of the Act; and, whether it will be possible to arrange that the area may be cleared in sections, so that rebuilding may proceed *pari passu* with the demolition of the existing buildings?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: Sir, I beg to state that 562 persons of the working class will be displaced for the purposes of this improvement scheme; and the Board will have to let the site, when cleared, with reference to the fact that it has to be appropriated for the purpose of accommodating at least 562 of the labouring class, a circumstance which will no doubt render it necessary for the Board to accept much below the market value of the land. Having regard to the limited character of the area, there would be considerable difficulty in arranging so that the rebuilding may take place in sections *pari passu* with the clearance of the site; but the suggestion of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) in this respect shall receive the consideration of the Board.

LAW AND JUSTICE—POLICE—LICENSED VICTUALLERS AS SURETIES.

MR. RITCHIE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the slur cast upon the body of licensed victuallers by a refusal on the part of Mr. Lushington, one of the magistrates at the Thames Police Court, to accept a member of that trade as security for a person bound over to keep the peace, not because he doubted the solvency of the publican, but because he made it a rule never to accept a publican as security for a person bound over to keep the peace; and, whether such a ground of refusal was justifiable in Law?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that, in his view of the case, the magistrate's discretion was confined to the amount of bail, and to the sufficiency of the security offered, and, therefore, a person who offered sufficient security could not be refused, on the ground of the particular nature of his employment. He would communicate to the magistrate that view, which was the view of the chief magistrates of the United Kingdom, and he had no doubt it would be acted on.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—BERBER.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government have received confirmation of the following statements made by the Cairo Correspondent of *The Standard*, on the 29th:—

> "The last act of the Soudan tragedy is evidently at hand. Mr. Egerton received a telegram late last night from Berber, stating that no sums of money could guarantee the delivery of any message through to Khartoum, all of whose inhabitants are now at the mercy of the rebels; four sanjaks or divisions of Shageeyah Bedouins, together with five hundred soldiers, have joined the rebels, leaviug Khartoum helpless; the Governor of Berber, acting on instructions sent to him to evacuate the town, if possible, merely proclaimed the fact, with the result that the inhabitants fled northwards, while the troops marched out south to join the insurgents;"

whether the telegrams to the Governor of Berber, refusing him military aid, and telling him to evacuate Berber, were sent by the authority of the British Cabinet; whether General Gordon was first consulted; and, by what road the 2,000 women and children at Berber are to escape?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In reply to the first part of the hon. Member's Question, I have already informed the House that Mr. Egerton has telegraphed that no messenger could be found to proceed from Berber to Khartoum, and that the Shageeyah Bedouins who joined the rebels were at Berber, and not at Khartoum. The message to the Governor of Berber will be found in the Papers now before the House. I may add that it was not, of course, possible to consult General Gordon on this matter. There is only one practicable road at this moment from Berber—namely, *viâ* Abou Hamed to Korosko.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Will the noble Lord be good enough to say whether the instructions to the Governor of Berber were sent by the authority of Her Majesty's Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he had stated already that they would be found in the Papers before the House.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Surely the noble Lord can say that?

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—MOVEMENT OF DISEASED CATTLE.

MR. HICKS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether he is yet in a position to give the House detailed information respecting the movements of the 101 bullocks which arrived in Cambridgeshire during the night of 14th April, from the time they were taken out of the ship which brought them to England till the hour they were placed in the Railway trucks at Liverpool; whether he can now state (supposing they came in the ship *Quebec*, from Canada, as he informed the House on the 24th), what has become of the rest of the cargo; and, whether he will direct the Government veterinary inspector and the chief of police at Liverpool and, if necessary, at Birkenhead, to supply the authorities of Cambridgeshire with all the information they have been able, or may hereafter be able, to obtain?

MR. DODSON: Sir, we are now in possession of full information on this subject. These 101 bullocks formed part of two cargoes landed from Canada on the 9th and 12th of April. They were passed healthy by our Inspector on landing, and again by the Market Inspector, when they were exposed for sale in Stanley Market on the 14th, having been in a lair adjoining the market during the interval between their landing and exposure in the market. These 101 bullocks were sent to Cambridgeshire, and on the 17th of April foot-and-mouth disease appeared among them. Fifty-one of them went to Wimpole, and 50 were slaughtered at Cambridge. The rest of the two cargoes were distributed to various towns, and no outbreak has been reported among them. Thus this information accounts for the whole of both cargoes, and I shall be happy to furnish all or any part of it to the Cambridgeshire local authorities, if they think it would be useful to them.

MR. HICKS asked whether the lair in which those cattle were kept, from the time of their landing to the 14th of April, was at any time used for keeping cattle brought to this country for immediate slaughter?

MR. DODSON: The hon. Member must be aware that cattle from countries from which there is free admission—

Canada, for example—are not landed at the same places as cattle that come from other countries, and are to be slaughtered.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—KILMEEN ELECTORAL DIVISION, KANTURK UNION.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the successful National candidate for the Kilmeen Division of the Kanturk Union, at the recent Poor Law election, has received a letter from Mrs. Smith, of Blossomfort, stating that she was obliged to break her promise to vote for him in consequence of receiving two letters from her landlord, Mr. Richard Longfield, Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant, directing her to vote for his opponent, a rent-warner on a neighbouring estate, who himself presented to her the second letter from Mr. Longfield; whether he is aware that a Mr. Horgan, who remained neutral in the same contest, notwithstanding a letter from Mr. Longfield directing him to support his candidate, was afterwards requested by Mr. Longfield to return his letter, and, on his replying that he had mislaid it, was informed that his services as gamekeeper in Mr. Longfield's service were dispensed with until the letter should be returned; whether there is any legal remedy for intimidation of this description; and, whether Mr. Longfield's conduct will be brought to the attention of the Lord Chancellor?

MR. TREVELYAN: The facts appear to be that Mr. Longfield, junior, son of the gentleman mentioned in the Question, wrote two letters to Mrs. Smith, asking her to vote for the candidate whom he considered the more fitting of the two. This candidate was not, as stated, a rent-warner on a neighbouring estate; but his opponent, the successful candidate, did occupy such a position. Mrs. Smith emphatically denies that, in writing to the latter, she gave him the slightest grounds for saying that she was in any way intimidated by Mr. Longfield's letters. With regard to the case of Horgan, I am informed that Mr. Longfield, junior, wrote to him also on behalf of the same candidate, and that hearing, subsequently, that his letter was misrepresented, as conveying a threat, he asked Horgan to return it in order that he might see how it was open to such a construction. Horgan did not comply with the request, but he did not allege that he had mislaid the letter. Nothing was said to him about his being dismissed if he did not return it. His dismissal had no connection with this matter, but was on account of "extreme carelessness and neglect" of his duties as gamekeeper and bog ranger—on account of which he had been warned long before the election took place. He did not think there had been any intimidation for which there was a legal remedy, nor did he think that Mr. Longfield's conduct should be brought to the attention of the Lord Chancellor.

MR. O'BRIEN asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would consider the advisability of introducing a Corrupt Practices Bill in reference to Poor Law Elections?

[No reply.]

PUBLIC HEALTH—DEATHS FROM CHARBON.

MR. GRANTHAM asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the frequent deaths among the men in one of the tan yards in Bermondsey, from a disease affecting cattle in foreign countries, called "charbon," and which is inoculated upon persons handling the hides of animals which were affected with the disease which is very fatal to human beings; and, as the families of the men so dying have been unable to obtain compensation under the Employers' Liability Act, if he will make such inquiries as will enable them to make better provision for the safety of the men working in these yards; and, if possible, to ensure some compensation to their families on their death?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: We have not failed to observe the occurrence of anthrax or charbon among persons engaged in the hide and skin trades of Bermondsey, and have caused inquiry to be made by one of our Medical Inspectors—the Inspector who recently investigated the same disease as it occurred among wool sorters in and about Bradford. In all, during the past 11 years, between 40 and 50 cases of anthrax, about a quarter of them fatal, are known to have occurred in the Metropolis among persons thus engaged, about half this number of cases and of deaths having occurred during the last two years. They have not been restricted to one single tanyard. A Report on the subject has been presented to Parliament, and will soon be in the hands of Members. The more recent aspects of the matter, however, are now being inquired into. Pending this inquiry, it would be premature to consider whether the Employers' Liability Act should be extended to meet cases of persons dying from the disease referred to, so as to give compensation to their families.

THE COINAGE—MINT CHARGES ABROAD.

MR. ANDERSON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Master of the Mint, If his deputy has prepared a paper showing the mintage charge on the coinage of other countries; and, if he will make of it a Parliamentary Paper; and, if there are at the Mint calculations showing the average cost of coining (apart from metal) a single coin of each denomination; and, if he will give a Return showing that, or, failing that, the average cost (apart from metal) of coining one coin?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): A table has been prepared at the Mint, showing the Mint charges levied in the principal countries of Europe, and was printed in the Journal of the Institute of Bankers for the 19th of March, 1884. I will lay it on the Table as a Parliamentary Paper. It is impossible to form any trustworthy estimate of the cost of coining individual pieces of each denomination, as the average cost of the coins struck each year depends entirely upon the amount of coinage executed. But if my hon. Friend will peruse the valuable Joint Report of Mr. Graham, the late Master of the Mint, and Colonel Smith, the late Master of the Calcutta Mint, which was a Parliamentary Paper of 1869, No. 285, he will find the fullest information on this subject, and in the calculation then made the present Deputy Master concurs.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—KHARTOUM.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether communications have been opened with Khartoum by way of Massowah; and, whether the negotiations with King Johannes for the relief of General Gordon are progressing favourably?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; communications have not been opened with Khartoum by Massowah. No reports have yet been received of the progress of the negotiations referred to by the hon. and gallant Member.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS — QUARANTINE REGULATIONS.

MR. DUCKHAM asked Mr. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether a quarantine of ninety days will be adopted for store animals from scheduled Foreign Countries as now enforced by the United States, Canada, and Australia for store animals from this Country; and, if not, whether he will state the quarantine it is proposed to enforce?

MR. DODSON: Quarantine must be regulated in each case according to the disease to be provided against, and to the circumstances of each case. The countries referred to in the Question direct their quarantine specially against infected countries. The quarantine we are thinking of is one to be adopted as an extra precaution, applicable to specified regions concerning the soundness and security of which we have distinct and positive assurance.

GOVERNMENT ASSURANCE AND ANNUITIES ACT, 1882—INSURANCES UNDER THE NEW TABLES.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Postmaster General, When insurances and annuities under the new tables framed in accordance with the provisions of the Assurance and Annuities Act of 1882 will be ready for issue?

MR. FAWCETT, in reply, said, the tables had been prepared, and he hoped that a scheme would be brought into operation early in June.

A MINISTER FOR SCOTLAND—LEGISLATION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When he proposes to introduce the Bill to establish a Minister for Scotland?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): In consequence of the state of Business in this House, it is proposed to introduce this Bill in the House of Lords, and this will be done on an early day.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK — THE VISITORS.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can now name the visitors who will hold the promised special visitation at Queen's College, Cork; and, if the College authorities will be instructed to furnish the students appealing against the decision of the College Council with copies of the evidence obtained against them?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I understand that most probably the Court of Visitors, which will sit on the 15th of this month, will be composed of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, His Grace the Duke of Leinster, Dr. Moore, President of the Royal College of Physicians, and Mr. Wheeler, President of the Royal College of Surgeons. The Government have no authority to give any instructions as to the course which the investigation may take.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY AND QUEEN'S COLLEGES (IRELAND)—CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMISSION.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is able to inform the House as to the composition of the Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the Royal University and Queen's Colleges in Ireland?

Mr. TREVELYAN: We are getting along as fast as possible. We are promised the services of three gentlemen out of five who have been named, and we hope to secure the services of two others in a few days.

Mr. SEXTON: Has the right hon. Gentleman finally decided whether a Member of this House will be asked to serve?

Mr. TREVELYAN: No, Sir; it has been decided no Member of this House will be asked to serve. Perhaps hon. Gentlemen will keep their minds open until they hear the names.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE CAPTIVES AT SINKAT.

Mr. A. ROSS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the women and children captured by Osman Digna at Sinkat have been rescued from slavery; and, if not, whether the Government are still continuing their efforts to attain that object; and, whether any Papers on the subject will be shortly laid upon the Table of the House?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The authorities have received instructions to do all they can in this matter. At the same time, I cannot give any great hopes as to the result. The hon. Member will find what has passed on the subject in the Papers just laid before Parliament.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—THE DAIRIES, &c. ORDER, 1879—REGISTRATION OF COWHOUSES.

Mr. CLARE READ asked Mr. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether a *bonâ fide* farmer, who sells milk and keeps cows in an urban sanitary district is compelled to register his cowhouses, &c. under the Dairies, Cowsheds, and Milkshops Order of 1879; and, if so, whether he is exempt from such registration if, although selling milk within the said district, his cowsheds happen to be outside it?

Mr. DODSON: Sir, the local authority under the Order, or, rather, under the Act of 1878, is the Quarter Session in a county, the Town Council in a municipal borough. The registration which each local authority is to require and enforce is a registration not of premises, but of persons carrying on, in the district of the local authority, the trade of cowkeepers, dairymen, or purveyors of milk. A *bonâ fide* farmer who carries on this trade is to be registered in the same way as anyone else. The district in which the trade is carried on is, as I am advised, the district in which the principal or central seat of the trade is situated, not every district in which any portion of the milk is distributed.

EGYPT — ENGAGEMENTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT (DESPATCH, 19TH SEPTEMBER, 1879).

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, With reference to his statement that the covenants under which this Country has been acting in Egypt were not made by the present Government, and to the Correspondence "Egypt, No. 11"

(Despatch No. 1, paragraph 3), just presented to Parliament as an explanation of the above statement, whether the paragraph in question, which states that Lord Salisbury, in a conversation with M. Waddington, agreed "that the Native Government should receive our earnest support," is the only statement that can be construed into a covenant justifying the acts of the present Government in the Soudan?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the only passage, in terms that I have ever cited or referred to in this House, was a passage in a despatch that is now laid on the Table of both Houses of Parliament. I must, however, guard myself against being supposed to mean that that is the only engagement that has been entered into. I consider that an engagement has been constituted and contracted by the proceedings connected with the dethronement of the late Khedive, and the establishment of a former Khedive. But perhaps I cannot better or more fairly explain the matter than by quoting the passage, which has now become historical, from the speech of Lord Salisbury, delivered in the House of Lords on the 15th May, 1882. The noble Lord is reported to have used these words—

> "With respect to Egypt itself, it appears to me that Her Majesty's Government, both by the engagements which they themselves have entered into, and by the engagements which they have necessarily inherited from their Predecessors, are bound to give their support to the present Viceroy of Egypt, so long as his Government is in accordance with the principles which they approve. They are bound to give him that support, not merely as a matter of sentiment, not merely in words or in notes, but in something stronger if the need should arise."—(3 *Hansard*, [269] 651.)

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: In reference to the answer of the Prime Minister, I would ask him, Whether his attention has been called to Despatch No. 3, Egypt 11—Lord Granville to Mr. Malet, dated March 3, 1881—in which these words occur—

> "England and France are disposed to give to the present Khedive all their support, and the British and French Agents are to concert measures for the purpose;"

and, further, to Despatch No. 4, Lord Granville to Mr. Malet, dated March 7, 1881—

> "The policy laid down in this Despatch (referring to Despatch No. 2) is that which you have hitherto recommended and pursued, with the entire approbation of Her Majesty's Government;"

and I would ask the right hon. Gentleman, taking into consideration these two despatches, whether they constitute a covenant, and whether this covenant was not entered into by Her Majesty's present Advisers?

MR. GLADSTONE: I will, without taking any objection to the words quoted in the Question of the hon. Member, say that the words used by Lord Salisbury in speaking of the engagement into which the present Government have entered, correctly stated the circumstances of the case. No doubt, in the development of the Egyptian Question, Her Majesty's Government had occasion to apply to new circumstances, as they emerged, the principles by which they thought themselves bound to act under the covenants which they found existing when they entered Office.

MR. GORST: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman a Question, of which, if he cannot answer now, I will give him Notice—namely, Whether the engagement earnestly to support the Government of the Khedive, which was entered into by the late Government on the 19th September, 1879, or a similar engagement which was entered into by the present Government on the 25th February, 1881, and the 3rd March, 1881—whether those engagements were ever communicated, either by the late or the present Government, to the Sultan of Turkey?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and it would be very difficult for me to say from memory. I think perhaps the hon. and learned Gentleman had better give Notice of the Question.

MR. GORST: I will repeat it tomorrow.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: I wish to ask the Prime Minister, Whether he considers himself and the Government, under the documents which have been laid on the Table of the House, as being under a pledge to support the dynasty, as well as the person and the Government, of the Khedive?

MR. GLADSTONE: That is a Question which hardly admits of being answered within the usual limits. But perhaps the hon. and learned Member will give Notice of it, and I will then answer it.

EGYPT—THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is true that negotiations are in progress for the assembly of a Conference on Egyptian Affairs; and, if so, what are the matters which it is proposed to submit to the Conference?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I will endeavour to answer the Question as exactly as I can. Her Majesty's Government have proposed a Conference to the Powers upon certain Egyptian affairs. That proposal of Her Majesty's Government has been accepted by the Powers. In fully accepting that Conference in principle, the French Government has expressed a desire—I do not understand it to be a condition of the assent—but the French Government has expressed a desire that there should be some preliminary communications, some communications before the Conference actually meets, between the French and English Governments. M. Waddington having just returned from Paris, these communications will immediately take place, or, perhaps, even now for all I know may be taking place. Turkey, which has a distinct position, has been invited to join the Conference, but no answer has as yet been received from Turkey, and the distance of Constantinople would require a little more time than in the case of most other capitals. With regard to the purpose of the Conference, it is on the financial situation of Egypt, which, as I think, has been intimated in general terms on some recent occasions by myself, has required attention, and from that attention the Law of Liquidation cannot be excluded. I think I cannot do better than to read to the House the passage—the actual terms—in which that subject has been submitted to the Powers—

> "It appears to Her Majesty's Government that to meet the charges necessary for the peace and good government of the country, and to fulfil the engagements already incurred by the Egyptian Exchequer, some change in the Law of Liquidation is required. Her Majesty's Government would therefore propose that a Conference should meet in London or at Constantinople to determine whether such a change is necessary; and what should be its exact nature."—[Egypt, No. 17 (1884), p. 1.]

I think I need only add that, with regard to the place of the Conference which is thus proposed to be either in London or at Constantinople, no decision has as yet been arrived at.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: I beg to ask the Prime Minister, if he can state without inconvenience whether the Conference will be called upon to consider any question but that of Egyptian finance, or whether it will embrace the wider scope of the whole Egyptian Question?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The invitation, Sir, is limited to the subject of finance.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I wish to ask, have any communications been exchanged between the Governments of France and England as to the possibility of the participation of the French Government in the occupation or administration of Egypt?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Nothing has come to our knowledge of any communication from the French Government which refers to that subject.

Mr. BOURKE: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether any Papers on this subject will be laid before Parliament in the next few days, because it is possible, when the House becomes acquainted with these Papers, it may wish to express an opinion upon the subject?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir. The right hon. Gentleman has had considerable experience in the Foreign Office, and I am bound to say I think from that he must know it would be an entire deviation from precedent, that when Her Majesty's Government are inviting the Powers of Europe to meet and to consider a particular subject, they should, before the Powers have considered it, produce Papers relating to that meeting.

Mr. BOURKE: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether, in the case of the very important Congress held at Berlin, it is not a fact that when the announcement of the Congress was made to this House, despatches were immediately laid on the Table, stating the basis upon which the Conference would meet, thus enabling the House to form an opinion as to the engagements the Government were about to undertake?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am not aware that any Papers were laid upon the Table which, in the slightest degree, affected to indicate what were to be the deliberations or proceedings of that Congress.

Mr. BOURKE: The basis of the Congress.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Oh, with regard to the basis of the Congress of Berlin. Well, with regard to the basis of this Conference, I think I have stated the basis upon which it has been proposed by us. At the same time, if the right hon. Gentleman wishes to have that put in another form, probably, he will put a Question on a future day. In the Congress of Berlin there were most important preliminary objects of controversy, and very important military measures to be adopted by the Executive Government of the country, which made it necessary that these should be the subject of communication to Parliament. But that was very different indeed from the present case.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The right hon. Gentleman stated that the Conference would be limited to the subject of finance. Are we to understand that the subject of finance will be limited by the terms of the paragraph which the Prime Minister has read to the House?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have read the invitation, and I presume that the Powers, having accepted the invitation, the subject of the Conference will be limited accordingly. It is quite evident that if any question of an extension should arise, that must be an entirely new question, totally detached from anything that has hitherto taken place.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF GENERAL GORDON.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is now able to state to the House when the Government intend to send an expedition for the relief of General Gordon?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have nothing further to say.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: With reference to the despatches just placed in our hands about General Gordon, I wish to ask, if the Government are in possession of the text of a telegram from General Gordon to Sir Evelyn Baring, which does not appear in the Papers on the Table?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will give Notice of that Question, as it relates to Papers only presented this afternoon.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Will the Prime Minister allow me to ask a Question which very seriously affects the accuracy of information given to this House some days ago by him? I asked the Prime Minister about the condition of General Gordon on the 24th of April, as to whether the fall of Berber would not increase the peril of General Gordon; and the Prime Minister informed the House that, according to all the information in his possession, there would be no essential change in the position of Khartoum. I want to ask the right hon. in consequence of the change at Berber. Gentleman, whether his attention has been drawn to a despatch of Sir Evelyn Baring, dated the 20th of April, and received on the 20th of April, in which the following passage occurs:—

> "Unless some prospect of help can be held out to Hassan Khalifa, there is some risk that he will be thrown into the arms of the rebels. This would seriously affect Gordon's position."—[Egypt, No. 13 (1884), p. 13.]

I wish to ask the Prime Minister, how he could possibly have given the answer he did with that information in his possession?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The information communicated by Sir Evelyn Baring is completely in my recollection, and was in my recollection, I believe, at the time I spoke in this House, and was to be taken and considered by the Government in connection with all the other information the Government then possessed. That being so, my opinion, and, I believe, the opinion of my Colleagues, was, as I stated, that the fall of Berber—I do not know that I used the word "fall"—whatever might take place in Berber would make no essential change in the position of Khartoum. I do not doubt at all that the fall of Berber, affecting one of the routes of Khartoum, would affect Khartoum unfavourably rather than otherwise; but our opinion was, and is, that it would make nothing approaching to an essential change in the position of security of General Gordon.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: So that the House is to understand that the deliberately expressed opinion of Her Majesty's Envoy is absolutely and utterly worthless?

Mr. Gladstone dissented.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: It makes no difference how long the Egyptian

Papers have been in our hands; they have been in the hands of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) for some time. What I want to know is, whether we have got all the despatches from General Gordon to Sir Evelyn Baring? If the noble Lord cannot answer, I will give Notice for to-morrow.

Mr. ASHMEAD - BARTLETT: I would ask, whether the information which induces the Government to think that Khartoum is not in greater peril in consequence of the fall of Berber is to be found in the despatch of the Governor of Berber, dated April 23, in which he says—"If Berber falls, there will no longer be any hope of the Soudan?"

[No reply.]

Mr. CHAPLIN: I wish to ask, whether the Government still adhere to the opinion which they expressed on April 21 last, that the position of General Gordon at Khartoum was one of complete security?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I adhere to the opinion I have given in this House more than once—that there is no military danger at the present moment besetting Khartoum, subject to the reservation, the only reservation, the single reservation, that our intelligence from Khartoum only comes down to certain dates.

Mr. WILLIS: I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, whether the time has come when the Government may properly take steps for the purpose of putting an end to the mission of General Gordon?

Mr. GLADSTONE: In reply to the Question of my hon. and learned Friend, what I have to say is, that I am not, at present, in a condition to give any full answer to-day, for a simple reason which I will explain. My hon. and learned Friend is aware that General Gordon was sent to the Soudan—went to the Soudan upon a mission which involved the use only of pacific means, and that the first accounts which came from General Gordon were of a very encouraging character. Unquestionably, I admit that subsequent accounts have tended to throw doubt upon the prospect of accomplishing the objects of his mission by pacific means. But on that subject we some time ago addressed communications to General Gordon which we think will materially enlarge our information with respect to his views of any prospect he may entertain of accomplishing that pacific mission. Until we receive the replies to these communications I shall not be in a position to answer the Question.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: Are these communications in the Papers?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: If the noble Lord will only examine the Papers, they will answer a great many Questions which have been asked.

PARLIAMENT—THE "COUNT OUT" ON TUESDAY.

Sir JOHN HAY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the simultaneous withdrawal from the House, on Tuesday last, of all the Liberal Members except two, when thirty-five Conservative Members were present, was by Ministerial arrangement; and, whether, to avoid for the future the repeated counts-out on Tuesday Evening Sittings, he will arrange for the attendance of some Members of the Government to assist in keeping a quorum?

Mr. MAC IVER: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, at the same time, what has become of the Commercial Treaty between Portugal and Spain?

Mr. GLADSTONE: In answer to the Question of the right hon. and gallant Baronet, what I have to say is, to give an assurance that there was no arrangement whatever made by the Government with regard to the withdrawal of Members from the House. If there was such a process, so far as I know, it would be entirely spontaneous, and be suggested by the nature of the case. With regard to the "Counts-out" on Tuesday evenings, I should say that there may be special circumstances when, if a Motion were in danger, it would be the duty of the Government to attempt to secure, even on Tuesday evenings, the making of a House; but I certainly could not undertake the additional responsibility, which would be handed down, like Egyptian engagements, to our Successors in Office; and I do not think it would be fair to impose such an obligation upon the Members of any Government.

Mr. MAC IVER: I will ask the Question on Thursday.

IMPERIAL AND LOCAL TAXATION—THE INCOME TAX—THE DEBATE OF FRIDAY, APRIL 25—PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD: I must ask the indulgence of the House while I refer to a matter which concerns my personal character and honour as a Member of this House. In the animated speech of the Prime Minister on Friday evening last, he charged me with having intentionally used the vowels A E I O U, in referring to the different heads of the Income Tax Schedule, instead of the letters A B C D and E, in order to avoid disclosing that my scheme of adjustment would effect a further burthening of Schedule A; because, on the previous day, I had secured the support of the landed interest in this House. He said he thought it would have been better had I used the five letters of the Schedule and not gone to the five vowels, "in order to obscure the operation of the plan." Now, Sir, I need hardly say that the imputation of purposely avoiding the disclosure of any of the consequences of my plan involves a charge of untruthfulness, hurtful to myself, offensive to my constituents, injurious to this House, of which I have the honour to be a Member, and damaging to the cause which I have espoused, and for which I have laboured, however imperfectly, with absolute truthfulness of purpose. I defer to a fitting opportunity the exposition of the fate of Schedule A; but I do not delay my appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to do me justice. He has known me and I have known him longer than any person in this House, and I ask him to withdraw unreservedly the charge he has made against me, which from his lips has proceeded to the five divisions of the globe, and which is altogether undeserved.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am extremely sorry if my right hon. Friend thought that there dropped from me any words which could possibly constitute a charge against his veracity, and that no opportunity was given me, by his appeal to me at the time, of withdrawing any such words. I am glad to think that, at any rate, the charge could not have been a very obvious one, when it is now six days since the debate before he has made it the subject of complaint in the way of any public or other reference. If he had stated it to me in private, I would not have waited this appeal in the House, but would have myself stated to the House that I should regard, with the strongest disapprobation, the conduct of any man, and especially my own conduct, if I were capable of making any imputation on the veracity of the right hon. Gentleman. The utmost that I ever charged my right hon. Friend with, if I ever did charge him with anything, was this—that he had not made it his care to put forward into the most prominent position what I considered to be the real points of his case. I beg my right hon. Friend to accept from me the expression of great regret if I have used words conveying the impression he has described; for, in my opinion, there is no man in this House who less requires to defend his honesty, or his public or private character, in this or in any other respect than my right hon. Friend himself, and most happy should I have been in private to lay this explanation before him instead of waiting for his appeal.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. HENEAGE asked, when the Government intended to proceed with the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill?

MR. GLADSTONE: There will be no opportunity of going forward with that subject to-night; but the Government are very anxious to bring this and some other matters to an early conclusion, and to expedite the Business of the House. For this reason, I shall have to-morrow to make a further proposal to the House on the subject of Morning Sittings. Complaint has been made by my hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), and by others, that no opportunity is given of deciding the question of Morning Sittings, at a proper time, and that the practice of deciding them one by one, at a late hour of the evening, is not always satisfactory and sufficient. Therefore, I propose to meet his views, and to move to-morrow that until the end of June, the House shall meet on Tuesdays and Fridays at 2 o'clock, and I trust the judgment of the House on the subject will then be fairly taken. One of the prime objects we have in view is to take the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, to which my hon. Friend refers.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Will there be a Morning Sitting to-morrow?

MR. GLADSTONE: We shall not ask for a Morning Sitting to-morrow. The proposal will be made before the Orders of the Day. We shall take the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill if possible to-morrow.

MR. BROADHURST: I would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to give facilities for making a House on Tuesday night for the discussion of the Motion in regard to Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, with regard to which both sides of the House take a great interest.

MR. GLADSTONE: My hon. Friend the Member for Stoke need be under no apprehension. It is certain that when that Motion comes on there will be a House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I beg to give Notice that I shall oppose the Motion to take Morning Sittings.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Would the Prime Minister inform the House, whether his Motion will also include the proposal that all Select Committees, all Private Committees, and all Grand Committees are to suspend their Sittings at 2 o'clock on Tuesdays and Fridays?

MR. GLADSTONE: No proposal will be made on that subject. The ordinary Rules will remain in force.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: In what shape does the Prime Minister propose to bring forward the Motion to-morrow?

MR. GLADSTONE: The only precedent is that of the course adopted by Mr. Disraeli, in 1867, who moved that until the end of June, the House should meet at 2 o'clock on Tuesdays and Fridays. My Motion will come before the Orders of the Day in accordance with that precedent.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: What was the date when that Motion was made?

MR. GLADSTONE: It was made on a late day in May, instead of an early day as we propose.

PUBLIC HEALTH—CHOLERA.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has received any intelligence of the arrival of a troopship at Portsmouth, with cases of cholera on board?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No details have reached me on this subject; but I hope to receive them soon.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Has there been any case of cholera landed?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Has the President of the Local Government Board any information on the subject?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I believe there have been no cases on shore since the ship arrived at Portsmouth; but I cannot speak certainly with regard to it. The arrival of the ship was the subject of discussion in advance between the War Office and the Local Government Board, and rules were laid down as to the procedure which was to be followed with regard to the ship. It was ordered to come in flying the yellow flag, and was to be anchored at a special point. That was done, and no one was allowed to land until there was pronounced to be no danger of infection.

EGYPT—THE TELEGRAMS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will lay on the Table the telegram of General Gordon, referred to in the last despatch of Sir Evelyn Baring, dated the 8th of April, in which he states "General Gordon evidently think he is to be abandoned, and is very indignant?"

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE, in reply, said, that the telegrams presented, in the Blue Book, which came down to a very late date, were simply those portions of telegrams sent by Sir Evelyn Baring to the Foreign Office. The full telegram of General Gordon referred to, had not, as far as he knew, been received by the Foreign Office.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked, whether the full text of the telegram could not be given, now that Sir Evelyn Baring was in England?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that the hon. Member would see that, in accordance with the undertaking that was given, the telegrams presented were simply those portions of the telegrams received by Sir Evelyn Baring from General Gordon which Sir Evelyn Baring had transmitted to the Foreign Office. They fully stated what had occurred.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[BILL 119.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

COMMITTEE. [SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming proceedings upon going into Committee.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR), who had an Amendment on the Paper, to the effect "That this House will, upon this day six months, resolve itself into the said Committee," said, he did not intend persevering with the Notice of Motion standing in his name; but he desired in the most emphatic manner to enter his protest against the measure. After referring to some of the anomalies that would be created by the Bill, if it passed—such, for instance, as that of a freeholder of the Borough of Hackney continuing to give his vote for the County of Middlesex—he maintained that in dealing with this question the House ought to have a complete measure before it. It ought not to be a piecemeal Reform, and he objected to this measure on the ground that it was a "bit by bit" Reform. It dealt very partially with one branch of the subject only, and it did not attempt to grapple with those anomalies which had been pointed out by his noble Friend the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners). The anomalies complained of would be very much increased by this Bill. The House was told by the Prime Minister that he proposed early next Session to bring forward the complement of the Bill. He had said that the Bill which would be brought in would repress all those anomalies in their representation, and that it would make the measure a complete one. He (Mr. R. N. Fowler) could not, however, understand why the precedents of 1832 and 1867 were not followed in dealing with this Bill. Why had the House not a complete measure before it? The right hon. Gentleman promised the complementary measure next February; but what security had the House that the right hon. Gentleman might be able to fulfil his pledge? A variety of causes might occur between this time and next February to prevent its fulfilment. There were certain contingencies attached to life itself of which they did not wish to think; there were foreign complications and numberless other events. They knew that the Prime Minister, very much to their regret, had been absent from the House recently owing to ill-health; and he might not be able, when the occasion arrived, to be present in the House to carry the Bill. It was on grounds such as these, therefore, that he wished to enter his protest against the bringing in of a partial Bill, and one which dealt with only one branch of the question. In addition to the reasons he had given, he ventured to take exception to the time at which the Bill had been brought forward. He greatly feared that if the Bill passed into law the Government would take advantage of that circumstance, and of the strength which it might give them in certain counties to dissolve Parliament. The country would then be appealed to on the present Bill, and without an opportunity having been given to consider the whole measure. Having regard to the present borough representation, and to the fact that several county seats might be gained under the new Bill, it was clear that it would be to the advantage of the Liberal Party to go to the country at an early date on this question. This seemed to be a dodge of the Birmingham caucus. If such a course were pursued, it would be unworthy of a great Government like the present. He regretted not to see the Secretary of the Board of Trade (Mr. Holms) in his place. His hon. Friend, some years ago, published an article in which he recommended that five years, instead of seven, should be the duration of Parliament. In this connection he (Mr. R. N. Fowler) wished to point out that, shortly after those views were propounded, the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government came into Office, and he selected the hon. Gentleman, and made him a Member of the Government. He thought, therefore, he would not be far wrong were he to assume that the views of the hon. Member for Hackney were not altogether disagreeable to the Prime Minister. The present Parliament had now existed for more than four years, and were the views of his hon. Friend to be carried out they would naturally look for a Dissolution at the close of the present Session. He maintained, therefore, that this was not only an attempt to force the Bill through a moribund

Parliament, but an attempt to foist the Bill on the country without allowing it to judge of the question. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade evinced some curiosity about a speech which Lord Salisbury delivered when, on a recent occasion, he dined at the Mansion House. What Lord Salisbury said on that occasion was said in private, and he should be guilty of a breach of trust were he to tell the House what was then said by the noble Marquess. He had, however, no objection to tell the right hon. Gentleman what he himself said on that occasion. It was that it seemed to him that Her Majesty's Government, in bringing in this Bill, had taken for their motto—

"Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo."

That was the motto of the Government in regard to this Bill, and he pressed earnestly upon the noble Marquess to use his influence with that Assembly, of which he was a distinguished ornament, to give the country an opportunity of judging of this Bill. He knew that course was not popular with hon. Gentlemen opposite. The hon. Member for Leeds, in a speech to his constituents, announced that the Government would not dissolve until they had passed all their measures. Considering the large number of measures of which Notice had been given, he considered the statement a somewhat extraordinary one. It certainly seemed to him that in a great change of this kind—the greatest change in our Constitution, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that had taken place since the Revolution of 1688—the country ought to be consulted. One of the leading Members of the Government had told the House that the passing of this measure would amount to a revolution. (He Mr. R. N. Fowler) certainly thought that in such a case they were not asking too much that the country should be consulted. Hon. Members opposite said the country was with them in this matter. If that were so, why should they fear to face the country? Members on the Opposition side of the House were greatly desirous that an appeal should be made to the country. But hon. Gentlemen opposite, who persisted in saying they were sure of the verdict, yet shrunk from the opportunity of inviting it. Now, he would ask the House and the country to judge which Party had confidence in the country—those who earnestly sought an appeal to its decision, or those who shrank from it? He would remind the House that both the preceding great measures of reform had been brought in early in the existence of the Parliament of the time. In the case of the Bill of 1831, Parliament had only met in the preceding year, while as to the Bill of 1867, the question of Reform had been brought up shortly after a Dissolution. The Parliament was elected in 1865, and in the following Session of 1866, the right hon. Gentleman opposite had brought in his Bill. Therefore, the country had had the question of Reform before it on both occasions. The present Bill, on the contrary, had been brought in at the close of a Parliament. It was true that they had been told by the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) that it was the best Parliament that ever met at Westminster; but he doubted whether the opinion of the more experienced Members of the House would be similar. He hoped that before this great change was made they would be given the opportunity of knowing what was the opinion of the country. They would recollect that in 1868 the right hon. Gentleman opposite had brought in a suspensory Bill relating to the Irish Church which, after passing that House, had been rejected in the other House. The country had then been appealed to, and had decided in favour of the right hon. Gentleman, upon which the other House had given way. Similarly, he thought that if the country proved to be in favour of this Bill the other House should give way. He maintained that this measure ought not to be forced through the House when the country had not been consulted upon it. He thought that everyone must admit that at the last Dissolution this measure had not been a very prominent one before the constituencies. They had had the right hon. Gentleman opposite impeaching the policy of Lord Beaconsfield in Afghanistan, at the Cape, and everywhere; but there had been no question of a redistribution of that House. At that time they had not been aware what the Government might be; some people had thought that the noble Marquess, who was then Leader of the Opposition, would be at the head of the Government, and the Liberal Party had received a large amount of votes from those who thought that the noble Marquess was a man of great moderation. He objected to this Bill being rushed through a Parliament in its fifth year, without an appeal to the country, and he wished to make his humble protest against the course which had been pursued. He had placed his Motion on the Paper in order to have the opportunity of addressing a few words to the House on the subject, and, having gained that object, he did not propose to press it; he wished, however, to express his view that this measure ought not to be passed without an appeal to the country. Both sides had expressed their confidence in the result; then let it be tried. On that side of the House they looked with confidence to the result of that appeal; they thought that the country would stand by them. On the other hand, if hon. Gentlemen opposite were right in their views as to the opinion of the country they had nothing to dread, and if they did succeed, he hoped that those on his own side of the House would abide by the decision of the House, in the spirit of the illustrious Sir Robert Peel, who concluded one of his great speeches in 1832, in these memorable words—

> "If, Sir, the people of England, after meditating on these things, on the condition of foreign States, on the signs and indications at home of the probable consequences of this measure of Reform, still insist on its completion, their deliberate resolve will, no doubt, ultimately prevail. I shall bow to their judgment with the utmost respect; but my own opinions will remain unchanged. To all the penalties of maintaining these opinions—the withdrawal of public favour, the loss of public confidence, the incapacity for public service—I can and must submit. The people have the power, as they have the right, to inflict them; but they have neither the power nor the right to inflict that heavier penalty of involving me in their own responsibility, by making me the instrument for the accomplishing of an act by which we, the life-renters of those institutions which have made our country the freest, the happiest, and the most powerful nation of the universe, are to cut off from those who shall succeed us the inheritance of that which we ourselves enjoyed."

MR. CHAPLIN, who had the following Amendment on the Paper:—

> "That this House considers that to largely increase the electoral privileges of the Irish people, at a time when vast numbers of the population are bitterly opposed to the English connection; when the object of their leaders and representatives in Parliament, openly avowed, is to sever that connection, and establish the National Independence of Ireland; and when the Government dare not even trust them with the full enjoyment of their ordinary civil rights, is inexpedient and dangerous to the welfare of the State, and cannot fail, with the present proportion and distribution of seats, to give strength and encouragement, in the prosecution of their aims, to the Separatist Party in Ireland."

said, he held that the objections which had been made with reference to the action of the Bill upon Ireland were most serious, and, indeed, unanswerable. It was most necessary, now, that discussion should be raised upon that question. The senior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had delivered a most powerful and effective speech on that point during the debate on the second reading, and not one single Member of Her Majesty's Government had even attempted to meet him in reply as far as he could see. That mode of proceeding, he had observed, was by no means uncommon with Her Majesty's Government; on the contrary, it seemed to be their invariable practice, whenever they were confronted with a more than usually awkward question, to do their utmost not to meet, but to shirk and evade it. This Bill was entitled "A measure to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people in Parliament;" but, for his own part, he would describe it very differently. So far as Ireland was concerned, it was simply a measure to facilitate the repeal of the Union, and to promote and encourage the separation of Ireland from England. He had not one single word of complaint to make against the course taken by the Irish National Party in the House upon the second reading, or the largely-added majority which they brought to a Division on that occasion. Naturally enough, the Irish National Party welcomed that Bill with open arms, because they observed and recognized quite clearly what its inevitable effects must be in Ireland. They were quite shrewd enough to see how large a step it had brought, or would bring them, nearer to the goal which they had in view. That goal was nothing less than the establishment of the national independence of their country. They had from the first never concealed it. He might deplore their objects, as well as the means by which they had sometimes sought to attain them; but he could not refuse to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his Friends full credit for the candour and consistency with which they had always avowed those objects from the first; and, in that respect, he was bound to say their conduct contrasted very favourably with the conduct of some right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Bench opposite. He maintained that to the Irish Party this Bill was welcome because they saw in it an effective instrument to assist them in carrying out their schemes; but to Her Majesty's Government, on the other hand, this Bill—with all the stimulus and encouragement of an added force which it must give to the cause of separation—was the price which they were willing to pay for the support of the Irish vote at the approaching General Election. He thought the Government were wise in their generation, for they might depend upon this, that they would require every single vote they could command when the appeal was made from this Parliament, which they were seeking to betray, to a country which distrusted them, and, he believed, was thoroughly disgusted both with them and their proceedings. The Government had stated, with the utmost frankness from the first, that the inclusion of Ireland in the Bill was a vital and fundamental portion of their scheme. He (Mr. Chaplin) wished to speak with equal frankness. If that was true, if that was the final position of the Government, if it was really impossible for the settlement of this question that the three countries should be separated, all this afforded, to his mind, an unanswerable argument in favour of postponing the question altogether until Ireland had become less disturbed, less hostile to this country, and more reconciled to the connection. Could anyone get up and say that Ireland was in that position of contentment, and tranquillity, and freedom from violent agitation, which all agreed was a most desirable, and many thought was an absolutely necessary, condition for the introduction of an organic change in the constitution of a country? The President of the Board of Trade during the Recess had used the argument that Ireland was never likely to be contented as long as they withheld that great act of justice, as it was called, from her. How long was it since Members of the Government had made that discovery? He would tell them. It was made by the President of the Board of Trade about two or three months before the assembling of Parliament, just after the Conference at Leeds had decided, so far as it was able to decide, that there should be some measure of Reform introduced in the present Session, and that, taking all things together, it was less dangerous to the interests of the Liberal Party, as a whole, that that measure should be extended to Ireland than that it should be withheld from that country. Now, they had not a shadow of ground for pretending either that the want of such a measure was the cause of disturbance and disaffection in Ireland, and that its adoption would be a remedy for those evils in future, or that it would be gratefully received by any portion of the Irish people, except in so far as it was likely to strengthen the cause of separation. Over and over again since he had been a Member of that House hon. Gentlemen opposite had come forward and said—"Oh, here is this great measure of justice to Ireland; it is imperatively necessary for the peace and tranquillity of that country; only pass this measure and all we be well." Even now his memory distinctly recalled the accents of the Prime Minister as to the "Upas tree"—the Established Church—which they used to be told was the bane, the misfortune, and the curse of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman asked them only to give him liberty to cut it down, and they would then see what they would see and have something approaching the Millennium in Ireland. Since then the right hon. Gentleman had had great majorities behind him, and had been able to do almost anything that he pleased in regard to that country. The Upas tree had been destroyed root and branch; but, unfortunately, instead of having the Millennium, they were on the virge of civil war in Ireland. That was not his own assertion, but the assertion of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, who stated not long ago, at a public meeting, that it was only the presence of the Queen's troops in Ireland which prevented an actual outbreak in that country. The Government had been warned again and again from the Opposition side of the House of what would be the inevitable results of the pernicious policy which they had been so long pursuing. Many of the measures of the right hon. Gentleman, so far from being acts of justice, had been the most flagrant acts of injustice which it was possible to conceive, the gravest departure from all the sound principles of legislation which, up to the career of the right hon. Gentleman and his Irish policy, had been recognized in all civilized countries in the world; and they were beginning at last, as was not to be wondered at, to bear their natural fruits. When the right hon. Gentleman first embarked in his policy towards Ireland he had a golden opportunity of promoting the regeneration of that country, such as was rarely offered before to any English statesman. They could judge to some extent of the use that he had made of that opportunity by the Ireland they witnessed to-day. The chief difficulties which English Ministers and Parliaments had previously to deal with in Ireland were mainly of a social and economical character. The position of affairs there at present was unhappily far more serious; now, the difficulty was undoubtedly political; and it was to his mind one of the most terrible misfortunes of the whole Irish policy of the right hon. Gentleman that, while he had done much to render all satisfactory solution of the social problems in Ireland impossible, the political and and far more serious evils and dangers of that country were mainly, if not entirely, of his own creation. He had brought things to this condition—that while the proposal to extend the suffrage in Ireland was viewed with avowed anxiety and dismay by a great many Liberals in this country, and even by the noble Marquess, his Predecessor as the Leader of the Liberal Party, as was evident from his speeches in Lancashire, there were vast bodies of the people of England who regarded it as a positive and a grave danger to the State. Was it at all surprising, then, when they recollected how all their previous predictions as to the future of that country, and all their fair promises had been so completely falsified, if people were not disposed to place reliance on the latest specific and panacea of the Government, or to accept what they told them in regard to the extension of the suffrage in Ireland? It seemed to him that they could not possibly have selected a more unfavourable time for the experiment they now proposed to make. He constantly received a good deal of information about the present state of Ireland from men who, he had every reason to believe were as competent to express an opinion on that question, and as well acquainted with it as any Member of the Government; and what he learned from one and all of them was that, except as far as open insurrection and disturbance could be prevented by the action of the Crimes Act, the state of Ireland at that moment was worse, more dangerous, more disloyal, and disaffected to this country than it had probably ever been before. Yet, in face of that, Ministers went down to the country and made smooth speeches, and said pleasant things, about the present condition of Ireland; and he believed that the President of the Board of Trade had recently said, to a great assembly in a northern county, that Ireland was in a far more improved state than it ever was during the last four years, and that except for the action of some troublesome Orangemen everything would be quiet and peaceful. He (Mr. Chaplin) would give a simple illustration of the real state of things by a circumstance that happened to come under his own notice. Not long ago, one of the principal land agents in the South of Ireland came over from that country to London, and called upon him on the very morning he arrived from Dublin. The land agent put into his hand a paper and said,—"Mr. Chaplin, no doubt you have been reading some of the speeches which Ministers have been making about the improved state of things in Ireland. What do you think of that?" On opening the paper, he found that it was a telegram which that gentleman had just received on his arrival in London from the chief inspector of police in Dublin, or of some other town—he forgot which—and it was to this effect—"We have received information that your life will probably be attempted while you are in London"—by an Invincible, he thought it said, or by an agent of some other association. "We have forwarded the information to the proper authorities in London; but it is absolutely impossible that you can take too great precautions." And the land agent said to him—"In the face of things happening like this, and happening every day, though probably you do not hear of them, is it not too hard on us in Ireland that Cabinet Ministers should go into the country and say that the state of Ireland is much better now than it ever has been in the past four years?" That gentleman had for many years had the charge of immense estates in the South of Ireland; and he had had the reputation of being one of the kindest and, towards his tenants, the most liberal of land agents in the country. It had been his own good fortune to spend some time at that gentleman's residence in Ireland just before the introduction of the Land Act; and he should never forget the conversation they had together on that occasion. They were speaking of the anticipated Act. His friend said—"In the county in which I live we have never had an agrarian outrage or an agrarian murder, I believe, in the memory of man. I have never had a difficulty, I have never even received a threatening letter, and I have lived in perfect friendship and amity with all I am concerned with. But," he added, "if this measure, or anything at all like it, is introduced into Parliament and carried, I would not give two years' purchase for my life if I still continue to perform my duties." Since that time he knew that that man's life had been attempted more than once—he believed several times; and such was his position that when he came to England he was met with a telegram such as he had described. Even when he went a few yards from his house to church, he was accompanied by armed policemen, he believed, on either side. He might give the House many other similar illustrations of some of the consequences which had resulted from the policy of the Prime Minister, but it was not necessary. He would content himself with appealing to the highest authority—namely, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. Would that right hon. Gentleman get up in his place that night, and state to the House, that apart from the effects of the Crimes Act, he was able to discern any real permanent or lasting improvement in the condition of Ireland? If he could, why, then, did he continue to suspend the Constitution in that country? Some gentlemen had often asked him—"Why do you desire to withhold the suffrage from Ireland? Why make a distinction between the two countries?" When that question was put to him he always replied by asking another, and he should like to ask then the Chief Secretary, or the Prime Minister, or the Secretary for War—"Is the Crimes Act in Ireland indispensable to-day, or is it not?" If it was not, then it ought at once to be repealed. If it was, the Irish people were not fitted to receive the franchise, and those who asked him why he objected to its extension to Ireland had answered themselves. He should have thought that no body of men in the world out of Bedlam would support a measure like the Coercion Act side by side with a large extension of the suffrage. The two things were absolutely incompatible. It was impossible to contend that it could conduce to the interests, or the peace or prosperity of Ireland largely, to increase her electoral privileges when the Government dared not even trust the Irish people with the full enjoyment of their ordinary civil rights. What was the chief difficulty with which the Government had to contend at the present moment? It was that the present electorate of 200,000 and the Representatives whom they sent to Parliament were banded together, for the most part, for one purpose, which was by some means or other to compass the separation of Ireland from England. That purpose was perfectly clear to all who chose to see, and it was not less clear that a large extension of the suffrage would enormously strengthen the hands of the Separatist Party in Ireland. That fact was denied by no one single Minister or statesman in the country. There was one person, however—he referred to the President of the Board of Trade—who had thrown some doubts on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken somewhere in the country word of an ominous significance. He had said that whether the effect of the ex-extension of the suffrage would be to strengthen the cause of separation or not was not the question. What the Liberals had to ask was, what was the object of a representative system, and if it were faithfully to reflect the views of the constituencies, and the country was convinced of the necessity of such a system, it ought to be made a reality and not a sham, no matter what the consequences might be. No doubt those were also the views of many Gentlemen opposite. But had they considered what such a doctrine must inevitably lead to? He would like to have asked the President of the Board of Trade if he were in his place, what course he would take if the present electorate, and still more, if the future electorate which it was proposed to establish, should return to Parliament a large majority of Representatives pledged to the cause of National independence in Ireland? Was he prepared to accede to the request for separation or not? If not, what became of his plea that the representative system should be made a reality at once? If he was, his object ought to be proclaimed, and the country had a right to know what were the views of the President of the Board of Trade on that question. He did not know whether there might, or might not, be some future Kilmainham Treaty, but if the right hon. Gentleman remained silent after the challenge which he had made, there would be no alternative except to believe that, in certain circumstances arising in the future, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade and those who shared his views were prepared to accede to the demand for the national independence of Ireland. But up to the present time there was no public man in England who would not have been prepared to utter an emphatic "No" a thousand times to any such proposition, and nobody had seen that more clearly than the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War. The noble Lord had, on various occasions, expressed his opinion on the subject of the extension of the suffrage to Ireland. Not long ago in Lancashire he had painted in vivid colours the condition of the country at the present time, and pointed out how the government of the 5,000,000 in that part of the world offered problems by the side of which the government of the remaining population of the Kingdom fell to absolute insignificance. But what conclusion did the noble Lord draw from that state of things; where was his logical consistency? It had been proved almost impossible to govern Ireland with an electorate of 200,000, and so, in order to make it three times more impossible, the noble Lord was prepared to increase the electorate to 600,000. The conduct of the noble Lord in that matter was open to grave and serious reproach, even if no harsher term might be applied. The noble Lord said not long ago, even with regard to local government in Ireland, that it would be absolute madness to grant it, unless some assurance were given by the Leaders of the Irish people that it would not be used to weaken the authority of the central Government at home. Was it not perfectly obvious that every word that the noble Lord said with regard to local government applied with ten-fold force to the extension of the suffrage? The noble Lord perceived it himself, for he went on to speak about the suffrage in the same speech. He then said—

> "There is no franchise possessed by the English people, there is no power which is either possessed or which may hereafter be conferred upon the English people which, from any national jealousy, we will withhold from Ireland so soon as we can be persuaded that the Irish people and their Leaders have reconciled themselves to the inevitable fact that they are and must remain an integral portion of the British Empire."

The natural conclusion from that statement was that, so long as the Irish people failed to fulfil that condition, the noble Lord would withhold the suffrage. But the speech of the noble Lord was soon followed by a declaration made at a banquet in Dublin by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). That declaration was full of energy and full of Irish aspirations, and expressed a determination never to rest for a moment until they had gained the objects they had in view. The hon. Member for the City of Cork said—

> "Beyond a shadow of doubt it will be for the Irish people in England, separated, isolated as they are, and for the independent Irish Members, to determine at the next General Election whether a Tory or a Liberal Ministry shall rule England. This is a great force and a great power. This force has already gained for Ireland inclusion in the coming Franchise Bill. We have reason to be proud, hopeful, and energetic, determined that this generation shall not pass away until it has bequeathed to those who come after us the great birthright of national independence."

That was the reply of the Irish Leaders to the noble Lord, and in face of that reply he asked the noble Lord how he could reconcile his previous utterances with the action he was taking on that occasion? In reply to the suggestion that the question should be postponed altogether until the condition of Ireland had changed, only two answers had been made in the course of that debate, one negative and the other affirmative. The Chief Secretary said that it would be monstrous to deprive England and Scotland of their undoubted right of which they had already been deprived for many years because of the dislike entertained towards extending the franchise in Ireland; and the Prime Minister cast aside all obligation to produce arguments for the Bill, and said that the addition of every capable citizen to the constituency must inevitably give strength to the the State. He (Mr. Chaplin) took issue with both right hon. Gentlemen upon the arguments which they had used. He denied altogether that the exercise of the suffrage, or the extension of it, was to be treated as a right. If it was to be regarded as a right, that position was inconsistent with the support of the Bill. It extended the suffrage to 2,000,000 more; but what about the rights of all the rest who were excluded? If it was a right in one case, surely it was equally a right in the other; and, therefore, the pretence that it was a right that could not be withheld was absolutely worthless. The Prime Minister was most unfortunate in his illustration of the grounds on which he supported the measure, for he alluded to America, where it was notorious that the prevalence of corruption deterred the most able and competent men from having anything to do with public life. The right hon. Gentleman said that addition to the electorate would necessarily give strength to the State; but would that be done by the increase of the electorate in Ireland? The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), in his speech at Edinburgh, pointed out that the position of Ireland was always a source of danger and anxiety, and that, in case of war or foreign complication, it would become one of absolute peril to the State. Would the condition of things be improved by the increase of the electorate in Ireland as well as England? But to come nearer home still, did the Prime Minister think that the last extension of the franchise had improved the condition of the House of Commons and made it more useful? If so, his memory ought to undeceive him on that point, for it was not so long ago that, owing to the terrible depth to which the House had fallen from its ancient traditions, the right hon. Gentleman had found it necessary to propose arbitrary rules for its government, without which he declared that the transaction of Business would be absolutely impossible. All this had arisen from the last extension of the franchise, the real effect of which we were only just beginning to perceive. He could not conceive how it was possible for the right hon. Gentleman to believe that in a further addition to the electorate there would be an accession of strength to the State. The proposal he (Mr. Chaplin) made was virtually a proposal not to exclude Ireland from the suffrage it was proposed to confer on England and Scotland, but to postpone the settlement of the question altogether, until Ireland was in a fit state to receive it. Surely hon. Members opposite, who were proud of the Irish legislation of their Chief, who sang pæans in praise of the measures passed, would be the last to suppose that the fruits of these magnificent effects of statesmanship, the halcyon days of Ireland, could be long postponed. Unless the Government was convinced that the vast majority of the Irish people were not bitterly opposed to the connection with England, that it was not the purpose of their Leaders in Parliament or the country to sever that connection and establish national independence, and that the extension of the suffrage would not largely strengthen the cause of separation between the two countries, he had made out a case for the postponement of this question. Whatever objections there might be to postponing it in England and Scotland, they would not bear comparison for a moment with the objections to extend the suffrage in Ireland at the present time. He had only to consider the course which on this occasion he should pursue. He knew perfectly well that he should have banded together against him the whole Irish Party and the whole Radical Party. Was that likely to further the ultimate object he had in view? It was not the part of a wise general, on any occasion, to court an overwhelming defeat. Believing that the full statements of the views he entertained upon this question might possibly have as much influence, and, perhaps a more favourable influence, than an overwhelming Division against him, he should not move the Amendment which stood in his name, but he should merely record his protest by saying "No!" to the Motion "That the Speaker do leave the Chair."

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have not yet realized the full effect of the closing statement of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chaplin), which is, I may say, one of the most remarkable that I have ever heard in this House. The hon. Gentleman has compared himself to a wise general who has, on this occasion, undertaken to march at the head of the Party opposite in support of an Amendment; but who, at the last moment, has remembered that prudence is the better part of valour, and has announced to us that, after all, he does not mean to fight. But the hon. Gentleman, although he is most pacific in his acts, is undoubtedly very warlike in his words, and in his use of big ones. Of them I have rarely heard any hon. Gentleman favour this House with a more abundant supply. There are parts of what the hon. Gentleman has said which I must say I hope will receive very specific notice from those Irish Members to whom he has so pointedly alluded. The hon. Gentleman has put upon the Paper allegations, that vast numbers of the Irish people are bitterly opposed to the English connection, and that the avowed objects of their Leaders and Representatives is to sever that connection, and to establish a national and independent Ireland. Well, Sir, undoubtedly the majority of the Representatives of Ireland sitting in this House, would not consent to, or admit, the truth of either of those allegations. The majority of the Irish Members were returned at the General Election to support what is termed Home Rule; but there are many—I am not able to say how many—of those who support what they term Home Rule who have, at all times, indignantly repudiated the doctrine that Home Rule is equivalent to severance of the English connection. ["Hear, hear!"] I am glad to hear those cheers. I was going to say that the hon. Gentleman near me, the Member for County Cork (Mr. Shaw), at the time when he was actively engaged in representing the feelings and opinions of the great body of the Irish Members in this House, made a speech which, I am certain, conveyed to the minds of those who heard it the firmest conviction that, while he was a supporter of Home Rule, he was the friend, and not the enemy, of the English connection. I believed then, and I believe still, that there are many, even of those who are considered the extreme Irish Party, that share that sentiment of my hon. Friend. It is for them, however, to make plain the position they hold. I am not at all sorry that they have been challenged by the hon. Gentleman, in the Motion which is printed on the Papers of the House, and which, I hope, and for my own part believe, to be a libel upon those vast numbers of the Irish people to whom it refers; but it is for them, I admit, to explain, defend, and vindicate themselves as they may think proper. I say so much, because, undoubtedly, it is needless for me to deal with a Motion which has vanished into thin air. I did suppose, when I heard and listened to the hon. Gentleman throughout his speech, speaking of his proposals, that he was really going to propose them. But I find that these are proposals the essence of which is that they are not to be proposed; because the hon. Gentleman thinks that, upon the whole, he may trust to the influence of the oration which he has given to produce, if not the outright conversion, at least, a fundamental change in the attitude of men's minds in and out of the House, the effect of which might have been marred if a Division had taken place. I only say this upon the withdrawal of the hon. Gentleman's Motion. He says that he withdraws it, because he would have had against him the whole Irish Party and the whole Radical Party. I believe he had other reasons for withdrawing it, besides his apprehension of those two Parties; and, that, among the reasons for withdrawing it, was the advice he received from the most prudent, and perhaps the most experienced and influential of those who sit on his own side. I was going to have asked the hon. Gentleman, what I need not ask now, what we are really discussing? Referring to his speech, which is the only thing we have to discuss, I shall only think it necessary to say a very few words. The hon. Gentleman accuses the Government of having brought in a Bill for the enlargement of the franchise in Ireland, and bringing it to a footing of equality with England and Scotland, at the price of the Irish vote at the coming Election. Is that a fair accusation? Is this the first time on which we have endeavoured to enlarge the Irish constituencies? Have we not again and again, during past years, and without the slightest idea or prospect of the Irish vote—have we not again and again supported the Irish Members in their endeavours to obtain an extension of the franchise to Ireland as regards equality? For be it remembered that, at this moment, Ireland does not possess that equality. Neither in the counties nor in the towns of Ireland is the Irish constituency to be compared, I do not say in numbers, but as to their legislative basis, with the constituency long granted to England and Scotland. I understand the speech of the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Gentleman modestly described the gist of his own opinions, when he said his Party wanted to postpone altogether the question we are now debating; but, Sir, they go a great deal further than that, and the hon. Gentleman is entitled to much greater praise for verbal than for rhetorical courage; because the hon. Gentleman, towards the close of his speech, entered upon an indignant denunciation of the existing franchise in England and Scotland, stating it was only now that gradually we were beginning to develop and find out the mischievous effects of the franchise; and, in that view, though modesty prevented the hon. Gentleman from even printing the Motion, and withdrawing it upon the subject, yet he should have brought forward one for the repeal of the Act of 1867, for nothing less than that is the true outcome of the speech which he delivered, and from which he expects that such great political results will arise. Now, Sir, with respect to this Bill, as to which we are charged with having sought the Irish vote, I refer to our conduct during the past 10 years upon every occasion when the subject of the Irish franchise has been mooted in this House. With respect to the Bill, let me consider a little the objections taken by the hon. Gentleman against it. The hon. Gentleman says that Ireland is in a dreadful state, and that he will challenge any Minister to declare that its condition has improved, except through the operation of coercive measures.

Mr. CHAPLIN: I said any permanent or lasting improvement in its condition.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Undoubtedly. That leaves a refuge to the hon. Gentleman; because if I say or allege actual improvement, he may say it is not permanent or lasting. He calls the future to his aid when the present does not sufficiently bear him out, or answer his purpose. The fact of an improvement in the state of Ireland I should have thought, if that word "improvement" be rightly understood, is an undeniable fact. I do not deny that, in certain respects, it may be urged that the state of Ireland has not improved—that is to say, that the Parliamentary controversy between a large body of the Irish Members, who may in another Parliament become the majority of those Members, the majority of the rest of this House, is not yet solved—not, perhaps, yet even mitigated. I do not underrate the importance of that Parliamentary controversy. It may cause great inconvenience and great uneasiness. My share in it is nearly at an end, and it will last, probably, longer than the short residue of my political life. But what will be the upshot of it? Debating here, voting, cross voting, the disturbance possibly of a Ministry, and the Dissolution possibly of a Parliament? All these things may arise from the political controversy between the Irish Members and a certain section, especially if they be raised to a considerable majority, or a majority at all, of the Irish Representatives for the rest of Ireland. But what then? Does that imply that Ireland is lost, or that its state is less happy than before? When I speak of the improved condition of the country, I mean the improvement in the lives and conditions of the human beings who inhabit it. [Mr. Onslow: Loyalty!] That is what I understand by the improvement of the country. I speak of their lives and conditions. That constitutes the improvement of a country. Their political temper is another matter —a very important one—not one which I will take into view now, but I will presently refer to it. I affirm that great as the improvement in the condition of the people of Ireland now is, as respects personal and domestic happiness, as respects the hearths and homes, the very essence of human life, their condition as compared with the condition of their forefathers for many generations is vastly superior. If I may take the external evidence of that improvement, I do not deny that there is yet much to be desired; but hon. Gentlemen should know that the outrages perpetrated in Ireland are trifling in number compared with those that have unfortunately characterized former years. I believe I would be correct in saying not only that they have enormously diminished since the crisis of the great social struggle three years ago, but that they are less than half what they were at the time the present Government took office. The hon. Gentleman says—"Do not extend the political franchise to Ireland at a time when you have got an Act on the Statute Book in derogation of the civil rights and liberties of the people." The doctrine of the hon. Gentleman reaches a long way. If you are to withhold all extension of political franchise from Ireland, while there are exceptional laws abridging civil liberty, unfortunately you never would have given any political franchise to Ireland at all, for there has hardly been a period when some exceptional law or other of that character has not been in existence. I assure hon. Gentlemen opposite, I will not echo the doctrine of the hon. Gentleman; for I am sure I am correct in saying that, in 1868, when the political franchises of Ireland were extended, exceptional laws still existed, and I am not sure that the Habeas Corpus Act was not suspended in Ireland at that time. The hon. Gentleman refers to the case of gentlemen who are in personal fear in Ireland—personal fear and danger of their lives. It is not difficult under the thin disguise of the hon. Gentleman's description to imagine whose life had been threatened by some of those whom the hon. Gentleman calls "Invincibles." Does the hon. Gentleman really believe that these Invincibles are a fair specimen of the people of Ireland, or that the people of Ireland generally are in sympathy with their attempts? I believe, for my part, no such thing. I believe they are the greatest enemies of the people of Ireland. I believe the people of Ireland will more and more come to recognize them as their greatest enemies. I am sure there is but one course which can tend to identify the people of Ireland with these wicked men, and that is, that we should pursue a course ungenerous and unjust towards the people. The hon. Gentleman referred to America. I am always sorry when I hear severe imputations cast upon the institutions of America by hon. Members speaking in this House. We should not relish it, if the practice were applied to ourselves; and I question the taste as well as the justice of it, except with very great care and much reserve. I must remind the hon. Gentleman that the United States have not had the same experience in legislative matters as we have had. I quoted the case of America for a purpose which I think was unimpeachable. It was to show how, in America, with a vast constituency, an enormous vigour and vitality had been developed by the Constitution of the country in the struggle of 1861 to 1865—a struggle, I believe, such as never fell to the lot of any other people in modern history. It was for the vigour and vitality given to the Constitution, for the strength, the tenacity, and the persistency which the people assumed over the working of the Constitution, for their devoted self-sacrifice, for their patriotism, which seemed to burn brighter and brighter in proportion as difficulties grew more and more embarrassing—it was for this purpose I quoted the American Constitution in my speech in introducing the Bill. I do not think the argument was misapplied, as it tends to show that a wide suffrage has a great effect in giving the Constitution a hold upon the minds and hearts of the people, and disposing the people to make the most manful and devoted efforts on its behalf. The hon. Member says the Americans are rather disadvantageously situated in point of purity. How long has it taken us to attain a decent standard of purity? I am not even sure that we have attained it yet. I am not quite certain that American elections would not one by one compare pretty favourably, even at the present day, with English elections. But America has a young Constitution compared with ours. She has for 100 years presented the picture of an independent and growing nation. She has undoubtedly, under very great temptations, shown from time to time weak points in the conduct of her public men and her local politicians, not all over the country, but in some particular localities. But we, at any rate, have passed through that phase, and if we have now emerged from it; for I am not certain that we have, in all respects, emerged from it. But, at any rate, it has taken us 200 years to get through, or to make any serious progress in getting rid of the political corruption. When America has as yet had experience of but half the time, I think really we might restrain the censorious tongue, and be a little more considerate in dealing with

America under this chapter. The hon. Gentleman says he sees danger to the State in the extension of the franchise—[Mr. CHAPLIN: To Ireland.] No; the hon. Gentleman, as I understood him, was general. He said—"I will not admit that raising the constituency is a means of strengthening the Constitution of the country." He seems to think that, with a sufficiently narrow franchise, the Government is pretty safe. But he follows up that opinion by the censure he has passed upon the Act of 1867, and the last great extension of the franchise. Sir, narrowing the franchise is not a protection against rebellion or revolution. There is a Republic in France, resting upon a franchise of the very broadest basis; and that Republic, so far as we can see, does not exhibit any sign of gross weakness or debasement. We are very fond of referring to bye-elections in this country. You see bye-elections take place in France. Do those bye-elections indicate that the people of France have changed their minds, and are ready to bring about a great change in their institutions? But they have now this enormously-extended franchise. What sort of franchise had they under the Bourbons, and under Louis Philippe? If I remember right, the constituency was 80,000 under the Bourbons, and under Louis Philippe 150,000 or 200,000; and yet, as sure as 15 or 20 years passed, revolution came, though the franchise was limited in a manner to content the heart even of the hon. Gentleman. Do they show any great desire to go back to the former state of things? If, unhappily, a people are not attached to their institutions, then, whether the franchise be wide or narrow, that discontent and that want of attachment will make themselves fatally shown; but where a people are attached to their institutions, where every man in the country glories in belonging to that country, where the law stands in general respect and harmony with the views of the enormous majority of the people—where the desire of the people, upon the whole, is to improve, but yet, while improving, to preserve and to hand down in substance to their posterity that which they have received from their forefathers—there is a case which, happily, in the main corresponds with our case, and there it is, that to broaden the constituency is to strengthen the Constitution. With respect to Ireland, the real question first is—is this, in our view, a United Kingdom? If it is a United Kingdom, is the hon. Gentleman in his right, if he gets up and demands from us that Ireland shall remain as she now is, with a franchise grossly unequal, with a franchise extremely limited as compared with the franchise enjoyed in England and Scotland? And I want to know on what principle—if, as I suppose, the hon. Member defends the Union with Ireland—on what principle is it possible to defend it, except upon the principle that the aim of that Act is to introduce Ireland to the enjoyment of equal rights with those of England and Scotland? It is impossible to maintain the Act of Union or any form of connection between the countries upon the principles of the hon. Gentleman. For the Irish people will not submit, and I must say—I am speaking, of course, of constitutional submission and constitutional resistance—but, speaking within these limits, I not only say that they will not submit, but I say that I rejoice they will not submit, to the inequality which the hon. Gentleman desires to inflict upon them, and, as I may say, as respects the franchise, to perpetuate in the form in which it now exists. There is one objection which I feel to speeches like the speech of the hon. Gentleman on which I will yet say a single word. I am vexed at the amount of compliment that the hon. Gentleman pays to Irish Members of what we call extreme opinions—I do not mean by these compliments the great value that he sets upon getting their votes in the same Lobby with himself, but the compliment which is essentially involved in his whole strain of argument. He appears to think that Irish voters' Representatives meeting English and Scottish voters' Representatives upon a footing of equality, and with the principles of justice, alike acknowledged and applied on either side, are not only formidable, but are absolutely irresistible. He seems to think he will terrify us out of our seven senses by alluding to the state of things which will arise under the Bill, as to which he says there is to be a very large majority of Irish Members following the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). [An hon. MEMBER: Do you not think it will be so ?] Yes; but I think I am entitled to put this question to the hon. Gentleman—Does he not also think there would be a large majority of Members returned in the same sense if he succeeded in maintaining the present system? The question between Great Britain and Ireland does not depend upon the comparatively paltry difference between 70 Members, or 80 Members, or 90 Members in a particular Parliament. It depends upon one thing more than any other, and that is the avoidance of injustice. Why are we to be told that 400,000 persons, added to the constituency in Ireland, are to carry all before them, and to prevent us from exercising in this, or a future Parliament, an independent judgment on the connection of the two countries? Why are we to be told this, when we bear in mind that if there are 5,000,000 in Ireland there are 30,000,000 people in Great Britain; and if there are 500,000 or 400,000 persons going to be added to the Irish constituency, there are 1,500,000 persons going to be added to the already vast English and Scottish constituencies? Why, then, should we be afraid to look in the face the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork and all his coadjutors? I know but one thing which can inspire craven fear in our minds, or which can for a moment weaken the position of England, or derogate from the power of the Imperial Parliament to govern this great country —England, Scotland, and Ireland—and all the Empire according to law and the Constitution. I know but one thing that can weaken it, and that is, if the hon. Member for the City of Cork is able to rise in his place, and say that we are attempting to inflict upon Ireland the brand of social and political inequality, and to make the Act of Union, which professes to be an Act of equality and justice, an Act, on the contrary, under cover of which we are to maintain a state of laws which denies to Ireland the rights which we grant to the rest of the Kingdom. That, I frankly own, is my view, and I believe it is the view of the majority of this House, and of the people of this country as well. I do wish the hon. Gentleman and those who think with him would do a little more justice, if not to themselves, at least to their country. If, for argument's sake, I am to regard this as a great controversy between the two Islands, I say to those who profess to represent the population on this side of the water, surely we are strong enough in numbers, in wealth, and in ancient tradition. That being so, there is but one other item that matters a feather weight in the case—let us be as strong in right as we are in population, wealth, and historic traditions, and we shall have abundant force to settle our accounts in whatever may be founded on justice, or can fairly be demanded for the people of Ireland, with their Representatives. I make no complaint of the hon. Member's raising this question. It is a perfectly fair question to be debated, and it may be said to have attracted only a limited attention in the course of the previous debates. But I must say that while I am sorry for many of the opinions which have been expressed by the hon. Gentleman, I rejoice that he has not seen fit to ask the House to assent to the terms of his Motion. It shows, after all, that we are making some advance in political knowledge and experience; and that, even if extravagant opinions can be vented in a speech, there is too much modesty, too much prudence and wisdom on the part of the speaker, to ask the House of Commons to inscribe them on its records.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) throughout the whole of his speech had treated the franchise as a right. He (Mr. Newdegate) remembered hearing the right hon. Gentleman defend it as a trust. He remembered the right hon. Gentleman as a Colleague of Lord Palmerston, who held to the last that it was a fundamental maxim of the Constitution that the franchise was conferred as a trust; and that it was essential that men, or rather classes, should be recognized as trustworthy citizens, before they were permitted to possess any share of political power. The right hon. Gentleman held up the example of the Republic of the United States to guide them who were anxious to preserve Constitutional Monarchy. The right hon. Gentleman cited the success of manhood suffrage in carrying the great Republic through the Civil War, but said nothing of its effects in preventing civil war, or of the success of the Constitution of this country, which had preserved its internal peace for nearly 200 years. The right hon. Gentleman must have gratified the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who was an avowed Democrat, and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. He (Mr. Newdegate) hoped he was not violating any confidence when he said that the first time he met the President of the Board of Trade, immediately after his election as Mayor of Birmingham, that right hon. Gentleman told him, within five minutes after being introduced to him in the presence of the assembled Volunteer officers of Birmingham, that he was a Republican. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was based upon Democratic principles. He (Mr. Newdegate) regretted that the late Lord Beaconsfield should have entered into competition with the right hon. Gentleman, in seeking the applause of Democracy, when he passed the Act of 1867. But there was a great reservation in that Act. The household and lodger franchise was not, by that Act, extended to the counties, which contain the majority of the people, especially in Great Britain. Now, however, the Prime Minister proposed to extend that franchise to the counties. What did the action of the late Lord Beaconsfield and of the right hon. Gentleman amount to, if not to mere competition for the favour of Democracy? He remembered the Prime Minister when he was a very different politician. The right hon. Gentleman, in an article written some years ago, in answer to a very able article by Mr. Lowe, now Lord Sherbrooke, eulogized the character and conduct of the House of Commons as it existed between 1832, when the first Reform Bill was passed, and 1852. After 1852, there was, according to the right hon. Gentleman, a deterioration. He (Mr. Newdegate) would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether any improvement had taken place since 1867? In defiance of the warning of Lord Russell, the right hon. Gentleman was about to introduce that uniformity of suffrage which, according to his late Colleague, must create a mass of discontent among all those who were excluded. We were now on our way to the manhood suffrage of the United States. The right hon. Gentleman eulogized manhood suffrage, because it had carried the United States through a great civil war. The right hon. Gentleman forgot to notice the fact that, with our existing institutions, we had hitherto avoided civil war. Members sitting on his (Mr. Newdegate's) side of the House had rightly endeavoured to obtain from the Government some information about the intended redistribution of seats. If the Government were going to act on the principle of equality, the county population would demand a more adequate share of representation than it possessed at present. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] If such a change of the principle of equality was to be observed, it would involve a revolution. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No, no!] The right hon. Gentleman objected to his using the term revolution. Perhaps, when he next addressed the House, he might coin some new word to convey his meaning. The system that would then exist would approach very nearly to that of equal electoral districts, and would be another step in the direction of Democracy. Let the House remember that they were dealing with the majority of the English people. The population of the counties in England and Wales numbered 13,688,902, the county Members were 187, the borough population numbered 12,285,537, while the borough Members were 297. Why should the county population submit to this gross inequality of representation? He would warn the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), who was the present Leader of what was the Conservative Party, that they had had one great success, thanks to his hon. Neighbours from Ireland. When an attempt was made to introduce Atheism into the House, they acted on a specific principle for a specific object; then the Party was recognized again as Conservative of a great principle, and they succeeded. He (Mr. Newdegate) was the senior ex-organizer of the Constitutional Party in the House; and he warned the right hon. Baronet that the Liberal Party, from their very name, bespoke universal relaxation. The name of Liberal was derived from the Latin verb *libero*, and meant *quod liberat*, that which loosens. It would be an inconsistent and absurd attempt on the part of the defenders of the Constitution, if they tried to compete in Democratic concessions with the Liberal Party. He knew enough of Englishmen to believe that those were to be found who were not ashamed of the liberty which their unenfranchised fathers enjoyed when the franchise was limited, before 1832. Unless Conservatives were found who would maintain the principles of the Constitution against Democratic assaults such as were now being made, the present Conservative Party would lapse; and then, perhaps, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gladstone) would have to make another whirl about and resume the character in which he (Mr. Newdegate) first knew him, that of a genuine Conservative.

MR. R. POWER said, he should not attempt to follow the Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) through the rather wide discussion which he had raised; but he could not help expressing the feelings of gratitude and pleasure with which he (Mr. R. Power) had listened to the statement made by the Prime Minister. During the whole of the time he had been in the House, he did not think he had ever read a more extraordinary, or more extravagant, Amendment than that in the name of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), and its extravagance was only equalled by the extravagance of the language in which it was introduced. He could not congratulate the Tory Party upon their tactics on this occasion. They reminded him of the tactics of the Egyptian Army, when those in the rear cried "forward," and those in the front cried "back." Really, the Tory Party, in their opposition to the Bill, sought, by every means in their power, to dwindle down and whittle away the benefits which it would confer on the people of the Three Kingdoms; and though they were disgracefully beaten in their efforts on the second reading by a majority of 130, yet it ought not to be forgotten that in their future opposition to the measure they would have to contend with far smaller majorities; for he had no doubt, in their tactics and dilatory Motions, they would be ably assisted and cheered on by such Liberals as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) and the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey). It was now over 80 years since the Irish Members first came to that House to ask for their country the same rights and privileges which the people of England and Scotland possessed; and although they only asked for an equalization of the law, for a measure that in no way was revolutionary or novel, yet the Irish Members had, up to the present moment, found it impossible to get for their countrymen the same electoral privileges and rights which Englishmen and Scotchmen possessed. It was a sad, if not disgraceful, condemnation of the English rule in Ireland to find that after 80 years of so-called Union there were so many gross inequalities remaining between the two countries; and that, when they had brought forward Reform Bills and measures for the improvement of their municipal institutions, they had always carefully excluded Ireland from the provisions of those measures. When the late Mr. Butt first formed a Party in that House, his great idea was that, by united action, the Irish Members could compel Parliament to accede to their just and legitimate demands; and for many Sessions no man laboured harder or pleaded more eloquently in any cause, yet he (Mr. R. Power) regretted to say Mr. Butt passed away without having accomplished any of the reforms for which he so eloquently pleaded; and it was not till his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) took up a firmer attitude that English statesmen at last listened to the demands of Irish Members. The question now before the House—or rather the question which would be before the House if the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire had the courage to stick to his Amendment was—Are you going to give the same rights and privileges to the people of Ireland, which you are prepared to give to the people of England? Are you going to say to the Irish people—"We do not intend to give give you those rights?" You must pay our taxes, fight our battles, obey our laws, and support our institutions; but we shall not give you those rights and privileges, because you are our inferiors in intellectual and moral qualities. The principle which he believed underlay this Bill was, that they could only exclude from the franchise those who were unfitted to exercise it through want, either of intelligence or integrity; and he maintained that the Irishman was at least equal to the Englishman in either of these two qualities. Let them, for one moment, glance at the gross inequalities which existed between the two countries on this question of the franchise. He should not weary the House with many figures, because he was aware the House disliked figures almost as much as he did himself. He should only take the five principal towns of Ireland. Dublin had a population of 267,717, and the franchise was enjoyed by only 12,310; whereas Leeds, with a population of 259,000, had 49,300 electors. Belfast had a population of 174,413, and yet only 19,633 electors; while Aberdeen, with a population of 88,125, had 13,738 electors. Cork had a population of 100,518, and yet it had only 4,445 electors; whereas Greenock, with half the population, had 7,614 electors. Lastly, Waterford, which had a population of 29,918, had only 1,414 electors; whereas Grimsby, with a population of 3,000 less, had actually 5,205 electors. He could give further examples of inequality; but, surely, if figures could prove anything, those figures must conclusively prove to an impartial mind the gross unfairness and injustice of the inequalities which existed. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire said reducing of the franchise was a dangerous and revolutionary measure, particularly as regarded Ireland. Well, that argument he (Mr. R. Power) had heard applied to almost every measure, however great or small, which had ever been introduced in that House, and it was always applied to Reform Bills. It was applied to the Reform Bill of 1832, and yet that Bill did not produce a revolution. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire might think Irishmen were not fit to exercise equal privileges with his own countrymen, and might believe them to be inferior in intellect and integrity or moral qualities; but the hon. Member might depend upon it that, the more England refused to them the demands of fairness and justice, the more irresistible and stronger would they make the claim of Irishmen for the legislative independence of their country. There was no danger in allowing the Irishman to exercise his vote; but there was real danger in shutting Irishmen out from the benefits and privileges of free representative institutions. They might depend upon it that the greater the rights enjoyed by Irishmen under the rule of the Constitution, the more would the Constitution be respected; and they would improve the social and moral condition of the Irish people, by giving them an interest in, and control over, the affairs of their own country. Conservatives, of course, called this measure revolutionary; and he (Mr. R. Power) was surprised that the hon. Member for North Warwickshire did not say something in his very discursive speech about the Pope. There were very few of the hon. Gentleman's long orations in which he did not bring up the name of that Potentate. Several hon. Members feared the influence of the Catholic clergy under the Bill. They tried to conjure up the nightmare of Catholic ascendency; but he (Mr. R. Power) would ask the House to allow him to read to them a passage from a speech that was delivered a few years ago by a Gentleman who represented in that House, not only the Irish Protestant Party, but also the Irish Orange Party. Mr. W. Johnston, the Member for Belfast, speaking on the question of the franchise, said—

> "The Protestant population of Ireland had no fear of their fellow-countrymen in other parts of Ireland, and they asked for equal and fair justice for all portions of the Kingdom, and, therefore, he supported the measure cordially."

He (Mr. Power) hoped his hon. Friend the present Member for Belfast would, upon this occasion, express some amount of liberality, and support the Bill before the House. There was more evil in excluding Ireland from the provisions of this Bill than at first might be apparent to many hon. Members. He did not conceal the fact that, among a certain portion of his countrymen, a feeling of the utter hopelessness of gaining anything from that Parliament was becoming stronger every day. If Parliament denied to Irishmen this extension of the franchise, it would declare that they were not the equals of Englishmen; and he would ask, if Irishmen were not their equals, why should they be there at all? Englishmen, he knew, were very fond of calling Ireland the Sister Country; but, to his mind, they treated it far more like a step-daughter than a sister. They had reduced the condition of political affairs to this—that they must either give the franchise to the Irish people, or govern that country by force of arms; and if they had to do that, they would find it a very expensive and very unpleasant undertaking. Depend upon it, if the people of Ireland were driven into illegal excesses, it would be because Parliament denied them equal privileges; and when the hon. Member for North Warwickshire spoke about all the horrors and evils that would ensue if the franchise were extended to the Irish labourer, he forgot the best safeguard against all those evils would be the very granting of the franchise to those people. The hon. Member seemed to forget that it was the curtailment of rights and privileges which, in every country and every age, had driven men into excesses and rebellion. He was no true friend of either England or Ireland, who, in that House, had not the courage to speak the opinions which he believed actuated his countrymen at home; and he (Mr. R. Power) would ask the House what answer were Irish Members to make to their countrymen in Ireland and abroad, when these asked them how it was that it took over 30 years to gain from the English Parliament a measure of simple justice, and when they sneered at them for going into an Assembly that had branded their countrymen with a mark of inferiority? These men who so sneered at them entertained more extravagant opinions than they (the Irish Members) did, and had little or no belief in Constitutional agitation; and the House of Commons, if it excluded Ireland from the Bill, would be the best friends of unconstitutional agitation in Ireland. Aye, the men of whom he spoke would welcome their action. They were watching many movements of that House, in the hope that England might refuse to give to Ireland the privileges they themselves possessed. It looked very like, indeed, as if some parties in that House wished always to have an Irish difficulty; but they ought to take care lest the Irish difficulty might some day become an Irish impossibility. The Conservative opponents of the Bill had two logical reasons, from their point of view, for opposing it. First of all, the Tory Party feared the people; and, secondly, they knew that the Bill must be followed by a Redistribution Bill, and that the Redistribution Bill must destroy many of the small boroughs in England, over which the Conservatives had so much influence. In some respects the loss of these boroughs would be a loss to that House; and he (Mr. R. Power) feared, as a result, that they might lose some of their most distinguished men. The hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) would no longer be there to whisper to them the secrets of every European Cabinet; and even his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) might also go away, without having accomplished the dream of his youth—the abolition of patent medicines. He was sorry to say that it was even possible they might lose the presence of his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands); and, thereby, no longer witness that interesting and consistent spectacle of an hon. Member vehemently denouncing the Government, and the next minute supporting them by his vote. Speaking seriously, he believed that if the Bill were passed they would strengthen the Constitution of England; they would bring into that House the true Representatives of the Irish people; and it would then be for them to declare, in an unmistakable way, the amount of self-government which they were prepared to give the Irish people in the affairs of their own country.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he did not think the speech of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) required any answer from the Irish Benches, especially as it had been so effectively replied to by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister; but, as the right hon. Gentleman said he thought a duty lay upon the Irish Members to make some remarks upon the subject, he (Mr. Sullivan) would just submit a few considerations on the Motion to the judgment of the House. He did not, however, consider the occasion called for much exertion on his part, seeing that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire had not the courage to face a Division. The case against Ireland was so bad, that he dared not submit it even to an English House of Commons, and his arguments were utterly without basis or foundation. The hon. Member said that, inasmuch as the condition of Ireland at present was unsatisfactory, it should be allowed to remain so, except in so far as it could be made very much worse than it was at present. The hon. Member further urged that the Irish people were not well contented with English rule, and that additional power ought not to be put into their hands. But if the Irish people to-day were disaffected, how had that state of things been brought about? Was it not by the denial of justice, by the withdrawing of the rights of the people, by the denial to them of those privileges freely accorded to the people of England? It was those things that had made the Irish people discontented and disaffected; and the hon. Member thought he would improve that state of things by an act of flagrant injustice. He thought it was most extraordinary that such a proposal should be advanced with an idea of its being accepted by any human being possessed of reasoning faculties, or any assembly of intelligent men in that or any other part of the world. It was like telling a captive that he would have no relief from his chains, which were to be allowed to eat into his flesh until he did not care to be released. It was like telling a hungry man that he would have no bread until he did not crave for it. This was just a parallel case with that which had been raised by the hon. Member who had addressed the House a short time before (Mr. Brodrick). Well, he would tell the hon. Member, or any other hon. Member who was disposed to take the same view of the case, if they were to wait until Ireland grew content with injustice and with English rule as it now existed, they would wait for ever. The people of Ireland would never grow contented with slavery, and would never be satisfied with injustice. They would always continue to strive to the best of their ability, in order to gain that freedom which was the right of the nation. He was proud to know that the Irish people were not content with the slavery which had been inflicted upon them by a more powerful nation; and he said it was to their honour and glory that they continued to fight against this state of things and insisted upon their rights. Though they had been defeated upon every field, yet they had never surrendered, and they were determined still to keep their flag flying; and their hearts to-day remained unconquered, and would remain unconquerable. They had had a very touching picture drawn by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire of the fear and terror in which an Irish land agent had lately found himself. He was once a happy man; but now it seemed that he had got some threatening letters, and his life was in danger. Now, because that gentleman had felt those terrors for his safety, the House of Commons was, forsooth, to refuse an act of justice to the Irish people. The story which had been given of the agent was a one-sided story. There was a very important side of it which had not been presented by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. In the days when that agent was happy and contented, was there happiness in the homes of the humble people over whom he held sway? All he (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) could say was, that in those halcyon days, when this agent was comfortable, there was fear and trembling amongst the poor people whom he ruled over. He would also say, for the peace of mind of that worthy land agent, that there was now some security for the honest toilers in Ireland, and greater peace and security amongst the people, than there had been in those days when the land agent was happy, and the people were terrified and miserable. They were told that to extend the franchise to Ireland would be to strengthen the hands of the Separatist Party in Ireland. Well, how would it be if the franchise was not extended to Ireland? He would ask the hon. Gentleman to answer that question. If there was danger that the extension of the franchise would strengthen the hands of the Separatist Party in Ireland, there was ten times more danger that the refusal of it would strengthen their hands—it would not only strengthen their hands, but give them an unanswerable case. There was no man in Ireland, of extreme or moderate views, who did not perfectly understand and believe that no better stroke of business could be done to strengthen the hands of the Separatist Party in Ireland than to inflict upon that country this insult and injustice. No better means could be chosen for the accomplishment of that end than the measure proposed by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. The hon. Member asked, were the Irish Party in the House of Commons such a comfort to the Government that they should consent to increase their numbers and bring them a large reinforcement of strength? If the present Irish representation was not at peace with the House of Commons, he (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) said that it ought not to be, and he hoped it never would be, as long as Ireland was suffering wrong. If the Irish Members were such a trouble to the House, did the hon. Member think that the political situation would be improved by turning them out of the House of Commons, and refusing to the Irish people any representation at all? If the argument was worth anything, it went to that extent. He (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) would ask, who believed that the peace and happiness of the people would be advanced by denying them their representation; and who believed that the Separatist Party would not find it to their advantage that there should be such a state of things? He said that the result of such a measure would be, even from an English point of view, most fatal, as it would aggravate all the evils which at present existed and produce greater troubles. No more foolish and insensate step could be taken. They would hear a good deal, no doubt, as the debate went on, about what was called the "loyal minority" in Ireland. The House of Commons would be asked, were they going to abandon those who had remained true and stood by them for so many years? Why, what, he would ask, was going to happen to the loyal minority in Ireland? What were they afraid of? What were they going to do with them? Were they going to put them into some dark corner and slaughter them; or what else was going to happen? Had they not a majority in that House, and another in the House of Lords? He really could not see what was in such arguments. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire evidently did not think that there was much in his arguments himself; for after all his inflammatory language on the subject he did not dare to press his Motion to a Division. He believed that in that, as in all other matters of English rule, England must be prepared to grant full justice to Ireland; for so long as she declined to do so, so long would Separatists, Extremists, and Invincibles be found in Ireland in the future as they had been in the past. No evil result could possibly arise from doing justice to Ireland; but any measure, such as had been proposed, which would be the very negation of justice and fair play, could not fail to bring about a bad condition of things. Separation had been talked about. He maintained the claim of the Irish people to that measure of independence which they had formerly enjoyed, with such modifications as recent experience had shown to be advisable. The people demanded the restoration of the Constitution, for the maintenance of which Henry Grattan had fought, and which had been taken away from the Irish people by means the most nefarious and infamous. The longer the measure of justice was denied, the more firmly resolved would the people become to obtain their rights, and the more extreme would become their demands. This Irish National question might have been settled at the time of O'Connell; it might have been settled later still under Isaac Butt; or it might have been settled through the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) before now. He hoped the House of Commons would not be misled into yielding to the representations which had been made to them, to deny to Ireland her claim to be placed, in the matter of the franchise, upon an equality with England and Scotland.

MR. J. R. YORKE remarked that the impalpable, shadowy grievances of the Irish people appeared to increase rather than diminish with every attempt that was made to meet them. Hon. Members representing Irish constituencies had told them that night that the extension of the franchise in that country was the one thing needful to make Irishmen content. ["No!"] There were two points of view from which this matter could be looked at—that of the public interest, and that of Party advantage. The public disadvantage that must result from the extension of the franchise in Ireland was palpable enough; and if Her Majesty's Government did not perceive it, it was not because some of their Colleagues were not fully aware of the character of the individuals whose hands the extension of the franchise in Ireland would strengthen. In a speech that he had delivered at Glasgow in October, 1881, the Home Secretary had said that the object of the Irish Party was not to benefit the Irish tenants, but to bring about a political revolution; and that the land agitation was fomented with the intention of breaking up the Empire, and of overthrowing the established Government of the United Kingdom; that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) demanded not the fixing of a fair rent, but no rent at all, and that he sought to get rid of the landlords with the object of getting rid of the

English Government. The Prime Minister had been equally definite in his description of the objects of the Leaders of the Irish Party. In announcing the arrest of the hon. Member for the City of Cork in October, 1881, the right hon. Gentleman had said that that object was to get rid of law, order, and the rights of property. These were the objects of the men whose hands the present proposal of the Government was calculated to strengthen. To introduce a large body of such men into that House would be merely to introduce traitors to the Constitution—that was to say, men whose avowed objects were hostile to the interests of the Empire. If they strengthened the position of Members who were actuated by such motives as were avowed by the Irish Party, they would fall into the condition of some foreign countries that had had to change their Governments three times a-year. It was idle to suppose that they would avoid that danger if the Irish Party of disaffection held the balance, and could control events, when they admitted that they did not consider the safety of the Empire their first object, and that they came here to promote their own purposes. It was necessary to revert to these things when they were ignored in rhetorical appeals from the Treasury Bench for justice to Ireland. Was it not a superficial view of the matter to say that they were doing justice to Ireland by giving it an equal franchise, when they held back the enjoyment of the ordinary privileges of social life? If a man could not be trusted to walk about with a stick, it seemed a strange thing to present him with a pistol. It was difficult to understand the infatuation which promoted legislation of this kind in the present condition of Ireland. It was wrong from a public point of view; but from a Party point of view it was easy of explanation. Indeed, it appeared that the conditions of the Kilmainham contract were being carried out. In that concluding paragraph which was read to the House at the instance of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) it was said that the accomplishment of the programme that had been sketched would be regarded as a practical settlement of the Land Question; would enable the Irish Members to co-operate cordially with the Liberal Party in forwarding Liberal principles; and would justify the Government in dispensing with coercion. The Members for Ireland were now co-operating with the Government in forwarding Liberal principles, and they would expect next year that coercive legislation should not be renewed. The Prime Minister had made a further bid for Irish support by promising Ireland more than its proportional share of Representatives; but he would probably find it impossible to carry a Redistribution Bill based on this injustice. When the Irish Members had been used to get the chestnuts out of the fire they would be thrown over; and, not for the first time, they would have been used to carry measures profitable to the Liberal Party, but disastrous to the best interests of Ireland.

Mr. SALT said, he desired to consider the matter from a political point of view, using that word in the sense of what was best for the country, apart from personal or Party considerations. The change proposed was one of the greatest importance to the householder, and it became necessary to consider what was his position. It had been laid down by an authority no less eminent than Lord John Russell that the householder had in himself a right to the franchise; but that claim could not be too strongly repudiated. Because a man was a householder he had no right *ipso facto* to a vote—he had a right to good government, to freedom of speech, action, and thought. These were the things to which every man, woman, and child had an inherent right; but not to the franchise. The rule they should lay down in determining where to bestow it was in what way they could get the best House of Commons; for they must not forget that the House of Commons so created was not a Body dealing with the administration of a few Islands in the North Sea merely, but of a great Empire. He would make a large admission in regard to the householder; he had no objection to the householder in the country—he was as good as the householder in the town; but in admitting him largely to the franchise many considerations must be kept in view. He quite concurred in a remark which fell from an hon. Member in the early part of the evening as to the advantage of a wide basis of representation, so long as that basis was arranged on fair and intelligent grounds; but when it was said that the effect of placing the representation of the people on a wide basis had been to create a character in the people and a force which would not have existed otherwise, he could not help recalling the circumstances of their past history. A House of Commons elected by very narrow constituencies had carried on the Business of the country in times of great emergency. The country never was in greater danger than between the years 1790 and 1815, when foreign wars were being waged and great interests were at stake at home. Any large enfranchisement of the people, he maintained, must be subject to certain rules, acknowledged by all who had turned their attention to the subject; and though he could not go into those points in detail, it was fair to indicate what he thought they were, inasmuch as they guided him to the opinion at which he had arrived. The first was that of population. Another would be intelligence. Property was another element, and by property he did not merely mean large fortunes, but any property—it might be a cottage which a man desired to preserve and cherish. Locality and the peculiar interests of localities ought to be considered, and also variety in their representation. In addition to all these, there was a time for a Reform Bill. Opportunity was another point to be considered. He was not going to deal with the objection that the Bill was not a complete measure; it had been presented to the House as a complete measure on the highest authority—that of the Government, who were responsible for what it did and what it was. His objection to it was that on carefully examining it, not on Party or personal grounds, not for the purpose of present emergency, he believed it to violate nearly every axiom of representation of the people that had been laid down by our best statesmen. Coming to the question of its application to Ireland, he would like to speak of that country in the most kind and gentle way; but he wished to consider what a statesman would do as a matter of political and philosophical justice. He was willing to admit that Ireland had had many difficulties, and that those difficulties ought to be met with the utmost fairness and justice; in fact, he would go further, and say that they should be met with great consideration and generosity. What was the condition of Ireland? They had been told early in 1880 that Ireland was in a state of unusual quiet and total absence of crime; then had come a most deplorable state of things in that country; and two years afterwards they had been told, on the highest authority, that, so far from the country being in a state of comfort and content, the worst elements were then predominant and the best elements were suppressed. Great discontent was felt in the country; but he would ask the House whether the dissatisfaction of the Irish people, as expressed in Irish newspapers, was one which was to be remedied by an extension of the franchise? There was a phrase which had been uttered by a statesman of great eminence, which had given rise to a great deal of political discussion and animosity—namely, that "force is no remedy." Of that phrase he took a very different view from that held by an immense number of people in this country. He thought that there were two interpretations of the saying; and unfortunately it was the worst one which had got about the country at large—that there was no use in applying force to produce order, because it was ineffectual. In that sense the words were mischievous; but there was another sense in which they might be understood—namely, that force was no remedy for the grievances which had caused the discontent. They might have to use force to procure order; but it was not a remedy without looking further. Taking that best view of the words, he had not been able to see in the whole course of Irish trouble anything that could lead to the conclusion that the extension of the franchise in that country would be a remedy. Forty or 50 years before, in talking to an Irish friend who knew the country well, he had remarked that he could not see any solution of the difficulties which existed in Ireland, and the reply had been—"Leave us alone; give us rest." He believed now that the real solution of the difficulties of the country was to be found in rest and quietness; let them do what was just and right; but, above all, give the country rest. Let them do what they could to remove grievances and difficulties, and make improvements as fast as they could; but they should never take a single step without knowing that it would lead to greater contentment and peace.

Mr. FINCH-HATTON said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had, in a debate previous to the Easter Recess, charged the Opposition that they were simply putting in force all the arts of Obstruction against the progress of the Bill before the House. He (Mr. Finch-Hatton) resented such a calumnious charge, and must be allowed to express the hope that the right hon. Gentleman would feel it but right to withdraw it as being wholly untenable. Turning to the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), he observed that probably in many minds throughout the country the interest of the whole subject of the franchise chiefly centred round the question of whether or not it was expedient to extend the franchise to Ireland; and the attitude of the Opposition in regard to the extension of the suffrage in Ireland must be carefully distinguished from their attitude in regard to its extension in other parts of the United Kingdom. They might have their doubts whether the large number of persons in England and Scotland which it was now proposed to enfranchise were sufficiently qualified to exercise that trust with due advantage to the State, and yet they might believe that those new voters were loyal subjects of the Queen, who would carry out their duties faithfully according to their lights. But the facts prevented their having such security as to the great mass of the electors whom it was sought to enfranchise in Ireland; and, moreover, they were met at the outset by this lion in their path—that the Prime Minister had not apparently withdrawn from the original statement which he had made to the House—namely, that he did not intend, or that he thought it unadvisable, to reduce the number of Representatives sent to that House from Ireland. He wished to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman still adhered to that statement; or whether he was prepared to modify it so far as to say that he would only give to Ireland such a number of Representatives as should seem fair, taking into consideration her population and her taxation; because when that subject was discussed before the Prime Minister, in answering the remarks of the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) repudiated any idea of having made that declaration as a bid for the Irish vote, observing that the Opposition usually derived more support than the Ministry did from Irish Members. But when both sides of the House had their field day, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite bagged 130 more than his opponents, the Irish game was not discovered in the bag of the Opposition, and they were induced to look with some suspicion into the bag of the right hon. Gentleman, when the first 30 birds found there were Irish. Again, he wished to know whether the Prime Minister had abandoned his centrifugal theory with respect to Parliamentary representation? Although the right hon. Gentleman had maintained that places which were far off were entitled to greater representation, because of the difficulties of communication between the constituencies and their Members, it was a remarkable fact that the Division List of the House showed that the Members from Scotland put in an attendance at a larger number of Divisions than the Members from any other part of the United Kingdom. With respect to the number of Representatives from Ireland, the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had urged them to maintain the provisions of the Act of Union, and that, too, by the extraordinary expedient of passing a Bill the admitted result of which would be to introduce 60 more Members pledged to the repeal of the Union. Mr. Pitt said that if the different parts of the Kingdom were united in interests and convictions, it mattered little whether the number of Representatives from one part was smaller or greater. But was Ireland in that condition? Was she united to us in interests and convictions? The Coercion Act threw a heavy *onus probandi* upon the Government. If Ireland was unfit to be intrusted with the exercise of the ordinary rights of citizenship, how could she be said to be ripe for the most responsible privileges of citizenship? The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had said that the sooner the fact was recognized that there was a state of civil war between the English and the Irish people the better it would be for both. The Chief Secretary, at Galashiels, stated that nothing but the Queen's Government—by which the right hon. Gentleman must have meant the Prevention of Crime Act—stood between Ireland and civil war.

MR. TREVELYAN explained that he was then referring to the disturbances between the Orangemen and the Nationalists, which were quieted by the ordinary powers of the law.

MR. FINCH-HATTON said, that in that case the Government ought to withdraw the Coercion Act. So far as Ireland was concerned, the operation of that Bill ought to be suspended either until the Government could rule Ireland without a Coercion Act, or until it could be shown that the effect of the measure would not be to transfer the balance of power to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), or to disfranchise loyal minorities in the country, or to dismember the Empire. The people of this country, anxious as they were for the privilege of the franchise, would gladly wait if it was necessary until such time as they could obtain it without danger to the stability of the Empire.

MR. W. SHAW said, that the Speaker would very soon be allowed to leave the Chair, in order that the House might go into Committee on the Bill. The general question would be settled in the House of Lords; but he ventured to prophesy that their Lordships would not throw out the Bill. He imagined that the Gentlemen in that House, aided by the advice of Gentlemen in the House of Commons of great experience and sagacity, would hardly run the risk of throwing out this Bill, and repeating what occurred on a former occasion—namely, passing in 10 minutes a Bill of a much more extensive and drastic character than this. So far as England, Scotland, and Wales were concerned, the effect of this Bill would not be unfavourable to the Conservative Party. The electors in the country districts were a slow and ignorant class of people, who did not even see a penny paper until it was two days old; and he did not know any more suitable ground for Conservative organization. In fact, he was quite sure that the Conservative organization would get an immense deal of support from these country voters in England and Wales. But the question of more immediate importance to the House was the question of Ireland. Now, he should like to know as to the Amendment put upon the Paper by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), and as to the speeches by which it had been supported, although it had not been moved, did they represent the opinion of the Conservative Party? Was the House to look upon that Amendment as embodying the views they would hold if they got into power? If so, the logical thing for them to do would be to suspend the present Constitution, in Ireland and to take away the votes of those people who had them at present. That would be the natural thing for them to do if they believed in that Amendment. There was no doubt that the addition of electors in Ireland by this Bill would be proportionally much larger than in England or Scotland, because in Ireland the present franchise was much higher than in those countries. But was that a thing which Parliament could avoid? Would it be possible for any Government to bring in a Franchise Bill, and to avoid that? He did not think it would; in fact, the thing was perfectly absurd. It was not arguable. It had often been stated in the House that a General Election under the present franchise would bring a large addition to the ranks of what was called the Active Irish Party. He believed it would. He spoke only his own opinions; but he thought it would be hardly worth while to contest constituencies in three Provinces in Ireland against those Gentlemen if they were able to get candidates to contest them. He could speak for himself; and although he very much valued a seat in the House of Commons, yet he looked upon the importance of settling the Irish question as so great that he would vacate his seat to-morrow, and give it to any Gentleman who would come into the House in order to make a Party to bring that question to an issue. This was not a question which they could let lie on from year to year. The sooner that by this Bill, or by creating a large Party with this Bill, they brought Government face to face with the Irish question the better. The non-settlement of it was hindering the prosperity of Ireland, was demoralizing political Parties in England, and was working evil all round. Therefore, he said that if this Bill did nothing else than to bring into the House a party of 70 or 80 Gentlemen pledged to one object it would do good. The issue would be placed plainly before the House. It was said that that object had not yet been formulated. Probably it had not; but he thought the views put forward by the hon. Member for Westmeath, who was generally considered an extreme man, were views that would be generally accepted, and he did not believe there was any considerable Party in Ireland who looked to separation pure and simple as a solution of the question. He spoke from a general knowledge of the South and Midland Counties of Ireland. He knew pretty well the farmers and intelligent working-classes in these districts; and from intercourse with them his opinion was that they did not look to anything but a settlement of what was called the political controversy between the two countries. That was not a thing to frighten either England or Scotland. It was not a thing that should make Parliament deny a political right to the country, and keep it suspended for an indefinite time, thus creating a greater evil than the one they were now trying to avoid. He believed that if Lord Beaconsfield were alive the Irish would get what they wanted; and that if Mr. Pitt could have foreseen the future he would not have brought forward the Act of Union as it now stood upon the Statute Book. As the Act had worked, it had not been good for the country; and if it were left as it stood, without such modifications as were possible in the minds of political thinkers, and which might be easily worked out within the lines of the Constitution, it would be worse for England, and worse even for Ireland. Ireland was a poor country, and had, unfortunately, very little to engage the attention of her people. She wanted increased manufactures, and the sooner they could settle this question and Ireland could settle down to business the better. Then the minds of the people would be engaged, and their whole attention would not be devoted to political theories; but until the Irish question was settled there could not be a proper and legitimate connection been the two countries. He had before expressed his opinion that it would be a misfortune, and nothing but a misfortune, to separate Ireland from England. He believed it would be against the views of the great majority of the Irish people to go out, as it were, upon a sea of politics, and to have to construct a Constitution for itself upon new lines. They wanted only that the lines of the present Constitution should be modified and shaped in accordance with the wants of the country and the times in which they lived. There was nothing in this to frighten any thoughtful politician, or to make them for a moment think that the future of Ireland would be worse instead of better. The people who were proposed to be enfranchised in Ireland were not a bit worse than the people whom it was proposed to enfranchise in England. They were quite as intelligent, and were in every way as well conducted a people as could be found in England. But they would resent, indeed, the passing of a Bill of this character if a great number of their countrymen were excluded from its privileges. He looked forward to the near future with hope. He hoped there would be born an Irish Party, 70 or 80 in number, who would be able to formulate some plan, and put it before the House and the country, that should be consistent with the union of the two countries, and that peace should be brought about thereby. He himself had not the slightest doubt of it. He believed no one in Ireland really wanted revolution with a view to carrying out their purposes. Let the question as against England be once settled,. and they would be able to work out with a fair purpose the political union of the two countries.

Mr. GORST said, he should not have troubled the House on the present occasion but for the fact that he wished it to be understood that the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), on which a Division was not intended to be taken, did not represent the views of the entire Conservative Party. The Prime Minister, when he introduced the Bill, called upon Parliament to trust the people; and as far as he knew there was no feeling of distrust among Conservative Members in the body of the people—in fact, his opinion was that the opinion of the general body of the people of Great Britain was Conservative; and that, therefore, when the Bill passed, if it ever did pass, an increased power would be given to Conservative opinion. If they were prepared to trust the people of Great Britain, he saw no reason why the people of Ireland should not be trusted also. He was most reluctant to believe in the disloyalty of the Irish people; and he did not know that anything had occurred within the last few years which would justify the House in pronouncing that the mass of the Irish people were disloyal. Was it, then, for the interest of the United Kingdom that the people of Ireland should be inadequately represented in that House? Why, clearly not. Whatever were the opinions of the Irish people, it was certainly desirable they should find utterance in Parliament rather than in the formation of secret societies. He should himself have been extremely sorry if the Government, while extending a large measure of enfranchisement to Great Britain, had found it necessary, as a matter of State policy, to refuse the same measure of enfranchisement to Ireland. He hoped that the last speaker and other hon. Members would not go away with the idea that the Motion which was put down on the Paper and not moved was in any sense an adequate representation of opinion on the Conservative side of the House.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN observed, that when the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Gorst) attempted to show that the Resolution before the House did not convey the general opinion of the Conservative Party he was not cheered by the Conservative side of the House. On the contrary, he was cheered a great deal more by the supporters of Her Majesty's Government. He thought that silence on the part of the Opposition well showed that the Conservative Party were pretty nearly unanimous on that point. He had observed, too, that when the hon. and learned Member remarked that he did not believe in the disloyalty of the large portion of the Irish people, the suggestion was received with marked and significant silence by those hon. Gentlemen who represented Ireland in the House. Personally, he agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman to a considerable extent when he said he did not believe the whole of Ireland was disloyal. He had always emphatically maintained, and he declared now, that a large portion of the Irish people were loyal; and it was for this very reason that he objected to the franchise being extended to those portions of the community in Ireland who were hostile to England. Turning to the speech of the hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw), he felt bound to confess that never since the days of Quintus Curtius was there such a display of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice as had been shown by the hon. Gentleman—for he had avowed himself the advocate of a measure which must infallibly terminate in his political extinction, and in the political extinction of every man who, like him, had a common sense and a common desire for the welfare of Ireland. The hon. Gentleman reminded him of another man of rather a later date, and perhaps of rather an apocryphal existence. He reminded him of Rip Van Winkle, for his speech went back to the days when he led the Home Rule Party in the House, and when the hon. Gentleman was the head of the Party to which he (Colonel King-Harman) belonged. Believing that the loyalty and common sense of the majority of the Irish people rendered them competent, to a certain extent, to manage their own affairs, the hon. Gentleman trusted to the Party, and believed in their policy until they rose up against him, and ousted him from his seat. The hon. Gentleman said he did not believe there was a large Party favourable to separation, and in that he agreed with him. He did not think that among Irishmen of capital, men of means and men of common sense, there was any desire to separate from Great Britain; but he maintained that amongst the large and ignorant class, who were misled by American agitators, and headed by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, there was an avowed determination to separate Ireland from England. He believed they would use, as their Leaders avowed they would use, every means in their power to secure that end. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), in a speech made at Cincinnati, said he would not take his coat off for the Land League——

An Irish MEMBER: No; for Home Rule.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: He said he would not take off his coat for the Land League, if he did not intend to destroy the last vestige——

An Irish MEMBER: The last link.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: If he did not destroy the last vestige of union between Ireland and England. The hon.

Gentleman knew he was quoting correctly. Whether they intended to carry out their threats, if they had the power to do so, and whether their dupes would assist them in doing so, he could not say; but such, at any rate, was the avowed intention of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. No doubt the hon. Gentleman would make use of any extension of power which Her Majesty's Government might in their consideration grant the Irish people to promote the disintegration of the Empire. If Her Majesty's Government believed this was the best course to adopt, of course, they must pursue it; but he must raise his voice on behalf of loyal Irishmen against extending the franchise to ignorant and misled people who, backed by an American agitation, were trying to sever Ireland from the Mother Country.

Mr. WARTON observed, that the debate had been conducted entirely by Conservative Members, so-called Conservative Members, and Home Rulers. Not a single Liberal Member had spoken in all that great Government majority—and why? It was because they had given their consciences and opinions entirely to the Prime Minister, and were no longer a Liberal, but a Gladstonian Party. If they took the test of population or the test of property, Ireland was not entitled to retain the present number of Members.

Mr. P. J. SMYTH: I regret to see that on the Motion to go into Committee on the Bill an Amendment has been placed upon the Paper alleging that Irishmen are not entitled to the same franchise as Englishmen and Scotchmen. Till hon. Gentlemen opposite prove—and they will find it no easy task to prove—that the Irish are a degraded race, they will try in vain to persuade those in this House to vote for the degradation of Ireland. This is the first Reform Bill which has been based upon a principle of equality, and which recognizes the fact that Ireland is a distinct part of the United Kingdom. In 1832 O'Connell's demand was for equality and identification. That demand was rejected, and there arose that mighty movement for the repeal of the Union which shook the Empire. This Bill means identification, and the proposal of the hon. Member (Mr. Chaplin) implies separation. Half a century ago a noble Lord—a great English statesman—startled his hearers in "another place" by the astounding utterance that the Irish were aliens in blood, language, and religion. That utterance was immortalized by the retort which it drew from Richard Sheil in this House. What is the Amendment if it be not a repetition in another form of the Lyndhurst declaration? [*Cheers.*] Well, in Ireland, if we are aliens to you, you are aliens to us. We will be your friends as your equals, as aliens your foes. Let us understand each other, and whatever the consequences may be let justice and right be done. Adopt this Bill and provide after that a Redistribution Bill, a Bill which I hope will follow so closely upon the footsteps of the present that the two shall be virtually one, and that, therefore, all classes shall be fully represented in this House. Then you will rest future legislation upon a Constitutional basis when you have declared your intention to enfranchise the people.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: The House always welcomes the views of the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Smyth), and listens with pleasure to his eloquent speeches; but the question which anyone connected with Ireland naturally asks himself is, to what political Party does the hon. Member belong, or what political power in Ireland does he represent? The hon. Gentleman has told the House that the Irish people, if enfranchised, would be the friends of this Bill. Now, I believe that no sentiment ever uttered in this House could be more repugnant to those whom the hon. Member seeks to enfranchise in the county which he now represents. Anyone who has followed Irish politics within the past few years must note and record this melancholy fact—that the more bitter and the more hostile a man's utterances are against England, and to everything English, the more popular he becomes among certain classes in Ireland. If this Bill were to pass into law, and an Election were to take place upon it, every Member on the other side of the House who now represents an Irish constituency would, as the House very well knows, be for ever consigned to political oblivion. In the earlier part of the evening we had a remarkable speech from the Prime Minister; a speech worthy of the right hon. Gentleman who made it, and worthy of the occasion; but it embodied the principle that the Union between England and Ireland can only be maintained by equal laws and equal institutions. Now, that is a new policy on the part of the Prime Minister. Is the right hon. hon. Gentleman prepared to push that sentiment to its logical conclusion? During the 16 years that I have had the honour of a seat in this House, I have seen, time after time, the Prime Minister come down and ask this House to assent to exceptional legislation, as far as Ireland is concerned, on the ground of the exceptional condition of that country. Our legislation for the last 16 years, with regard to the Church, the land, and social matters, has been exceptional for Ireland. During the last three years, so exceptional has been the land legislation of the Government, that it has touched the extreme limits of confiscation, and their repressive legislation has touched the extreme limits of coercion. Are we to understand that there are to be equal laws for England as for Ireland? Is the English Church to be disestablished because the Irish Church has been disestablished? [" Hear, hear!" *from below the Gangway on the Ministerial side.*] There are, no doubt, many hon. Gentlemen who wish to see it disestablished. Am I to assume, because exceptional legislation is enforced in Ireland, it will also be applied to England? The Government have suspended the whole system of trial by jury in Ireland? Are they anxious to try the same experiment in England? Silence follows my question. Is the right hon. Gentleman prepared to push to extreme limits, in the case of Ireland, the logical conclusion of his remarks in regard to Ireland? The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) has made a remarkable speech to-night; but he has been taunted by the Prime Minister with not having persevered with his Motion. The right hon. Gentleman should have recollected that even he himself, with his superb debating power, courage, and all his Parliamentary skill, has himself on several occasions been compelled to alter a proposal he had on the Notice Paper for many days when he found that the circumstances were not altogether favourable for its consideration. I can recollect one case when the late Government were in Office that the present Prime Minister placed four Resolutions on the Paper condemning their foreign policy. The whole Liberal Party came down —I do not know whether to support those Resolutions, but, at any rate, to hear the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, just in the same way as the Conservative Party have come down to-night to hear the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire. The Prime Minister, I suppose, judging from his own experience, said that no doubt the hon. Member had accepted the advice of the older, the more respectable, and the wiser Members of his Party. Therefore, I assume that four years ago the right hon. Gentleman accepted the advice of the older, the more respectable, and the wiser Members of the Liberal Party by withdrawing his Resolution. But I do not wish to push that point. The right hon. Gentleman is quite aware, from his great Parliamentary experience, that there are many occasions on which it is not only legitimate but statesmanlike for a man, however strong his opinions may be, not to put the House to the trouble of a Division, and the present was one of those occasions. I think my hon. Friend has been well advised in the course he has taken. There is not a single Member on this side of the House, except my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who does not believe that we are indulging in a most dangerous, if not reckless experiment, in reducing the franchise in Ireland. But there are two opinions which, to a certain extent, counter-balance and counteract each other. Some think that the condition of Ireland, making it dangerous to reduce the franchise, is a good reason for not bringing in any Franchise Bill affecting England and Scotland. But there are other persons who are of opinion that if a Franchise Bill is introduced, then that Bill ought, regardless of consequences, to be applied to Ireland. No doubt when there is this difference—a difference amongst us, so to say, on a minute detail—[*A laugh.*] Well, it is a minute detail. Hon. Gentlemen who interrupt me must recollect that we had a most favourable Division, which nothing can counteract on the point, and to which we attach the utmost importance, that redistribution should accompany extension of the franchise. We believe that any reduction made in the franchise ought to be accompanied by a redistribution of seats. In a Redistribution Bill the disaffected parts of Ireland would have their representation materially curtailed. We have had already, as I say, a favourable Division upon that point, because in a House of Commons with a nominal majority of 150 Her Majesty's Government had actually, in the Division to which I refer, only an actual majority of 27. Therefore the nature of our objections was covered by the vote which took place a few nights ago. What seems to me to be the objection against this Franchise Bill standing by itself is that there are two exceptional concessions made to Ireland. The Prime Minister, more than once, said that this Bill is merely the development of the great legislative judgment given in 1868; but the legislative decision arrived at in 1867 and 1868 was that a £4 franchise in Ireland was to be equivalent to household suffrage in England and Scotland; and, therefore, this Bill upsets that statement on which the Prime Minister himself originally relied, and the consequence is that by establishing household franchise in Ireland you would be approaching much more nearly to manhood suffrage than in England and Scotland. The Return presented to the House of Lords fully proves the truth of my observation. Therefore, under this Bill, you are giving to that part of Her Majesty's Dominions which is the most disturbed and the most disloyal a lower franchise than to those parts of Her Majesty's Dominions which are loyal. Another exceptional piece of favouritism shown to Ireland is that there is no Redistribution Bill. I contended the other night, and I think I proved, that if a Redistribution Bill is disassociated from this Bill you will not pass a Redistribution Bill in this Parliament; and if you do not pass it in this Parliament you will not pass one affecting Ireland for many years to come. When the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) comes back to this House with a following of 90 Members he would be unworthy of the sagacity and generalship which he has hitherto shown if he allowed a Redistribution Bill to pass though the House which would curtail his following. There was one observation made by the Prime Minister which, I think, is especially worthy of notice. He said that no doubt the result of this Franchise Bill might be that it would create a Parliamentary controversy in this House in reference to Irish matters at a period when, as he intimated, owing to his age, he might not possibly be longer amongst us. Now, I think that anyone who is proud of his career and of his Parliamentary position ought to think a little of the legacy he is bequeathing to those who come after him. Therefore, I want the right hon. Gentleman to consider what would be the position of the Liberal Party, and of the House of Commons, if we have 90 Members returned from Ireland all pledged to separation? It has been intimated by the Prime Minister that the Resolution which stood in the name of my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire was a libel upon the Irish Party. But that assertion did not elicit a single cheer. It is no libel at all. Those hon. Gentlemen know perfectly well that the one expression constantly cropping up in their speeches and Resolutions is that the House of Commons is a Foreign Assembly. What hon. Member from Ireland wishes merely to have such control over Irish local matters as they have in the United States? Does anybody suppose that any speaker in the United States would be allowed to describe the Congress of Washington as a Foreign Assembly, as the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) has described the House of Commons? Every day the violent Party is more and more getting the upper hand in Ireland. I have not got them with me now; but if any hon. Gentleman will note the Resolutions passed, and especially the Resolutions passed at meetings in England, attended by Irishmen, they will find that the simple repeal of the Union would not satisfy the Irish demands. Now, let us consider the condition of a subsequent House of Commons. What is the franchise but a means to an end, to give effect to the wishes of the people of Ireland? If the Nationalists of Ireland return 90 out of 100 Representatives, and demand the repeal of the Union with Ireland, will you refuse it? Can you refuse it? [*Cries of* "Yes!"] On what ground? You can only do it by force, and force alone. Yet force is the single instrument you repudiate. The Prime Minister says that, after all, if the worst comes to the worst, there will be 550 English and Scotch Members against 90 Irish. But will it be 550 English and Scotch Members against 90 Irish? The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) declined to believe that any large body of the Irish people were hostile to the connection with England or disloyal. I recollect at the end of last Session that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), amid the cheers of his own Colleagues, asserted that the sooner it was understood that there was war between England and Ireland the better; and the only reason they did not give material effect to that war was that they had not the physical means of carrying it out. No doubt, if all the English and Scotch Members were to combine to deal as they ought to deal with the enemies of England and of English rule, one-half of the Irish difficulty would be solved. If English and Scotch Radicals would be true to themselves and their country, and would not enter into negotiations with those who avowed themselves to be the enemies of England and English rule, then the Irish difficulty would be easily solved. But exactly the same motives which induced right hon. Gentlemen opposite to negotiate the Kilmainhan Treaty when only 30 votes had to be gained, will induce whatever Government may sit on those Benches, when 90 votes are to be obtained, to make even still greater concessions. That is the danger, if you grant a reduction of the franchise without a redistribution of seats. Nine-tenths of the Representatives of Ireland will come back favourable to separation; and in the course of time I believe we shall find ourselves unable to refuse our consent to that demand, although, to make use of the words of the President of the Board of Trade, our consent to that demand would mean civil war in Ireland or ruin to England. My firm belief is that if we pass this Bill in its present shape, without redistribution, we shall sow seeds of evil which will ultimately cause such a rift through the whole fabric of our Empire, our trade and commerce, as neither time nor human hands will be ever able to reclose.

Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Preliminary.

Clause 1 (Short title of Act).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF wished to know why the Government were obstructing their own Business? The hour was comparatively early, and there were loads of time for the Committee to go on with the Bill. Nevertheless, this precious Government, which stumped the country charging the Conservative Party with a desire to obstruct Business, was absolutely stopping this important measure on which, they asserted, the whole future of the country depended. At that hour the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was acting in a most extraordinary manner in asking the Committee to report Progress. He thought if any hon. Member on that side of the House had ventured to make such a Motion there would have been a very great outcry from the other side. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to reflect upon the dangerous course into which he was plunging. The Home Secretary, the other day at Derby, informed the country that nothing had been done in the House of Commons on account of the obstructive tactics of the Conservative Party. But what were the Government themselves doing? This was a measure to which the Government were pledged, and yet they were asking to have its consideration adjourned at that early hour. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to reconsider his determination, or to assign some reason why he had been induced to take this extraordinary course.

In reply to an hon. MEMBER,

MR. GLADSTONE said, it was probable that Supply would be taken on Monday next, and that the Army Estimates would be proceeded with.

Motion *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Postponed Resolution [21st April] *considered.*

"(3.) That a sum, not exceeding £91,685, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens."

Sir ROBERT PEEL, in rising to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £2,000, in respect of the Wellington Statue, said: I hope the House will allow me to make a statement which, I think, will induce the House to consider that it is not desirable to pass this Vote. It will be in the recollection of the House that on the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) there was a very near Division on this Vote of £2,000, which appears in the Estimates as a grant for the statue to the Duke of Wellington at Hyde Park Corner. That majority against the Amendment of my hon. Friend only amounted to three. On that occasion, I am sorry to say, as my hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) remarked to me afterwards, there were two hon. Members who have studied apparently the new ethics of politics, and who having spoken one way voted the other, or there would have been a majority of one in favour of the Amendment. Now, what is this question? The question now before us is whether this sum of £2,000, which forms part of a sum of £6,000 to be voted next year, and part of a scheme which will involve an expenditure of £20,000 — or, indeed, a great deal more—to be levied by public subscription, should be approved or not? Now, what I contend is that the statue of the illustrious Duke is public property. I maintain that it is a National monument. The public subscribed to it; it was made of metal taken in the course of the illustrious Duke's numerous campaigns, and being a National monument it should be treated as such by the House of Commons, and not by an irresponsible Committee. Now, I desire to speak in terms of the highest respect of those who are connected with that Committee, and also of my right hon. Friend opposite the First Commissioner of Works, because I honestly think that he has been a very good First Commissioner of Works. I think he has given careful attention to the subjects with which he has been charged, and I think he has carried out many great and useful Metropolitan improvements. I think it is only fair to say, without going further, that I believe he has made a great mistake in this matter. He appears to have shrunk from the responsibility which belongs to his Office, and to have sheltered himself behind certain Committees—a General and an Executive Committee—and it will be in the recollection of the House that he has sheltered himself a very great deal behind the name of an illustrious personage, who, in the course of his speech the other night, the right hon. Gentleman quoted 17 times as being a high authority. I repeat that this is a National monument, and, therefore, it ought to be treated as such by the House of Commons, and not by an irresponsible Committee. The second suggestion I take from the lips of the right hon. Gentleman himself. The right hon. Gentleman has admitted that it was the original intention of the Government to replace the statue where it was before. If the right hon. Gentleman had done that, all this bungling would have been avoided, and what would have been the consequence? Why, that the statue would have been where Her Majesty gave a solemn pledge to the Duke of Wellington that it should be; where the illustrious Duke himself wished it to be; where, I venture to say, the people of this Metropolis wish it to be; and where, I am confident, if you were to poll the Army, from the Commander-in-Chief himself down to the humblest drummer-boy, they would wish it to be. They would all say—"Put it back in its place where it was before"—namely, in the vicinity of Apsley House. Let the House recollect that three consecutive Prime Ministers of England agreed that the statue should be placed upon the Arch at Hyde Park Corner. Lord Melbourne, in 1838, advised Her Majesty the Queen to carry out the decision which had been arrived at by William IV., in 1832. In 1846, Sir Robert Peel sanctioned the erection of that statue upon the Arch; and in 1847, Lord John Russell, after a debate in this House, agreed that it should remain in the place where the Sovereign had given her pledge to the great Duke that it should be. But there is another objection that I make as regards this statue, and it is this—that the Government, having said that they wished it to go back to its former position, have, unfortunately, fallen into the mistake of consulting the

Academicians. Now, the members of the Royal Academy, in my mind, are not people of very good taste. In fact, I am bound to say that I look upon a great many of the members of the Royal Academy of this day as a most degenerate and a meretricious body. I have received a number of letters from distinguished artists—although I must admit that they are not themselves members of the Academy, and therefore their complaints must be received a little *cum grano salis*—complaining that the Art opinion of many of the Royal Academicians is not worth much. Well, Her Majesty's Goverament having proposed to replace the statue, the Royal Academy stepped in, and the Royal Academicians said—"You must remove it altogether from the Arch, and now is your opportunity." I am sorry to say that my right hon. Friend has proposed to follow the advice of the Royal Academicians, having asked their opinion as to the statue. Many of them have said that the statue is a disgrace to British Art. ["Hear, hear!"] I shall show directly, if I am allowed to do so, that it is far from that. They say that it is a disgrace to British Art, and that it offends the canons of good taste. I recollect that on a recent occasion many of the members of the Royal Academy were examined in a Court of Law, and they all said that the busts called the "Belt busts" were a disgrace to British Art. But the Judges, the jury, and the public all took a different view of the matter. I recollect perfectly well the President of the Royal Academy saying in Court, when he saw one of the busts of Mr. Belt—and I only give this as an illustration of how little the President and his colleagues are to be entrusted in matters of Art—I recollect in the course of the Belt trial the Judge asking the President of the Royal Academy—"What do you think of that bust?" pointing to one of the busts of Mr. Belt. Sir Frederick Leighton, not knowing at the time that it was by Mr. Belt, said — "That is a bust worthy of Phidias." Upon which he was informed by counsel that the bust was by Mr. Belt; whereupon Sir Frederick turned round at once and said that it was not a work of Art all, but a disgrace to British Art, and not worthy of admission into an exhibition of the Royal Academy. What I have said is a positive fact. I would not venture to state it if it were not absolutely correct; and it proves to my mind that the opinion of the members of the Royal Academy is not worthy of the slightest consideration at the hands of this House. I maintain that it is not the opinion of the Royal Academy you ought to look to in this matter; but that in a question of a National monument it is the opinion of the House of Commons that ought to be looked to, and nothing else. This very morning we have had a paper delivered to us which is called a Petition of the Royal Academy. Well, now, it is a very curious document—it is almost as bad as their Art. A more fallacious document I do not think I ever read, and I shall be prepared to prove what I say. I only wish it had been in the hands of the House at the time of the last discussion; and I am surprised that the Government have not attempted to conceal it until after the discussion to-night, because it militates very strongly against the Royal Academicians who have petitioned the Government. If the House will allow me I will refer to one or two of the statements contained in this document. The Petitioners observe that—

> "This displacement affords an opportunity for the removal from the summit of that Arch of the colossal equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington;"

and they say of the members of the Royal Academy—

> "We should be wanting in duty did we fail to give emphatic expression to the strong desire and earnest hope entertained, not only by the artistic community, but by all those who are interested in English Art, that this reproach may at last be taken from among us."

This document goes on to speak of—

> "The dismay of the intelligent in matters of Art, the vain protest of the architect whose work was to be marred, the efforts of Her Majesty's Government to induce the Committee to reconsider its disastrous decision, their offer through Sir Robert Peel to propose to Parliament a Vote of money to meet the expenses of a fitting pedestal, and the letter of Lord Morpeth to the Duke of Rutland acquainting him of the intention."

I will ask the House, in passing, to observe how untrue this statement—

> "Of Her Majesty's Government to abide by their decision that the statue be removed."

This Memorial says that it was with dismay that the intelligent people of this country saw the placing of that statue on the Arch. The assertion is wholly a gratuitous one. One of the greatest patrons of Art at that time—Lord Francis Egerton—was, among others, a subscriber to that statue.

MR. A. F. EGERTON: May I be allowed to say that my Father was very much against the statue being placed upon the Arch?

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I hope to be able to convince my hon. Friend that the statement he has just made is entirely at variance with the opinion expressed by Lord Francis Egerton at that time.

ADMIRAL EGERTON: May I also be allowed to interrupt the right hon. Baronet? I am bound to say that the statement of my hon. Relative opposite is entirely correct.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I do not at all venture to dispute the correctness of the statement. I only say that, as a judge of Art, Lord Francis Egerton at the time—and it is on record in *Hansard*—entered a protest in the strongest terms against the suggestion that the equestrian statue which had been made should not be placed on that Arch. That is on record; it is in *Hansard*, and hon. Gentlemen will be able to see for themselves whether my statement is not correct. The Memorial goes on to say that Her Majesty's Government—that is, the Government of Lord John Russell—had come to a decision to move the statue. I have looked into *Hansard*, and I can find nothing of the kind. On the contrary, this is a statement of the views of Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister who succeeded Sir Robert Peel in 1846. It is quite true that Lord Morpeth, who was then the First Commissioner of Works, wrote a letter saying that it was the intention of the Government to move the statue; but the Prime Minister came down to the House and said that, in consequence of a communication from the Duke of Wellington, the Government had made up their minds not to insist on the removal of the statue. Lord John Russell said that in the House; and what was the letter of the Duke of Wellington? I believe I can speak here with a great deal of authority. No man was more intimate with the Duke of Wellington, during 20 or 25 years of his life, than the late Sir Robert Peel. I have often heard the matter discussed and talked of; and what was it that the Duke of Wellington mentioned to Sir Robert Peel, and wrote to Lord John Russell? He wrote a letter which must be in the collection of the noble Lord's papers. He said that, as the Sovereign had given her solemn pledge to him that the statue should be placed upon the Arch, he desired to express his opinion that the removal of the statue might be considered as a mark of the disapprobation of the Crown towards himself; and therefore it was that Lord John Russell, as Prime Minister, came down to the House, notwithstanding the letter which had been written by Lord Morpeth, and explained that in consequence of what had been said by the Duke of Wellington the Government would not persevere in the matter. It is well known—and it may be seen in *Hansard*—that Lord Brougham said in the House of Lords, four days after the statement of Lord John Russell in this House, that he knew his illustrious Friend would feel hurt beyond expression if the statue were to be removed. I think I have shown pretty clearly that, at all events, the statement contained in the Memorial of the Royal Academy is very incomplete as regards what is said respecting the Government of Lord John Russell in 1847—namely, that they had determined to abide by the decision to remove the statue, because Lord John Russell himself had determined that it should not be removed. This document goes on to say—

> "Still less is it needful in these days to dwell on the violation of every principle of propriety, and every canon of proportion, displayed in the existing haphazard combination."

I think I see the Lord Mayor present. [An hon. MEMBER: He has just gone.] I do not intend to refer to him, of course, as a violation of every principle of propriety and every canon of proportion; but I wish the Lord Mayor had been present, because I desired to draw his attention to that hideous monstrosity in Fleet Street as one of those erections which offend against every canon of proportion. It is a curious matter of fact that when the President of the Royal Academy in this Petition states and maintains all through the argument that there is no precedent of this kind, everybody knows who has been on the Continent that the most splendid statue in Europe is in Venice—the statue of

Coleoni in the Plazza San Giovanni. That is supposed to be a finer statue than any other, and it is erected upon an edifice. [An hon. MEMBER: But not upon an arch.] I had not finished the sentence. It is erected upon a construction similar to that upon which the Duke of Wellington's statue was placed, with this exception—that the arch is not pierced. So, also, with regard to the famous tomb of the Scaligers at Verona, upon a model of which the Brunswick Memorial is placed. In that case there is a series of arches, with the equestrian statue upon the top of them.

MR. MUNDELLA here made a remark across the Table, which did not reach the Gallery.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: The right hon. Gentleman, no doubt, is a great judge of Education; but I am afraid that his acquaintance with Science and Art is not so high. I saw this statue only the other day, and I know that what I am stating is quite correct. I maintain that the Brunswick statue erected at Geneva —the statue of the Duke of Brunswick upon horseback—is an equestrian statue on the top of the model of the tomb of the Scaligers from Verona. I do not think anybody can contradict that. I will not trouble the House with many further remarks on this subject; but I must say that in bringing the matter forward I am greatly interested upon one point, and I feel sure the House will agree with me if they will give me their attention for a few moments longer. I think it is a very dangerous thing for a country to begin to remove its National monuments. I recollect, during the Commune, seeing the column of the great Napoleon toppled over in the Place Vendôme by the Commune; and only the other day we read in the newspapers that the statues of General Bessières and Prince Murat, of Bonaparte's Army, erected at Cahors, had been removed to make room for a statue of Gambetta. When people begin to remove National monuments there is no knowing how far they will go. Therefore, I protest against anything of the kind. The right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works made a few remarks the other day, and in the course of his observations he made one which it struck me was not very well-founded in fact. He said that it would cost £25,000 to place that statue back again on the top of the Arch. Surely the right hon. Gentleman must have greatly exaggerated the expense. The statue weighs 40 tons with the pedestal, and 20 tons without the pedestal. It is in four parts, and I venture to say it could be put back again for £1,000 or £1,500, and then melted and moulded together on the top of the Arch. [*A laugh.*] That is how the right hon. Gentleman proposes to do it at Aldershot. Hon. Members laugh; but that is certainly what the First Commissioner of Works proposed the other day—namely, to cart it away in four pieces; and he said that with ease it could be erected at Aldershot. Now, I protest against a site at Aldershot. It was not known to the Duke of Wellington at all. I have heard a quotation which I wish to read in answer to the observations which have been made in regard to the character of this statue—namely, that it is a monstrosity, and that it offends against every principle of propriety and every canon of good taste. Here is a passage from an article which appeared at the time of its erection in *The Times* newspaper; and it is curious to see how much more this statue was appreciated then than it is now in these æsthetic days of a degenerate Academy. This is an abstract from *The Times* of 1846, when the statue was being erected—

> "The general impression respecting the statue as a work of art was highly favourable, and several old companions in arms of the illustrious hero expressed opinions that it was the best likeness ever made of him."

Well, I must say that after that we ought to hesitate before we break up this statue of the great Duke of Wellington. I am informed that Mr. Boehm is to have the commission for the new statue, although he is a foreigner. Who is Mr. Boehm? I confess that the name smells foreign, although it has an English ring about it. The name is written in a foreign way, and I do not know that Mr. Boehm is a man who ought to be entrusted with the making of a statue of the Duke of Wellington. I will tell the House the reason. He is at the head of a Franco-German Manufacturing Company. Now, I do not know if the French people were to be told that a National statue of the great Bonaparte were about to be made by an Englishman what the French people would say about it. But in this case the leading modeller in this German artist's studio is a Frenchman; and I do not think an artist of that nationality ought to be entrusted with a statue of the great Duke. ["Oh!"] At all events, we have two statues in London which have been made by this German sculptor—one of Lord Lawrence and another of Lord Beaconsfield. In the statue of Lord Lawrence there is a conspicuous absence of dignity, and a curious position of repose, which renders the whole quite unworthy of the man it is intended to represent; and I am quite certain that anyone who sees the statue of the great Lord Beaconsfield will admit that there is a want of character about it that is not at all in harmony with the subject. I move the rejection of this Vote, because I am opposed to this system of removing statues which have been erected to our great men. I trust that the House will endorse the opinion which I have expressed. In making this Motion I have had no desire to give offence to any person who may have been connected with any of the arrangements of the Committees—either the General Committee or the Executive Committee—or with any of the arrangements with which my right hon. Friend has been concerned. I merely move the Motion on public grounds. I think it would be a pity to see a statue erected to the great Duke removed away from London; and I hope that the House of Commons will give its assent to the suggestion I make—namely, that this Vote should not be allowed, in order that the House of Commons, if it thinks fit, may appoint a Committee to consider the whole matter.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he rose to second the Motion; but he must, in the first place, say that he did so on different grounds from those which had been put forward by his right hon. Friend. He took it that in objecting to this Vote the House would by no means pledge itself to the opinion that the statue should be replaced upon the Arch at Hyde Park Corner. His right hon. Friend had put forward arguments in favour of the statue being maintained in the neighbourhood of Apsley House, though not necessarily replaced upon the Arch. It had been suggested to him—and he threw it out as a matter for consideration—that a new pedestal might be designed, and that the statue might be erected upon it, on the mound in the Green Park, under satisfactory conditions, in a position that would meet the requirements of the right hon. Baronet, being in the immediate neighbourhood of the residence of the Duke of Wellington. He wished to point out to the House that by consenting to this Vote of £2,000 they committed themselves to a course which was open to very serious objection. His right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works had declined to request other sculptors to compete for a new statue; but without objecting at all to Mr. Boehm, on the ground that he was a foreigner, he did maintain that if they were to have a new statue the best British artists ought to have an opportunity of competing for such a great National work. His right hon. Friend had said that the best English sculptors had refused to compete for the execution of the statue; but he should like to know who those artists were? Neither Mr. Birch nor Mr. Brock had declined to enter into the competition, and they were British sculptors, who had produced equestrian groups of high merit. He believed that another sculptor of distinction had prepared a model in anticipation of a competition taking place; and therefore, he said, the competition ought to be a general one among the British artists, if they were to have a new statue at all; but, at the same time, it appeared to him that it was a grave question whether there should be a new statue or not. He should vote against this item of £2,000, upon these grounds—first, because he entertained a grave doubt whether the statue of the Duke of Wellington should be removed from the vicinity of Apsley House; secondly, because it appeared to him that if they ought to have a new statue it should be decided upon after competition among the leading British sculptors; and his third ground was, that for a great country like this to refer a decision of this character to an irresponsible Committee was altogether contrary to the way in which the arrangements of the House ought to be conducted. He, therefore, begged to second the proposition of the right hon. Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel), in the hope that the whole question would be referred to a Committee of the House to determine what course should be taken in regard to it.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£91,685," and insert "£89,685,"—(*Sir Robert Peel,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '£91,685' stand part of the said Resolution."

LORD HENRY LENNOX said, that, of course, he would not attempt at that hour of the night, or at any other time, to convulse the House with peals of laughter, such as had followed the humorous speech of the right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel); but he was in a position directly to dispute almost all the assertions which had been made on this subject by the right hon. Baronet. Like his right hon. Friend, he had no particular affection for Royal Academicians, and he had no doubt that they were no more perfect than any other body was perfect. But he was not going, at that time of the night, to ask the House to follow him into the details of the Belt trial, which had wearied the public over and over again for many months together. He was not going to ask the House whether the Royal Academicians were wise men or not; still less was he going to tread on delicate ground as to the position taken up in regard to this matter by an illustrious Personage who was, by circumstances, prevented from entering into Party politics, but who was anxious to show his desire to do good for the country in maters in which Party politics did not appear. His right hon. Friend spoke of the statue upon the Arch having received the sanction of three different Prime Ministers, and, among others, he mentioned that it had received the sanction of his own illustrious Father. Now, had that been the case, according to his (Lord Henry Lennox's) idea of the matter, he should, for one, have dealt very delicately with the subject; but he could not look upon the matter as one to which the late Sir Robert Peel had given his sanction, because he remembered that one of the first debates he ever attended in the House of Commons took place in the year 1846, when he heard Sir Robert Peel speak upon this very subject, and, perhaps, that was his excuse for intruding himself upon the House that night. On that occasion Sir Robert Peel expressed his disapprobation of the site, and altogether disapproved of erecting it on the Arch at Hyde Park Corner, offering to provide a site in any other part of London that might be chosen. Sir Robert Peel offered a pedestal so long as it was not put on the top of the Arch. Not only that, but if any hon. Member had any doubt as to the opinion of Sir Robert Peel in regard to the statute being placed upon that Arch, he would tell the House what was the opinion of a prominent Member of his Government. This was not, as his right hon. Friend asserted, a National monument, but it was a colossal statue, placed upon an arch against the wish of the designer and architect, and all the world besides. If any hon. Member entertained a doubt as to the opinion of the Government of Sir Robert Peel, he would refer them to the words uttered by Lord Canning, a Member of Sir Robert Peel's Government, on this subject. Writing to the Duke of Rutland, in 1846, Lord Canning said the remonstrances which had reached Her Majesty's Government against placing the statue upon the Arch were so strong, so many representations had been made by the architect of the Arch and statue, and the opinions of every other artist and architect and competent authority, who had been consulted, were so decided that Her Majesty's Government felt they were called on to make a final appeal to the Committee to change the site. If that were to be considered as the sanction of the Prime Minister to the scheme, he did not know in what stronger language a disapproval could have been couched.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, the House would, perhaps, allow him to say that it was perfectly true Lord Canning did write that letter to the Duke of Rutland; but the Duke of Rutland said that the Committee declined to acquiesce in the representations contained in it, and Sir Robert Peel said that as the Committee declined to acquiesce he was not prepared to interfere in order to change the site proposed.

LORD HENRY LENNOX said, he thought the right hon. Baronet had interrupted him for no purpose. He had never said that Sir Robert Peel objected to the final decision of the Sovereign and the Committee. All he had said was that Sir Robert Peel disapproved of the statue being placed upon that particular site. Sir Robert Peel allowed one of his own Colleages to quote the letter of Lord Canning; and he (Lord

Henry Lennox) was present when it was quoted. He, therefore, did not consider that the site in question had the sanction and approval of one of the Prime Ministers who had been referred to. But he really did not know what this "storm in a tea-cup" was all about; because, after all that had been said and done, he did not doubt that if the statue had remained on the Arch, and there had not been any necessity for carrying out alterations, and if no pressure had been put upon his right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works, it would still have remained in its old position. But the pressure in question had brought the statue of the Duke of Wellington down, and it was admitted on all hands that the statue itself was a perfect monstrosity. [Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: No, no.] When he said that if it had been allowed to remain in its original position it would have been a disgrace to the Metropolis, another of his right hon. Friends, the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), turned round and said "No, no." But he (Lord Henry Lennox) said "Yes, yes;" and he would repeat that there was a great concensus of opinion that the statue where it was originally placed was a monstrosity. In the course of the present debate the right hon. Baronet had asserted that the views of the general public were in favour of the statue. He (Lord Henry Lennox) had a very different opinion, because, in the very debate to which he had listened, and which he had referred to, the House were told that it was quite indecent—that was the word used—to endeavour to force upon the country a site so dead against the feeling and wishes of the public. He was not going to detain the House by any long speech on this occasion, although, after what had fallen from his right hon. Friend, there were several subjects he should have liked to refer to. His right hon. Friend said the removal of the statue of the Duke of Wellington from the Arch might be construed into a desire on the part of the Government to reflect discredit and dishonour upon the most illustrious of all our patriots. He thought that there was one great answer to that assertion—namely, that the man who inherited his name, and almost worshipped his memory, was entirely in favour of the scheme proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works. If there were any possible chance that it could be construed into a slur upon the memory of that great man it could not be supposed that the son of the Duke of Wellington would have given his sanction to the scheme of the Government. More than that, could there be any slur or reproach upon this illustrious man's memory by erecting a new statue in his honour 30 years after his death? We should only have three statues of the Duke of Wellington instead of two. When the statue to which the debate related was placed on the Arch, looking down upon the crowded thoroughfare beneath it, it certainly was a monstrosity compared with the position it would occupy under the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman. The new statue of the Duke of Wellington would be in proportion to all around it; whereas the old statue was out of proportion to everything that came near it. There were very few ornamental spaces in the Metropolis; and Her Majesty's Government ought not to lose this opportunity of improving the Park for the sake of a maudlin sentimentality. If there had been any question of the statue being cremated or broken down, the case would have been different. But the statue was to be preserved, and at least they would have some chance of forming a conception of its beauty and proportions. Under these circumstances, he, for one, should cordially support the Vote of Her Majesty's Government for £2,000 for the statue, and for the appointment of a Committee to lay out the plans.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: When this Vote was last before the Committee there were several alternatives suggested to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government. Almost every Member who spoke had some alternative to suggest, and, as often happened, the many alternatives combined together were nearly able to bring about a defeat of the proposal. On this occasion the right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Robert Peel), whose reference to the work of my Department I most gratefully acknowledge, has made a definite proposal, and a very simple one—namely, that the statue should be replaced on the Arch from which it had been removed, and on which it was placed much against the wish of many persons of taste, among whom was the late Prince Consort, Now, I venture to think that that is a course which even if the House should reject the Vote now before it it would not adopt. I will freely and frankly admit that if the statue had remained on the Arch, and things had been unchanged, I should not have thought it worth while to make any proposal in the matter. After all, time consecrates many blunders; and I do not think I should have been justified in sweeping away the statue simply because certain defects in it had been pointed out and condemned. But the case now before us is different, because, in consequence of the improvements which we have been carrying out, and which I believe are generally recognized to be very good, the statue has had to come down in the natural course of events; and there has, consequently, been a new departure. It, therefore, appears to me that it would be almost madness to adopt the course proposed by the right hon. Baronet. Now, I am at issue with the right hon. Baronet with regard to a good deal of the historical matter to which he adverts. It is true that in 1838 Lord Melbourne obtained the consent of the Queen to the statue being placed upon the Arch; but in 1846, when it was about to be placed there, a good deal of feeling was aroused, and a debate upon the subject took place in that House, and Sir Robert Peel, who was appealed to to prevent its being so passed, said he was "personally opposed to its being placed on the Arch;" and by way of alternative he offered there and then to take a Vote for providing a pedestal for it. Well, Sir, when the Committee refused that offer, Sir Robert Peel said that as Lord Melbourne had obtained the consent of the Queen to the site, he would not alter it. In the following year the statue was placed on the Arch, and no sooner was it done than there arose a chorus of condemnation with regard to it. There was a debate in that House, and the feeling there expressed was unanimous against it. The Government, represented by Lord Morpeth, Chief Commissioner of Works, announced that it was intended that the statue should be brought down. Amongst the first persons who objected to the statue remaining on the Arch was the Prince Consort, and by his advice the Queen ordered its removal. This was stated in this House by Lord Morpeth, who added that it was actually in course of being removed. The Duke of Wellington was then communicated with, and he told the Prince Consort that although he had never wished the statue to be placed on the Arch, yet, as it had been placed there, it was desirable that it should remain. The House of Commons, the Government, indeed, everybody, wanted the statue to come down; and I need hardly remind the House that for months afterwards it was the subject of numerous caricatures; it was said in France that Waterloo was at last avenged; and Mr. Decimus Burton was so seriously annoyed with the statue being placed on the Arch that I believe he was for many years prepared to give £2,000 to anyone who would cause it to be removed. The statue, nevertheless, remained on the Arch. But chance at last has offered an opportunity of bringing it down from its eminence; it has been taken down, and the question is as to whether it shall be replaced? I do not think the House will agree to its replacement; and, for my part, I respectfully decline to present a Vote to Parliament for that purpose. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has alluded to the proposal of the Prince of Wales. I should be sorry if the Committee, or anyone else, thought for one moment that I have endeavoured to shelter myself behind the name of His Royal Highness. So far from that being the case, I have stated, over and over again, that I am responsible in this matter; and if I have named His Royal Highness it has been for the purpose of praising the public spirit with which he has come forward in this matter. Now, it appears to me that the proposal which His Royal Highness offers is, on the whole, the best solution of this question. But another alternative has been suggested, of placing the statue on a pedestal and allowing it to remain where it is, with regard to which I will say that the difficulty in the way of that course being taken is, that the statue is of such colossal size that it would completely over-top every other object in the space adjacent; and, therefore, I repeat that, in my opinion, the proposal of the Prince of Wales offers the best and most reasonable solution of the difficulty. The right hon. Gentleman has alluded to the appointment of Mr. Boehm. That gentleman has resided in this country for 30 years; he is a sculptor of eminence; he is naturalized here, and is a member of the Royal Academy; and therefore I think that, to all intents and purposes, he may be called an Englishman. It is not the first time in the history of Art in this country that an English sculptor of eminence has had a foreign name. Again, Mr. Boehm, I believe, is almost the only sculptor of the day who has executed equestrian works, one of which —the statue of the Duke of Westminster —I think is amongst the finest of its kind in the country. After all, equestrian statues are rare; and, therefore, it seems to me wise to commit a task of that kind to a sculptor who is renowned for his works in that branch of Art. My hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) has adverted to the question of competition; and with reference to that, I must again repeat that the original intention of having competition in this matter was abandoned for two reasons. In the first place, because I ascertained that three leading sculptors of the day refused to compete—I am not at liberty to mention their names, but it is a fact those gentlemen informed me they would not take part in a competition. But the second reason is that, the present Duke of Wellington is utterly opposed to the course, his own opinion being that it is impossible to get a good work of Art by competition, and he has said that, with such a condition, he would not have consented to take any part in the work. I say, then, it was desirable to get the cordial assent of the present Duke of Wellington to all the proceedings; and I am happy to state that all that is proposed to be done has met with his hearty approval. A letter which I received yesterday from the Duke contains these words with reference to that purpose—"I feel that full respect is paid to the memory of my Father." And I may add that this is one of a series of letters which I have received from his Grace on this subject. Under these circumstances, I venture to hope that the House will assent to the Vote, otherwise they must abandon all hope of decorating the place; and I trust, also, that this proposal will be accepted by the House as affording the best compromise of a very difficult and delicate question.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, the Government were asking for £2,000 as the first instalment of the sum of £6,000 for the decoration of the West End of London at the expense of the taxpayers of the Kingdom; and upon that point, totally irrespective of the question as to whether the statue should be put up again or be placed on another site, he should, if no one else did, take the sense of the House. He was sure no one in the country wanted to detract from the honour which the nation paid to the Duke of Wellington, or forget its obligations to him; but he thought that the State had amply repaid that obligation. The statue of the Duke had been spoken of as a National monument; but the description was incorrect, because it was a monument raised by private subscription. The National monument was erected in St. Paul's Cathedral, at the Duke's death; and the nation likewise perpetuated his memory by that admirable Institution which bore his name. Rightly or wrongly, the Chief Commissioner of Works had seen fit to remove this monument; and the House was now asked to vote out of the Public Exchequer a large sum of money in connection with the site. His right hon. Friend the Chief Commissioner of Works used a word which really disclosed the whole matter. He said the money was wanted for the "decoration of this place"—namely, the wealthiest part of the wealthiest City of the world. If hon. Members went throughout the length and breadth of London, they would not find any place where property, freehold and leasehold, was of more value than in that part of the Metropolis. Notwithstanding that, and within a week of the presentation of the Budget, in which it was stated that the condition of their finance was such that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was compelled to recede from the pledges given to the people at large with respect to cheap telegrams, the House was asked for a Vote at the expense of the whole community for the decoration of London. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in one of his Mid Lothian speeches, alluded to the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he regretted to observe, had, together with the other Members of the late Government, left the House, in connection with a Vote of £2,000. The right hon. Gentleman said—"The Chancellor of the Exchequer who will not save £2,000 is not worth his salt." Now, here was a Vote for precisely that amount, as an instalment of £6,000, which the House might rest assured would not be the whole of the money required. The public would be again called upon in order to make up the deficiency. Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, and other large cities and towns in the Kingdom, had their decorations and their statues of great men; but they never asked Parliament for any public money for the purpose. As a Representative of the taxpayers of the Kingdom outside London, he protested against their being taxed for the decoration of the Metropolis; and he trusted that all Liberal Members in the House would sympathize with him in his endeavour to put a stop to the mendicancy which London was never tired of resorting to for the purpose of getting itself decorated and maintained at the expense of the rest of the community.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he should not have addressed himself to this subject but for the observations of his hon. Friend (Mr. H. H. Fowler). The charm of Art lay in its being eclectic. He had, when this Vote was last before the House, shown his eclecticism by voting against the Motion of the Chief Commissioner of Works. He should on this occasion, however, support the Resolution, because he was always open to conviction, and because he thought common sense was better than consistency. Let the House get out of their heads the names of all those grand people who had been referred to in the course of the discussion, and make use of their own judgment. They had been told to look to the Royal Academicians, and to William IV., as great arbiters of taste; but he never troubled himself about either the one or the other; in the present case he looked simply at the facts as they stood before the House. They had this place in the central part of London. That was one fact; and another was that on that place there stood this monstrous horse, than which there had been no greater curse to any city since the horse of Troy. What was to be done with it? "Melt it," said some hon. Gentlemen; but would there be a majority in favour of that? ["No, no!"] For his own part, he would like to surround it with trees, paint it green, and try to forget it. But the fact remained; there was the horse, and the country must deal with it. The alternatives were to remove it; to put it upon a pedestal, and to replace it on the Arch. They were not in favour of putting it in the place again; they were not in favour of spending a large amount of money on it; nor were they going to leave it where it was. He thought the Chief Commissioner of Works had made a very reasonable bargain. He had no prejudice in this matter, which was simply a question of figures, and at those figures he desired to look. The Chief Commissioner of Works said that £15,000 or £20,000 would be subscribed by the public for the decoration of the place. ["No!"] Well, say £10,000. Therefore, in consideration of the expenditure of £10,000 on this central part of London, which, might, indeed, be regarded as the central place of the British Empire, the right hon. Gentleman asked the House to give £6,000 of public money. The House might be certain the place would not be allowed to remain as it was; it would have to be decorated; and, that being so, it seemed to him that the Chief Commissioner had made a reasonable and good bargain for them. The only reason against it which operated with him was that given by his hon. Friend (Mr. H. H. Fowler)—namely, that London ought to defray the whole cost of decorating the place. As Londoners, they had been perfectly free to wander about there, and look at the Duke of Wellington on his Arch; but it must be remembered that they had never been consulted about the alterations at Hyde Park Corner. They were the work of the Chief Commissioner of Works, who was responsible for them to the House of Commons; and, that being so, he hoped they would not "Spoil the ship for a ha'p'orth of tar."

Mr. W. LOWTHER said, he was very unwilling to trespass upon the time of the House; but he wished just to say a couple of words. He was aware that sentiment was more difficult to combat than many other things; but there were a great many facts in connection with this matter which they not to forget. They should remember that this equestrian statue was erected in honour of that very great man, the Duke of Wellington; and then they must bear in mind that it was put up in front of his

Grace's house—a most unusual honour to pay to a man during his lifetime. They must not forget that the Duke of Wellington—one of the greatest men that England had ever seen—had looked upon this statue, and had approved of it and of its position. They were grateful —not only they, but the whole of England, nay, the whole of Europe, were grateful—to the Duke of Wellington for what he had done for them. The whole world was thankful. ["Divide!"] One moment more, and he had done. He very seldom, indeed, troubled them with any observations; and he did not think anyone had any right to complain of his obstructing the course of Business. He wished merely to say that though he did not advocate the replacing of the statue on the Arch, he still thought that the Memorial, whatever form it took, should be erected in front of Apsley House. In removing it from that position they would be laying themselves open to the accusation of wishing to shake off the hand of the dead man altogether.

Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, that, having been a Member of the Committee on this question, he felt bound to say a word or two. The Committee had given the greatest possible attention to the consideration of the matter. All proposals were examined with care and fairness, and everything was done by the First Commissioner of Works to enable them to come to a right conclusion. The present proposal had been looked into both by the Committee and a Sub-Committee. He was not going to say how many were in favour of the plan, and how many were against it; but this he might state—that it had the approval of a large majority. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had referred to London as mendicant; but he (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) could inform the hon. Gentleman that for this improvement at Hyde Park Corner, London had put her hand into her pocket to the extent of £20,000. Did she, then, deserve the phrase "mendicant?" Had she not paid her full, and more than her full, share for the improvement? To his mind, the improvement was an excellent one, and the sum the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works asked the House to give was a very mild and moderate amount.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 219; Noes 108: Majority 111.—(Div. List, No. 80.)

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he wished to move the reduction of Vote 3, in Class I., of the Civil Service Estimates by £6,525, on account of Kensington Gardens. He did not wish to discuss the matter at any length; but the point to which he desired to draw attention was this—namely, the increased mortality amongst the trees in Kensington Gardens. A few years ago these trees were in a most flourishing condition, and in the hottest days in the year extended a grateful shade to all; but all that had passed away now. Year by year the trees were dying, and it seemed very probable that before long there would be few left. It could not be said that the atmosphere of London killed them, for in the very heart of the Metropolis, in the squares and small open spaces, there were many very healthy trees. What, then, was the cause of the great mortality in Kensington Gardens? He had put Questions to the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works on this subject on previous occasions, and had got he did not know what sort of answers, but, certainly, not a satisfactory one. He passed through Kensington Gardens almost every day, but failed to notice that the First Commissioner of Works was making any efforts, or even experiments, with a view to putting a stop to the increased mortality. He failed to observe that anything at all was being done to save the trees. He felt assured that if these trees were on a private estate, their owner would not sit still, with his arms folded, whilst they died and fell. He would call in the services of the tree doctor; he would appeal to men of science; dig about the roots, make experiments, and take every means to discover, if possible, what was the matter with the trees. He expressed a very earnest hope that the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works had taken this subject to heart, and did not mean to stand by and do nothing; but that he would do something towards discovering a remedy for the condition of things which existed. For his own part, he had had considerable experience of trees. He did not profess to be a tree doctor, but he knew something about them; and he had formed a theory of his own with regard to what it was that ailed them, and he believed—and this theory was supported by very good authority—that it arose through spreading over the roots of the trees the clay from the great number of new houses that had been built in the neighbourhood. His opinion was that the mortality among the trees was caused in that way. Covering the roots and shutting out the air often had this effect; and he noticed particularly that the few trees still flourishing were those not so treated. He, therefore, hoped that the great Officer of the Government who was in charge of this matter would see if he could not do something to discover the source of the evil, and, if possible, to try and remove it.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was afraid that he must admit that these trees were in a very deplorable state; and he was afraid it must also be admitted that a very great portion of them would at an early date be destroyed. He did not know of any remedy for the existing state of things. The trees would, no doubt, in the course of time, die, and it was impossible to arrest their decay; but so long as any of them showed symptoms of life he should be unwilling to remove them. He did not like to make a clean sweep of these trees. He believed that the cause of the calamity was that the trees had reached a sub-soil of some bad character; but he did not believe that it was due to the cause mentioned by the hon. Gentleman—namely, a certain multiplication of the drains through house building. No doubt, the result was a very unfortunate state of things.

Resolution *agreed to.*

COINAGE AND BANKING ACTS.

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. COURTNEY, in moving—

> "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to consider the Weights and Measures Acts,"

said, he must explain that the Committee was to be set up to amend the Banking and Coinage Acts; but it was found, as a matter of fact, that they would also require to amend the Weights and Measures Acts in some respects, as those Acts spoke of the dimensions of the existing coin. Therefore, as it was proposed to alter the weight of the half-sovereign, it was necessary to amend these Acts.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to consider the Weights and Measures Acts."——(*Mr. Courtney.*)

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) presumed that this Resolution was in connection with the Bill of the Chancellor of the Exchequer dealing with half-sovereigns, and that a full opportunity would be given for discussing it on some future occasion. He supposed this was merely a formal Resolution, which did not commit the House in any way.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, it was only a formal Resolution, and certainly would not commit them in any way. Without it the Bill for dealing with the coinage could not be introduced. He would take care that ample opportunity was afforded for full discussion.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Will the right hon. Gentleman state the terms of the Resolution which is to be moved in Committee?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): The terms are—

> "That it is expedient to amend the Laws relating to Coinage, Banking, and Weights and Measures."

It is merely formal.

Motion *agreed to.*

Matter *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. COURTNEY moved—

> "That it is expedient to amend the Laws relating to Coinage, Banking, and Weights and Measures."

Motion *agreed to.*

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

NATIONAL DEBT ACT, 1870, &C.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

1. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise the creation of Stocks of Perpetual Annuities bearing interest at the rate of Two Pounds Fifteen Shillings per centum per annum, and of Stocks of Perpetual Annuities bearing interest at the rate of Two Pounds Ten Shillings

per centum per annum, and to authorise also the conversion into such Stocks of Stocks of Perpetual Annuities bearing interest at the rate of Three Pounds per centum per annum.

2. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to make provision for the payment quarterly of the dividends of the said Stocks.

3. *Resolved*, That it is expedient that the said Stocks be issued on such terms as may be determined hereafter, and that provision be made by the creation of Terminable Annuities for the redemption of any increase of Capital of the National Debt caused by the said conversion.

4. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to amend "The National Debt Act, 1870," and "The Sinking Fund Act, 1875."

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

MOTION.

——o——

SHOP HOURS REGULATION (LIVERPOOL) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Whitley, Bill to regulate the Hours of Labour in Shops and Warehouses in the city of Liverpool and the vicinity thereof, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Whitley, Lord Claud John Hamilton, and Mr. Samuel Smith.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 185.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, *2nd May*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—*Took the Oath for the First Time*—The Lord Bishop of Liverpool.

Public Bills—*First Reading*—Electric Lighting Provisional Order * (75); Public Health (Confirmation of Bye-Laws) * (76).

Second Reading—Marriages Legalization (Wood Green Congregational Church) (66).

Third Reading—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order * (61), and *passed*.

MARRIAGES LEGALIZATION (WOOD GREEN CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH) BILL.—(No. 66.)

(*The Lord Carrington.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord CARRINGTON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the object of the Bill was to make legal marriages which had taken place in this church through inadvertence, it not having been properly licensed.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Carrington.*)

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he must repeat what he had said on other occasions when Bills of this kind had been introduced into their Lordships' House—namely, that in his view it was a scandal to the law that such Bills should from time to time be necessary in order to legalize marriages in places which had not been registered. He had been in communication with the President of that branch of the High Court of Justice which had matrimonial causes under its jurisdiction, and it was his intention shortly to introduce a Bill for the purpose of dealing generally with cases of this kind, and with others in which doubts might exists as to the validity of marriages, on merely formal grounds.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

PUBLIC HEALTH (CONFIRMATION OF BYE LAWS) BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the Public Health Act, 1875, so far as relates to the confirmation of Byelaws—Was *presented* by The Lord Carrington; read 1ª. (No. 76.)

House adjourned at half past Four o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, *2nd May*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Private Bill (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Lea Bridge, Leyton, and Walthamstow Tramways Extension *.

Public Bills—*Resolutions* [May 1] *reported*.

Ordered—*First Reading*—National Debt (Conversion of Stock) * [186]; Coinage * [187].

Ordered—Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) *; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) *.

Committee—*Report*—Contagious Diseases (Animals) [120].

NOTICE.

——o——

EGYPT (AFFAIRS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S MISSION.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I beg to give Notice that I propose to make the following Motion:—

"That this House regrets to find that the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government has not tended to promote the success of General Gordon's Mission, and that even such steps as may be necessary to secure his personal safety are still delayed."

I shall on Monday ask the Prime Minister what facilities he can offer for bringing on that Motion.

QUESTIONS.

——o——

LAW AND JUSTICE—SENTENCES ON CHILDREN—REFORMATORIES.

Mr. M'LAREN asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been called to the following case, as reported in *The Edinburgh Daily Review :—*

> "On Friday April 26th, at Perth Sheriff Court, a boy ten years of age, who pleaded guilty to stealing one shilling from a lockfast drawer in the Railway goods office at Aberfeldy, was sentenced to ten days' imprisonment, and thereafter to be detained in a reformatory for five years. When sentence was passed the boy burst into tears, clung to his mother, and refused to be separated from her. It was only after the lapse of some time, and the use of force by the police officers, that the boy was separated from his mother and lodged in prison ;"

if he can say what is the total cost to the public of the maintenance of a child for five years in a reformatory; and, whether the Home Office still discourages the practice of convicting and imprisoning, as criminals, children of tender years?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have inquired into this case, and have received a report on the question. The boy seems to have been a bad boy, in the habit of thieving. This is not his first offence. He is one of five children, and his mother admitted that it was a good thing for the child to be sent to a reformatory. Therefore, there is no fault to be found in that case. But I take this opportunity of saying that I do think there are a great many cases of children sent to a reformatory for a long period for which there is no justification. It has not been sufficiently considered that it is a very serious thing to take away a child for five years from its parents, and when there has not been a sufficient inquiry made into the character of the home. Two cases have come before me recently, in one of which after the sentence had expired and the child had been taken away from its parents—and the home was not a bad one—the child was sent away for years without the knowledge of its parents, and he was sent on board a North Sea fishing smack. In the other case the child, who was a girl, was emigrated without the knowledge and against the wish of her parents. This seems to me to be a monstrous abuse. I need not say that I at once took steps to have the children restored to their parents. But I think that very much more care ought to be taken than is taken, and it ought not to be considered right in every case to send a child to a reformatory. My hon. Friend asked whether attention is still paid in the Home Office to juvenile offences. Yes, Sir. No case of the kind fails to come under my personal notice, and inquiries are made. I am happy to say it is very rare now that I can find a case in which, upon inquiry, there was no sufficient justification for the sentence. The magistrates have acted with me most cordially with the view of diminishing, as far as possible, the number of children in prison, and the number of children has largely diminished. In all England last week there were only four cases, and I think, therefore, that on the whole the matter may be considered to be in a satisfactory condition. A great deal has been done without legislation. But there is one thing also which I ask leave to mention. That is the habit of inflicting heavy costs in these cases of small crimes. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross), in his Summary Jurisdiction Act, made a most admirable rule that the costs were not to be inflicted except in special circumstances. But the magistrates' clerks always press to have these costs inflicted. This is a very great evil, because the parents are often unable to pay and the children cannot be sent to school.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: Has the right hon. and learned Gentleman issued any Circular to the Justiciary clerks pointing out the provisions of the Act so far as costs are concerned?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I shall be very happy to do that. I have written over and over again on this subject. It is an immense grievance, and contrary to the intention of the Statute. It often happens that when a fine of 1*s.* is imposed, the costs amount to 20*s.* or 30*s.*, and the man goes to prison in consequence of the costs. I would make an appeal to those who administer the Education Act. The way in which children for mere truancy, which ought not to be treated as a crime, are sent for years to a reformatory school and taken away from their home, even when the home is not a bad one, seems to be an extremely wrong one, and I hope the practice will not be repeated.

MR. ONSLOW: Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman issue a Circular to that effect?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think it better not to do so. I would rather leave it to the discretion of the magistrates.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, RATHDRUM UNION.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that, at the recent election of Poor Law Guardians for the Rathdrum Union, county Wicklow, voting papers were not in some cases distributed to persons entitled to vote whose political opinions were known to be on the popular side; whether it is true that voting papers were not supplied to two voters named Kane and Toner in the Newcastle Electoral Division of the Union; whether, when they went to the workhouse, a distance of fourteen miles, and applied for them, they were refused by the returning officer on the ground that the application was too late; whether such refusal was in accordance with the law; whether the returning officer, Mr. Bernard Manning, is the person who acted as returning officer in the election of a guardian for the Killiskey Electoral Division of same Union in 1882, when it was found on a scrutiny, that forty-seven votes were received by him in the Conservative interest in excess of the lawful number; and, whether, if it should appear that the returning officer has not properly discharged his duty on the present occasion, he will, as President of the Local Government Board in Ireland, take any and what steps to secure the holding of elections for Poor Law Guardians in Rathdrum Union in an impartial manner?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that the only cases in which voting papers were not distributed were those of the two voters, Kane and Toner, named in the second paragraph of the Question, who are voters for the Kilcool Electoral Division. There was no failure to distribute papers in other parts of the Union. In the case of Messrs. Kane and Toner, the Returning Officer admits that they were accidentally omitted in the preparation of the lists. Due public notice was given of the days upon which any person who did not receive his paper should apply; but these two voters did not apply within the prescribed time, and the Returning Officer could not legally entertain their claims. Their votes could not have affected the election, as there was a considerable majority for the candidates returned. The Returning Officer is the same person who acted as Returning Officer for the same Union in 1882. I have already informed the hon. Member that after the sworn inquiry held in that case the Local Government Board considered that the errors he then made were the result of misinterpretation of the law, and that he had no intention to do anything wrong. There was no question of political partiality; for in another Electoral Division he allowed a larger number of excess votes to the Liberal candidates. In this case nothing has occurred to show that the election was not held in an impartial manner, and the Returning Officer emphatically denies being influenced by any political considerations.

INDIA—THE KIRWEE PRIZE MONEY.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether high legal opinions have declared that the sum of £276,000, and other funds realised from securities and jewels of the enemy, and retained by the Indian Government, are distributable as proceeds of the capture of Kirwee and its Chiefs; whether any judicial decision or dictum in any Law Court has overruled those opinions; whether the Treasury Board, when it decided, in May 1869, that these moneys were not booty within the meaning of a certain Indian Proclamation, was aided by legal assessors, or founded its decision on any judicial precedent; and, whether the Treasury Board retains any jurisdiction in matters of prize booty since the passing of Lord Collenham's Act, 3 and 4 Vic. c. 65, s. 22, which was framed to abolish this jurisdiction?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to the last Question of my hon. and gallant Friend opposite, I may say that the section of Lord Cottenham's Act to which he refers only empowers the Court of Admiralty to decide questions relating to booty of war when they are referred by Her Majesty in Council to its judgment, and without in any respect taking away from the Board of Treasury the power of returning such answer as it may deem fit to Petitions addressed to it. The Board of Treasury, therefore, was acting within its powers in hearing and adjudicating upon the claims of the captors of Kirwee as against the Secretary of State for India in Council in May, 1869. I may mention that these claims had no reference to funds realized from "jewels," the proceeds of which, and of similar property, were distributed as prize. The captors, on their part, dissatisfied with the decision of the Treasury, brought an action in the Court of Chancery against the Secretary of State for India, who demurred to their Petition on the ground that it rested with him, as trustee for Her Majesty, to declare what property taken in war should be treated as booty and distributed, as a matter of grace and favour, among the captors. Vice Chancellor Hall overruled the demurrer; but his ruling was reversed by the Court of Appeal, and the House of Lords, on the 19th of May, 1882, upheld the decision of the Court of Appeal. It is not usual to state publicly how far the Treasury is guided by legal opinion in making its decisions; but I may say that it was not without consultation with the most eminent legal authorities, and the fullest examination of precedents, that the Board arrived at its decision in 1869.

STATE OF IRELAND—MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE AT DAVIDSTOWN.

Mr. SMALL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that Sergeant M'Hugh persists in attending the meetings of the Davidstown (county Wexford) National League, although the meetings of other neighbouring branches are not so attended; whether said M'Hugh has any orders to do this; and, whether he is ordered to watch any particular member of the Davidstown branch?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sergeant M'Hugh has no special instructions to attend the Davidstown meetings; and I am again informed that his presence has not been objected to by the members of that branch. He is not ordered to watch any particular members of it. New instructions on the general subject of the police attending indoor meetings have now been issued, which will meet cases such as this.

Mr. SEXTON: Would the right hon. Gentleman have any objection to state briefly the effect of these instructions?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The instructions are that in every special case an order must be given by the divisional magistrate, which must be in writing, and the police will have this order with them. In cases where the district is not within the jurisdiction of the divisional magistrate the order will be given by the Inspector General of Constabulary.

Mr. SEXTON asked whether every policeman whose presence was objected to at these meetings would be required to produce this order?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Yes, Sir.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE CONSTABULARY AT TULLAMORE.

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that the County Inspector, District Inspector, head constable, acting constable, and all the men, except two, of the Royal Constabulary stationed at Tullamore are not Roman Catholics; and, whether any Protestant has ever made any complaint as to the preponderance of Roman Catholics, being good and loyal men, in any Constabulary district or station?

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: May I ask if there is not a vast majority of Catholics in Tullamore?

Mr. TREVELYAN: There is certainly a very large majority of Catholics in Tullamore. The Inspector General informs me that the County Inspector and District Inspector at Tullamore are Protestants, and the head constable is a Roman Catholic. Of the other members of the Force at Tullamore seven are Protestants and 17 Roman Catholics. Complaints of the nature referred to in the second paragraph of the Question are very rare.

POST OFFICE—TRANSFERRED TELEGRAPH CLERKS.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will consider the propriety of extending to those telegraph clerks whose services were transferred from the Companies to the Department, and who (having not less than twenty-five years' service) have not received promotion consequent on the last revision, the same benefits conferred upon those whose appointments were abolished at the transfer—namely, retirement upon a pension of two-thirds of their present salary; and, if not, whether he is prepared to consider any means by which their position may be improved?

Mr. FAWCETT: The telegraphists to whom the hon. Baronet refers would come under the provision of the Superannuation Act of 1859; and this Act, except on the score of ill-health, would not admit of their retirement on pensions of two-thirds of their salary or any other amount unless their appointments were about to be abolished, which, I need hardly say, is not the case. These telegraphists, in common with others, have lately had their positions and prospects very considerably improved, at a large additional charge to the Revenue; and, under these circumstances, I do not think I should be justified in holding out any hope that the question can be re-opened.

POST OFFICE—NORTHERN DISTICT TELEPHONE COMPANY.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Postmaster General, If he could state to the House, the number of exchange and private telephone wires respectively there are in use by the Northern Telephone Company, worked and maintained by the Company at its own expense, at Newcastle on Tyne, according to the latest Return furnished by the Department; the amount of the royalties paid to the Department per annum therefrom respectively; the number of telephone wires similarly in use respectively by the Post Office at the same date; the cost of the same; the revenue therefrom; the royalties which the Post Office would receive therefrom, without cost to the Department, assuming them to have been erected and maintained by a private company, and to be charged the same rate for royalty as now charged by the Department to the Company in Newcastle on Tyne?

Mr. FAWCETT: In reply to my hon. Friend, I may state that on the 31st of March last the Northern District Telephone Company had 54 subscribers to their telephone exchange in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and £54 was returned by the Company as payable to the Post Office on account of royalties. At the same date the Post Office had 362 subscribers, who paid rentals amounting to £7,750 per annum. Assuming that there was the same number of subscribers, and that the same rentals were paid to a private Company, the royalty would be £775. The profit obtained by the Post Office is certainly larger than this amount. No return is rendered by the Northern District Telephone Company of private wires; and I am, therefore, unable to contrast the figures relating to such wires with those of the Post Office.

Mr. GRAY: What is the cost to the Department of the erection and maintenance of the wires, and the profits above that?

Mr. FAWCETT: I cannot say. I am sure the profit to the Post Office is greater than that of erection and maintenance.

INLAND REVENUE—ASSISTANT SURVEYORSHIPS—EXAMINATION.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Why the examination fixed for the 6th May 1884 for Assistant Surveyorships of Taxes, comprising five subjects, is closed against the Lower Division Clerks in the Tax Survey Branch of the Inland Revenue who have passed in ten subjects (including bookkeeping, one of the five in the Assistant Surveyorship Examination), and is open exclusively to Second Class Excise Assistants who have passed in only six subjects, all of which are included in the ten passed by the Lower Division Clerks; and, what objection is there to the reduction from ten to (say) six years of the time which Lower Division Clerks in the Tax Survey Branch of the Inland Revenue are required to serve before they are eligible for promotion to Assistan Surveyorships, seeing that, since 1881, the Higher Division Examination for Assistant Surveyorships has been abolished, and the standard of examination reduced in the proportion of thirteen subjects to five subjects, one of which the Lower Division Clerks have already passed?

Mr. COURTNEY: The examination for Assistant Surveyorships of Taxes, fixed for next week, follows the special regulations drawn up less than three years ago. These regulations were carefully considered, and it does not appear desirable to re-open them without a larger experience of their working.

PORTUGAL—THE CONGO TREATY.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government have any confirmation of the news brought by the mail steamer *Senegal*, which arrived in the Mersey on the 28th April—namely, that the proposal to hand territory on the Congo over to the Portuguese was becoming known among the Natives; that at Kinsembo and Ambrizette the feeling was very strong, and would probably result in forcible opposition to any attempt to carry the Treaty into force; and that at other parts of the coast, where the Natives are of a quieter spirit, they stated their intention to leave their homes, rather than submit to Portuguese rule; and, whether the Government have any information on the subject of M. de Brazza's proceedings on the Congo?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have received no information on either of the points referred to in the Question.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: Have Her Majesty's Government ever taken any steps to obtain such information?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; there is no call for inquiry on the part of the Government. No doubt, the information that has arrived will reach the Foreign Office; and as regards M. de Brazza, there is no ground for making special inquiry.

INDIA (MADRAS)—CAPTAIN E. A. CAMPBELL.

MR. R. POWER asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he would lay upon the Table the whole of the Correspondence of Captain E. A. Campbell with the Government of Madras, Revenue Department, dated March and April 1882, and February 1883, complaining of certain official irregularities; also the whole of the Correspondence on the same subject by Captain Campbell with the Viceroy of India in July, August, and September 1883, and with the Secretary of State for India, dated July and August 1882, February, July, August, September, November, and December 1883?

MR. J. K. CROSS: On the 8th of June, 1882, the Government of Madras informed the Secretary of State that Captain Campbell had entirely failed to substantiate the charges which he had made. In this opinion the Secretary of State, after full consideration of the Papers, entirely concurred, and informed Captain Campbell that he declined to receive any further communication from him on the subject, except through the Government of Madras. Under these circumstances, I must decline to lay upon the Table the Correspondence in question.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND)—THE RATE COLLECTOR OF THE BLACKROCK TOWNSHIP COMMISSION.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will lay upon the Table Copy of the Report or Reports of the Local Government Board Auditor on the accounts of the Commissioners of Blackrock Township, dealing with the defalcations of their rate collector, Mr. J. D. Elliott? The hon. Member further asked whether the Local Government Board had yet resolved upon any course with regard to the future of Mr. Elliott?

MR. TREVELYAN: I learn from the Local Government Board that there are no Reports from their Auditor dealing with defalcations of Mr. Elliott; but that in the last Report of the Auditor, dated 25th February, attention was directed to the large amount of rates which appeared to be uncollected; and there is no objection to lay this Report on the Table if desired. With regard to the latter aspect of the Question, I have not yet heard of the state of the inquiry which was to have been instituted by the Blackrock Town Commissioners, or whether it resulted in any decision. I will not, however, lose sight of the matter.

MR. GRAY asked whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that, besides being an officer of the Blackrock Town Commissioners, this Mr. Elliott was also an officer of the Local Government Board, of which the right hon. Gentleman was President?

MR. TREVELYAN said, the Government were in full possession of the facts, and the point raised by the hon. Member had not escaped his notice.

COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS—CAPTAIN HON. C. F. CROFTON.

Mr. DAWSON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he is aware that Captain the Hon. C. F. Crofton has been nominated for a place on the Irish Lights Board; whether Captain Crofton holds the position of Harbour Master of Kingstown under the Board of Works; and, whether, being a Government Officer, he is eligible to be a Commissioner of Irish Lights?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I was not aware of the nomination referred to, as the Commissioners are not required to inform, and never do inform, the Board of Trade of the nomination or election of members of their body; and I do not know the position of the gentleman named in the Question; but, so far as I am aware, there is nothing in the fact of Captain Crofton holding a Government appointment to make him ineligible as a Commissioner of Irish Lights.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE CONSTABULARY AT ARMAGH.

Mr. LEAHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in addition to six promotions made by Mr. Garrett, County Inspector of Armagh, to the ranks of sergeant and acting-sergeant, whereof five were of Protestants and only one of a Catholic, as already stated in an answer of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, although the Catholics formed 59 per cent of the county force, the same inspector has since made six further promotions to the same ranks in the same county, whereof all were of Protestants, making altogether eleven promotions of Protestants and one of a Catholic, whilst Mr. Garrett had charge of the County Armagh Constabulary; whether Mr. Garrett was accustomed to place a number of Catholics at the bottom of his promotion list, so that if questioned on their exclusion from promotion, he could point to their occupying a low place on his list, whilst the upper places were all occupied by Protestants; and, whether he will inquire into these complaints?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I find that there have been in the County of Armagh since the date of the former Question to which the hon. Member refers three promotions from the rank of acting-sergeant to that of sergeant. Promotions in this grade are, by the regulations of the Constabulary Force, made according to seniority, if the men are qualified. The three senior men were Protestants. As they were qualified, they were promoted. There have also been three constables promoted to be acting sergeants. These men also were Protestants. Two of them were the senior men of the rank, recommended by the District Inspectors. There was, therefore, only one promotion made out of the strict line of seniority. Mr. Garrett is not now County Inspector of Armagh, and the Notice given of this Question did not allow time for communication with him; but the Inspector General states that no doubt he considered the constable, who had upwards of 11 years' service, specially qualified for promotion. The Inspector General states that an inspection of Mr. Garrett's promotion lists shows that it is not the case that he was accustomed to place Roman Catholics in low places.

MALTA—MILITARY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT—THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he can state what portion of the civil duties of the Governor of Malta will in future be performed by the Lieut.-Governor; or what are to be the new powers and responsibilities in consideration of which the title of Colonial Secretary is to be altered to that of Lieut.-Governor, and the salary of the office largely increased?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: The Governor is in future only to receive £3,000 a-year, instead of £5,000, from the Revenues of Malta. Out of the saving of £2,000 a-year an addition is to be made to the salary of the Chief Secretary, who will be also called Lieutenant Governor, and his *status* thereby raised. The Governor will continue to be the head of the Administration; but it has been thought expedient that the chief permanent civil officer under the Governor should occupy a position of higher influence and consideration than hitherto, with greater authority in matters of administrative detail. It is proposed that on ordinary occasions he should preside instead of the Governor in the

Council of Government, which is the Legislative Body. The matter has been considered with the new Governor, and has his concurrence, and its announcement has been very favourably received in the Island.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: If the Lieutenant Governor is hereafter to preside in the Council, who is to be responsible for the introduction and defence of Government measures?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he did not know. The right hon. Gentleman should give Notice of the Question.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government are in possession of any despatches or telegrams from General Gordon to the Government at home, or to Sir E. Baring, other than those already laid before Parliament; if so, why they are not included in the Papers now laid upon the Table, and whether they will be at once presented; if not, whether they will at once procure from Sir E. Baring any such despatches or telegrams as may have been sent by General Gordon to Sir E. Baring, and lay them upon the Table without delay?

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will lay upon the Table of the House the full text of General Gordon's Despatch to Sir Evelyn Baring, dated April 8th, and referred to in Sir Evelyn Baring's Despatch of April 18th (No. 24, p. 12), in which he says, "Gordon evidently thinks he is to be abandoned and is very indignant;" and, the full text of General Gordon's telegram to Sir Samuel Baker referred to in No. 25?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There are no despatches and telegrams from General Gordon to the Government at home, except those announcing his arrival in Egypt. All his despatches and telegrams to Sir Evelyn Baring are laid on the Table, with the following exception:—(1) Those which had been transmitted by Sir Evelyn Baring since March 25. These will be laid before Parliament in due course. As special interest attaches to the telegram referred to in Sir Evelyn Baring's telegram of April 18, mentioned in the Question asked by the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), that telegram has been laid to-day, together with the telegram of April 18, from Sir Evelyn Baring, which has been accidentally omitted. The other exceptions are (2) some telegrams relating to the alleged intention of General Gordon to visit the Mahdi himself. These also have been laid to-day. The third exception relates to information of a confidential character, which, it is believed, would, if published, be a source of military danger to General Gordon, or to other important public interests of an international character, and which it is, therefore, not intended to lay before Parliament. Inquiry has been made of Sir Evelyn Baring, and he has informed the Government that he has sent home all the telegrams and despatches received from General Gordon.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: How soon will the telegrams be delivered?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I hope they will be in the hands of hon. Members on Monday morning.

MR. BOURKE: Are we to understand that all the telegrams alluded to as having been received since the 25th of March will be laid on the Table, or have they been laid to-day?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No. Those will be laid in continuation of the Blue Book in the ordinary course; but I shall make every effort to avoid delay.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Why cannot we have all the telegrams by Monday morning?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That is actually impossible; I cannot promise them.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Can the noble Lord state the latest date within the knowledge of the Government on which a communication from the Government reached General Gordon?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not think that point arises out of the Question upon the Paper.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether information has been received that messengers have been despatched to General Gordon, as suggested in Earl Granville's telegram to Mr. Egerton of 23rd April; and, whether, should access to the General be possible, he will be distinctly informed that, the undertaking of military expeditions being beyond the scope of the commission which he holds, and at variance with the policy which was the purpose of his mission to the Soudan, Her Majesty's Government not only declines to furnish him with Turkish troops for such expeditions, but forbids them, as well as any attempt on his part to "settle the Mahdi power," as suggested in his telegrams to Sir E. Baring and to Sir S. Baker of last month?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Messages in keeping with the terms of telegram, No. 36, in "Egypt, No. 13," have been sent to General Gordon from Dongola and Suakin by two separate messengers in each case. There is no Report yet from Massowah, from which it was also proposed to act.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I beg to ask the noble Lord whether it is not the fact that the instructions of Her Majesty's Government to General Gordon embrace not only the retirement of the garrisons from the Soudan, but also the establishment of alternative Governments there and the protection of the ancestral Sultans?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I think the hon. Member might satisfy himself with regard to a great many of his inquiries by turning to the Blue Books.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I have asked the noble Lord a very simple Question with regard to the instructions on which the whole action of General Gordon rests; and I now ask you, Mr. Speaker, as a point of Order, whether I am not entitled to ask the noble Lord for a more direct answer to a Question of that kind; and whether it is in accordance with the practice of the House that a Member should be referred vaguely to a large number of Blue Books.

Mr. SPEAKER: It rests entirely in the discretion of the Minister.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will state the reasons for which the Despatch of Sir Evelyn Baring, dated March 24th (No. 301), was not communicated to Parliament in the Ministerial Statements of April 4th, and especially the following passages:—

"General Gordon is evidently expecting help from Suakin, and he has ordered messengers to be sent along the road from Berber to ascertain whether an English Force is advancing;

"Under present circumstances I think an effort should be made to help General Gordon from Suakin;

"General Stephenson and Sir Evelyn Wood, while admitting the great risk, are of opinion that the undertaking is possible?"

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: This and the following Question of the hon. Member for Eye ask for reasons, and involve matter of argument. They are, therefore, opposed to the practice of the House, and I must decline to answer them.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I rise to Order. The noble Lord has indulged the House with a description of the position of these Questions as regards their right to be on the Paper. Now, Sir, they are on the Notice Paper by your authority; and I ask you whether the noble Lord is not bound to give some other answer?

Mr. SPEAKER: I understood the noble Lord, to reply to the Questions, to state that, in his opinion, they were of an argumentative character, and that he declined to answer them to the full extent to which they were put. In that proceeding the noble Lord is perfectly in Order.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: Does the noble Lord mean that the Questions are argumentative, or the answers the noble Lord might give? I looked at the Questions and thought they were very simple.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I am asked to state "the reasons" in one of the Questions, and the word "why" is used in the other. That involves matter of argument which is not customary at Question time; and I do not see how I can reply without going into greater length than would be proper in an answer.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: On that point of Order, I would call to your recollection, Sir, the fact that the noble Lord——

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that I have already settled the point of Order.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: Might I ask you, on the point of Order, whether, if a Member of this House asks a Member of the Government why some Papers are not produced, that can be considered an argumentative Question? If you will look at the Question you will see he asks merely why certain Papers are not presented.

Mr. SPEAKER: I did not understand the noble Lord to say that. I understood the noble Lord to say that the Question involved so much of argument that it was difficult to answer it within the limits of an answer to a Question. Acting on his own discretion, the noble Lord decided he could not answer the Question.

Mr. MACARTNEY: I would like to ask the noble Lord whether he considers that in the present state of intense interest and suspense with regard to the fate of General Gordon he thinks it proper, on the part of the Government, to take refuge in such a statement?

[No reply.]

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS TO THE MAHDI.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has seen in the French *Figaro*, or it has been brought otherwise to his knowledge, that a French journalist has been stopped at Dongola and prevented from proceeding to the residence of the Mahdi; and, whether it is to be understood that French gentlemen, accredited as special correspondents by French journals, are not allowed, in pursuit of their avocation, to travel in the Soudan beyond Dongola?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: It is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to enter into subjects referred to in my hon. Friend's Question, relating, as they do, to statements in foreign newspapers and the action of French subjects in Egypt.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF BERBER.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can state why Her Majesty's Ministers, in view of the urgent request of the Governor of Berber for military help, and of his statement that "if Berber falls there would be no more hope for the Soudan;" of Nubar Pasha's opinion that "two Egyptian battalions at Assouan should be sent on at once to Berber;" and, of the opinion of the British Generals that an Anglo-Egyptian Force could be sent to Berber, the British Government telegraphed to Hassem Khalifa, Governor of Berber, that no help could be given to him?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I replied just now to both Questions.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Am I in Order in asking the noble Lord whether he will kindly repeat the answer which he gave, for I failed to understand it? [*Cries of* "Order!"] Will he be so good as to inform the House why he declines to reply? [*Cries of* "No!"]

[No reply.]

PUBLIC HEALTH—BOROUGH OF LEICESTER—DRAINAGE OF NEIGHBOURING RURAL DISTRICTS.

Mr. A. M'ARTHUR asked the Secretary to the Local Government Board, Whether a communication was received from the Corporation of Leicester on the 4th March, to the effect that an adjoining rural district has practically no sewerage or drainage system, in consequence of which serious nuisance was being caused to the inhabitants of the borough of Leicester; and, whether the Board has taken any practical action; and, if not, whether there is likely to be further delay by the Board in the matter?

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL: We received a communication from the Town Council of Leicester to the effect stated, and we addressed a letter to the sanitary authority of the rural sanitary district referred to asking for their reply. Not receiving an answer from the sanitary authority, we wrote on the 15th of April pressing for a reply. We are still without an answer, and have again written to the authority requesting a reply without further delay.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—VOLUNTEERS.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, considering that all Inspecting Officers of Volunteers concur in the opinion that nothing contributes more to the efficiency of the Volunteer Force than their attendance at Volunteer camps, he will not sanction the attendance this season of all Volunteers who have applied to go into camp, without restriction as to numbers, and grant to them the full allowance as in previous years, and in accordance with the Volunteer Regulations, 1881, section 29, paragraph 913?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: It is stated in the Regulations for the

Volunteers that a portion of the Force will in each year be assisted to form regimental camps of exercise. The original intention was that each corps should be assisted to camp out once in three years. As at first only a portion of the Force made application, the corps applying were allowed to camp out year after year. But this year a very large number of applications to camp out have been received; and to keep the expense within the grant it has been necessary to place a limit on the number. Accordingly, instead of excluding entire corps, as would have been the case under the original intention, the number of permissions granted has been limited to 80 per cent of the numbers of the corps applying.

Mr. TOMLINSON asked whether, since the arrangement described, some corps had not sent in an intimation that they could not go into camp with the reduced allowance?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he could not without Notice give a full answer to the Question. He believed some intimations to the effect stated by the hon. Member had been received.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER asked whether, considering the great importance of camp training to Volunteers, the Government could not introduce a Supplementary Vote, so that all Volunteers who applied might be enabled to go into camp?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, that was a question which could more properly be discussed on the Estimates.

PARLIAMENT — RULES AND ORDERS OF THE HOUSE—KEEPING A HOUSE —MORNING SITTINGS.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in proposing to take Morning Sittings at this early date, he will undertake to secure the opportunity for honourable Members having the first place on the Notice Paper for those days to bring on such Notice by keeping a House for them?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think the hon. Gentleman put this Question under a misapprehension as to the power of the Government in the matter. I have no hesitation in saying, on the authority of my noble Friend (Lord Richard Grosvenor) and from my own experience, that if we were to undertake to keep a House for hearing the Motions of Members, which hon. Gentlemen are not willing to come down and listen to, we could not do it. What I would say is this—that if there be a case in which general interest is felt, I have no doubt a House would be kept; but if hon. Members should accidentally fail to secure a House, then, in the event of our obtaining a larger share of the time of the House than we require, the matter could be brought before the attention of the House.

EGYPT—THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE.

Mr. BOURKE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government will lay upon the Table the copy of the invitation to a Conference upon Egyptian affairs sent to the Powers, and the Replies thereto?

Mr. GLADSTONE: If the right hon. Gentleman desires to have the document of invitation in the hands of the House, the Government would undertake to produce it. With regard to the answers, I consider the Question to be premature. They have not even yet been all received.

Mr. BOURKE: Will the right hon. Gentleman say that the same course will be taken as in the case of the Conference at Berlin? That is to say, the answers and the invitations were laid before Parliament at the time the communication was made that the Conference would take place.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I must defer my reply to that Question until the answers have all been received. I am surprised that the right hon. Gentleman should put such a Question before the answers have been received. He must know that it is not the custom to give undertakings to produce Papers that are not yet in the possession of the Government. The case of the Berlin Conference was in no sense a parallel one to this, because we are not going to ask the House for a large Vote of Money to support our action at the Conference which is to take place.

Mr. BOURKE: In consequence of the answer of the Prime Minister, I beg to give Notice that, if I have the opportunity, I will call attention to the matter on going into Committee of Supply.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, consistently with the public interests, he can give the House an assurance that the Representative of Her Majesty's Government at the contemplated Conference will give no pledge, and enter into no covenant, which either will involve, or which may involve, the taxpayers of this Country in any expenditure or responsibility in connection with Egyptian finance?

Mr. GLADSTONE: My hon. Friend will see that I cannot give an engagement of this kind. If we were to undertake that nothing should be done by us in Conference on one particular subject, other gentlemen, according to their opinions, would rise and inquire whether we could give similar engagements in regard to other matters in which they take an interest. The subject which my hon. Friend has mentioned is one of great importance; and I think he may rely upon it that we shall exercise due caution, and have due regard to what we know to be the feeling of the House.

PUBLIC HEALTH—DWELLINGS OF THE POOR—CLERKENWELL.

Mr. FIRTH asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the proceedings of the Clerkenwell Vestry, as reported in *The Islington Gazette* of April 29th, and to the statement of the Chairman of the Sanitary Committee that, in that parish, there were houses of the poor which were a disgrace to civilisation, and that the places reported by the medical officer as clean were putrid and black; whether such statement was true; whether it is true, as stated, that the sanitary inspectors have neglected their duty; whether the Vestry declined to accept the recommendations of the Sanitary Committee; and, what he proposes to do in the matter?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I have no official knowledge of the facts reported, but believe that the report is accurate. I was already aware that the Sanitary Committee by a majority, and their Chairman, hold the view which I formed myself in November and December last on repeated inspection of the parish. The Vestry have, on former occasions, declined by a majority to accept various recommendations of the Sanitary Committee. On the recent occasion they appear to have adjourned the question. I have no power over the Vestry; but, as Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, I called the attention of my Colleagues to the matter, and the Chairman of the Sanitary Committee has been examined by the Commission.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked what would be the arrangement of Business for next week?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, they hoped to take the Army Estimates on Monday, and the Navy Estimates on Thursday.

Mr. E. STANHOPE asked what had become of the Merchant Shipping Bill?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have not understood that the Merchant Shipping Bill has foundered, or suffered any other particular accident, since the answer of my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade upon the subject, which was to the effect that, as soon as the exigencies of Supply—in which, of course, Ways and Means must be understood—had been satisfied, a day would be named for proceeding further with the Bill.

Mr. SEXTON asked when the Committee on the Representation of the People Bill would be resumed?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, if the House agreed with the Motion he was about to make, he proposed to resume it at the Morning Sitting on Tuesday next.

Lord JOHN MANNERS said, the Prime Minister's answer was inconsistent with that given by the President of the Board of Trade, who had said that he proposed to proceed with the Merchant Shipping Bill as soon as the Speaker had been moved out of the Chair on the Franchise Bill, subject only to the exigencies of Supply. Were they to understand that the statement of the President of the Board of Trade was set aside by the new proposal of the Prime Minister?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the President of the Board of Trade had spoken in regard to the disposal of the time which was actually at the command of the Government, and his answer was exactly with reference to that time. But since their viewing carefully the state of Public Business, the Government felt obliged to make an additional demand, Consequently, the Merchant Shipping Bill did not enter in the same manner into the subject.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked after what hour the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill would not be taken?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We have put aside effective Supply for the sake of this Bill; and undoubtedly we shall go on with the consideration of the measure if we have a chance before half-past 12.

MOTION.

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PARLIAMENT — SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—MORNING SITTINGS.

Mr. GLADSTONE, in rising to move, "That until the end of June this House will meet on Tuesdays and Fridays at 2 o'clock," said: When my hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) gave Notice of his Amendment on this subject, I heard it without dissatisfaction, because I quite admit that when demands for Morning Sittings become frequent, it is not satisfactory that the Question of "Aye" or "No" upon them should be decided by a conversational and irregular debate, incomplete and incoherent, arising, perhaps, at 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning; and therefore we considered our course, and examined what the precedents had been on former occasions. Certainly I am making a concession to my hon. Friend, though it is a concession I do not grudge, because in no former year has any Motion of this kind been made since the original Motion made by Mr. Disraeli in 1867. But this year, in consequence of the pressure of Public Business, the necessity of asking for Morning Sittings has become unusually strong; and therefore it is quite fair that we should ask the House to consider the question more as a whole, and with more than usual deliberation. I at once admit that I am asking for Morning Sittings—not, indeed, for the entire Session, or with the possibility of their lasting the entire Session—at a somewhat earlier period than has been usual in former years. Mr. Disraeli made his proposal in 1867, I think, on the 27th May. I am making the same request upon the 2nd of May. Mr. Disraeli then asked for Morning Sittings until the end of June. His reason for the limitation was that his plan was an experiment. It was an experiment which I, for one, approved and supported; when he made a renewed demand I thought it a good plan; and, on the whole, I believe it has served materially to enable the House to face the constantly-increasing demand on its time and patience. I do not call it a perfect plan, and I know that it may be considered anomalous and inconvenient, having regard to the work that has to be done by private Committees; but still it is a plan that, upon the whole, has produced a very great balance of good. As we are making a demand which I admit to be, to some limited extent, in excess of former demands, I think it is fair that I should point out to the House what I conceive to be the changes in the course and state of Business that have made this demand a necessity, for I do not hesitate to say that it is a consideration of public necessity, and nothing else, that has led us to make it. The House knows that, with regard to Monday and Thursday evenings, we already have ample demands upon them before us. Even if it were only the demands of Supply and Ways and Means that had to be met there would be very little time to spare between this and Whitsuntide. But we have got on our hands a Franchise Bill of the greatest importance—a Bill with regard to which no one, I think, will deny that it is desirable to carry it to a speedy issue, and with regard to which it is perfectly plain that, if it is to be dealt with in detail, there is no chance of carrying it forward except at Morning Sittings. It was for this very purpose, in a time of far less pressure, that Mr. Disraeli made his request in 1867 for Morning Sittings; and it was in the Morning Sittings of that year that the Franchise Bill was, if not wholly, yet mainly and substantially disposed of. I do not recollect if there was at that time any other Bill of great importance before the House; but we have many Bills of importance before the House—Bills either already produced, or about to be produced. There is, for example, the London Government Bill. That measure, affecting 4,000,000 of population in this Metropolis, must be felt to be a measure of first-class importance. In other years, and in times of less pressure, we have been able to pass not only one, but two or three measures of first-class public importance in one Session of Parliament. In 1870 we passed the Irish Land Bill, the Education Bill, and the Ballot Bill; and all those were measures requiring most minute attention in Committee. We have thought it our duty to do the best we can. We should be delighted if such were the assistance given to us by the House that we could this Session also pass three great measures—the Franchise Bill, the London Government Bill, and the Local Government Bill. To give the great measure introduced by the Home Secretary a fair chance, it is absolutely necessary to ask for a larger share of the time of the House. I will not dwell greatly upon the Cattle Diseases Bill, which we have likewise in view, because that will not now make any large further demand upon our time. It is a matter of interest to look back and to consider what have been the changes as regards the position of the Government and its command of public time that have taken place in recent years. Looking back, I find two points in which the Government have gained time. One of them is of recent date and the other of long standing. The one of long standing is with respect to the time to which the House now ordinarily extends its application to the principal subject of the evening. The House, for the most part, in the absence of disturbing circumstances which sometimes arise, now usually continues the principal subject of the evening until towards 1 o'clock. The Government have certainly somewhat gained in that, because for the best part of the 50 years since I entered Parliament, the late Mr. Brotherton, the Member for Salford, was accustomed to rise shortly after 12 and insist on moving the Adjournment of the House, and by his pertinacity, or rather consistency, he acquired a power in that respect. All that was overturned by the hardihood of Lord Palmerston, because he was always ready to sit to any hour in the morning; and he succeeded in effecting an extension of time. There is one other change made by the House which has been of important value to the Government—I mean the change with regard to the power of going into Supply on all except certain nights—namely, Mondays and Thursdays. That was an important change. I do not disguise the benefit of it, nor do I wish to understate it. But what are the other changes which have taken place within the last 30 years? I will state them very shortly. In the first place, there is the practice of Questions. I am not going to speak of questioning as distinct from the abuse of questioning. Without any disrespect, questioning as distinct from catechizing, which is threatening to take its place, has become really a necessary and essential part in the conduct of Public Business; but do not let us disguise from ourselves the position. The House will bear me out when I say that on Mondays and Thursdays, which are Government nights, Questions occupy one hour on the average, and frequently go on for an hour and a-half or two hours. Even take them at only one hour, that, in itself, is a sheer destruction of one-seventh or one-eighth of the time at the disposal of the Government. That is a very serious matter. Then, again, last year and this year certain Members have been pleased to devote a period of three weeks or so in the discussions of matters connected with the Address; and I know of no more fatal example for the future of this country—that future in which almost every man who hears me has a far greater interest than I—I know no more fatal example than the course adopted in that respect in the last two years. Three weeks taken from the Session means another ninth part cut off from the time available for real Business; and that produces a confusion in the proceedings of the House from which it is almost impossible to obtain a subsequent extrication. There is another subject connected with the Rules of Procedure of the House to which I cannot help referring. I have already stated that the Rule with regard to Mondays and Thursdays has been very successful, and has, undoubtedly, increased the responsibility of the Government by giving increased means of putting forward Supply; but the Rule with regard to the Adjournment of the House at Question time has, thus far, been a perfect failure. It was not so at first, so, perhaps, it seems inconsistent to speak so; but I should say that it has been increasingly a failure. During last Session, according to a Return I hold in my hand, the Adjournment of the House was moved five times, and the requisite number of 40 Members was always to be found. We have not now nearly completed one-half of the present Session, and the Adjournment has already been moved six times; and, therefore, as regards that formidable instrument of invasion of public time, a great deduction has to be made from the time at the disposal of the Government for bringing forward Public Business. I am now going to refer to another very serious change, not to be lamented, because it grows out of arrangements good in themselves; but at the same time it is well, I think, that the House should have the exact state of the case before it. That change is the very great increase in the time which the House is now required to devote to Committee of Supply. That is due in some respects, no doubt, to the increase in our expenditure, and I wish our available time could increase as much as our expenditure does. Unfortunately, it is not so. But it is not due alone to the increase in expenditure; it is likewise due to the method now adopted of dealing with Supplemental Estimates for the purpose of closing the account on the 31st of March. I hold in my hand a Return comparing the first 10 or 12 years, immediately after the Reform Bill, with the last 10 or 12 years, taking in each case the nights on which discussion took place, whether it occupied the whole night or not. In the 11 years from 1833 to 1843 the maximum number of nights spent in Supply was 13, while the minimum number was seven, the average being 10. Well, I now take the last 10 years, and I divide them into two fives; and in the years 1875-9, when the late Government were in power, the average of nights spent in Supply, instead of being 10, was 22. Nor has that diminished during the last four years the present Government have been in power; but the 22 has risen to 24. This is a very great increase in the demand upon the House in connection with that portion of Public Business which the Government is compelled to bring forward. But there is another very important change to which I must call the attention of the House, than which I do not know of any change more adverse to the progress of Public Business. I admit that the old system dealt somewhat ruthlessly with the rights of private Members, and for that reason we do not propose to revive it; but we propose, in lieu of that, to resort to this method of Morning Sittings. The old system was this—that whenever great questions were raised requiring more than one night's debate, such debates were carried on *de die in diem*, and the difference produced thereby was enormous. For instance, last year, or the year before, we thought it our duty to propose a Resolution in support of the Irish Land Act, and that Resolution was opposed. Four nights only were required for the debate, and yet one fortnight of the Session passed over before the Motion was agreed to. That is only an illustration, and I know what the answer of hon. Gentlemen opposite will be. It will be said that it should never have been proposed. But that is not to the purpose. The same Gentlemen who would say that would also say that in 1831, when Lord Ebrington proposed a Motion in this House with regard to a vote in another House, that it ought never to have been brought forward. But, nevertheless, it was passed by a large majority in one night. Sir, some hon. Member said the other night that there had been eight nights' debate upon the Reform Bill of 1859. But there was also a great political question mixed up with that Reform Bill. The debate upon that Bill was really a debate upon a Vote of Confidence as well as upon a Reform Bill, and the debate lasted upon the second reading for seven nights, and not for eight nights; but those nights were consecutive nights, with the exception that, of course, Wednesdays were not included. Now, Sir, this is an enormous change; and it is a change of which we feel the consequence in such a way that we are hardly able to cope with it. These, then, are the details with which we consider it necessary to trouble the House in order to exhibit the altered position in which the Government now stand, and to show how it has lost greatly the command of the time which the House was formerly pleased to place at its disposal. It is on that ground that we feel it necessary to make the request which is embodied in the Motion I have put upon the Paper; and I say the grounds of the Motion are grave and serious, and I hope the House will acknowledge that fact by agreeing to the Motion by a very large majority.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, until the end of June, this House will meet on Tuesdays and Fridays at Two o'clock."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, in moving, as an Amendment—

"That, previous to the 1st of June in each year, no Morning Sitting on Tuesday or Friday shall be taken except by Resolution of the House, moved, after Notice in each case, at Half-past Four,"

said, the right hon. Gentleman defended his Motion, which he admitted was of a very unusual character, on two private grounds—namely, first, the general opportunities of the Government for carrying on their Business; and, secondly, the particular position of the present Session. As regarded the first ground, he was prepared to admit that the difficulties of the Government had in many respects increased; but the right hon. Gentleman had said that the practice of putting Questions had enormously increased, and was a serious tax on the time of the House. He admitted that the number of Questions had increased, and that the power of putting them had been to a certain extent abused; but he must point out to the House two mitigating circumstances. In the first place, the very much curtailed power of private Members to bring on subjects on Supply necessarily drove them to discuss matters of interest at Question time; and even if private Members had abused the system of putting Questions, he did not think the Members of the Government always consulted economy of time in the House, either by the conciliatory character of their replies, or by the brevity of the language in which they were given. The Prime Minister referred to what he termed the failure of the Rule regarding Motions for the Adjournment of the House, and said that many more Motions for the Adjournment failed last year than this. But this only proved that Members did not now risk moving the Adjournment of the House unless they were sure that 40 Members would support them. The right hon. Gentleman mainly based his case on the precedent afforded by the fact that Mr. Disraeli, on the 27th of May, 1867, made a Motion that the House should meet on Tuesdays and Fridays until the end of June. But there were two wide differences between that case and this. In the first place, Mr. Disraeli's Motion was made on the 27th of May, whereas this was being made on the 2nd. And, in the second place, Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill was of a very different character from that now before the House. By bringing in a Reform Bill which did not deal with redistribution, the whole burden of the task was being relegated to another year. The present Reform Bill was a very simple Bill; the Government had simplified it by omitting several matters with which it ought to deal; and he apprehended that in Committee it would not be found that there was much room for discussion. The Prime Minister said that unless this Motion were carried the Government could not find time for the London Bill. He did not know before this that the Government ever had any serious intention of passing that Bill this Session. He had been under the impression that the function of the London Bill was at an end now that the Home Secretary had been allowed to make the speech which for three years he had carried about in his pocket. The Prime Minister had treated the whole subject from the point of view of Government Business. He appeared to think that it was the essential Business of the House to carry Government measures, and that the House existed for no other purpose than to carry the Bills that the Government proposed. But the House had many other important functions, such as ventilating, by means of Motions, subjects of public interest, and it was the power of performing those functions that would be curtailed by this Motion. Whatever might be said of Government facilities having diminished, they had not diminished in so great a ratio as those of private Members. The power of private Members to call attention to matters on the Motion to go into Committee of Supply was much diminished by the new Standing Order. If this Motion were carried private Members would have no opportunity during the remainder of the Session—for they all knew what the 30th of June meant—of calling attention to any subject which they had in hand except at 9 o'clock in the evening. A more wasteful arrangement of public time, from the point of view both of the Government and of private Members, could not be conceived. The Government subjected themselves to talk-outs, and the convenience of private Members was equally neglected. The Prime Minister said that if the Motion on the Paper was of public interest 40 Members could always be obtained to make a quorum. But even Government measures would be talked out at 9 o'clock after a Morning Sitting were it not for the pressure of the Whips. He agreed that the Government could not, and ought not, to undertake to keep a House; but he maintained that these Evening Sittings commencing at 9 o'clock ought not to take place at all. It was all very well for the Government to state that there were special circumstances that necessitated this Motion. But in future years the precedent would be remembered and the circumstances forgotten, and the Government would come down to make a similar Motion to this on the 1st of May, relying on this precedent. He begged to move the Amendment which he had placed on the Paper.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out all the words after the word "That," in order to add the words "previous to the first of June in each year, no Morning Sitting on Tuesday or Friday shall be taken except by Resolution of the House moved, after Notice in each case, at Half-past Four,"—(*Mr. Arthur Balfour,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he hoped the Motion would be agreed to, and did not think it could be used as a precedent against private Members, unless in the very justifiable case in which the Government was engaged with a Bill for Parliamentary Reform. At the same time, he trusted that the Government would afford facilities for the consideration of the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon) dealing with the practice of putting Questions to Ministers. He would only add that he hoped the Government would not take the Cattle Diseases Bill after half-past 12.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, there was another important question which the House should not forget in considering this matter—the question of Grand Committees. He maintained that it was not fair to hon. Members to have Grand Committees sitting when Morning Sittings were being held on Tuesdays and Fridays during the remainder of the Session, because that was what the Motion of the Prime Minister really amounted to. The pressure of work on Members was so heavy at present that to ask them to undertake the work of Grand Committees, in addition to their other work, was to ask them to do more than they were able to bear. He should, therefore, support the Amendment.

Mr. HENEAGE said, that, although the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) and other hon. Members interested in the Motion in favour of marriage with a deceased wife's sister were much disappointed at losing part of Tuesday night, they had decided to vote for the proposal of the Government; but they considered that in doing so they would on Tuesday have a great claim on the Government not only to make a House at 9 o'clock, but to assist in obtaining the judgment of the House on that Motion even at a late hour.

Mr. PELL said, his experience as a working Member of the House for 16 years led him to the conclusion that Business would not be much advanced if the proposal of the Prime Minister were accepted. It was a merciless proposal. He had been sorely tempted to take notice of the matter in a way which would interfere with the progress of Business; but though he should not do so, he thought that private Members could not do better than lay to mind the indifference which was shown to their interests by the present Government. No reference had been made by the right hon. Gentleman to the work being done by hon. Members in the various Committees now sitting. In the event of this Motion being acceded to, he would ask how it was possible for hon. Members to devote the necessary time to the consideration of the important matters before the Committees if their attention was to be diverted by the Business going on in the House itself? He did not think the Government had done what was requisite to recommend such a proposal as this to Members sitting on the Opposition side. When a private Member had had the good fortune to obtain a night for the discussion of an important subject, and when the Motion brought forward had been carried, the decision of the House was treated by the Prime Minister with indifference, and no further notice was taken of it. Many right hon. Gentlemen opposite, some of them belonging to the Cabinet, had won their spurs and made their mark simply by means of the opportunities afforded to private Members. He would therefore appeal to the Government not to deprive private Members of those rights, or of the opportunity of doing their duty by their constituents. He would support the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, the speech of the Prime Minister was a suggestive comment on the new Rules. The House spent a great deal of time—had, in fact, a Winter Session to adopt a fresh mode of transacting Public Business, which the Government promised would remove all their difficulties, and send the legislative machine smoothly ahead. This Code of Procedure had been in operation nearly two years, and they now had the Leader of the House and the main author of the Rules confessing that Government experienced as great difficulty as they ever did in making progress with their work. He did not say that this showed that all the Rules were faulty; but it did show that it was unwise to attach too much importance to the best devised regulations. The Prime Minister complained of the number of Questions. He admitted the value of the privilege of questioning Ministers; but he thought it was abused. He (Mr. Joseph Cowen) quite agreed with him. It was abused at times, but there were reasons for it. First, the Government had taken away from private Members the right of raising discussions on going into Committee of Supply, and this led to a multiplication of Questions. This was one reason. The second reason was that Ireland was under a state of siege. The people of that portion of the United Kingdom were denied their Constitutional rights, and they had no means of getting redress but by fetching their grievances before Parliament through the instrumentality of Questions. The Prime Minister had quoted a number of figures to show that the time at the disposal of the Ministry was not as great as it formerly was. They could make figures bear almost any meaning, and the figures that had been quoted only showed one side of the question. It was a fact, as the history of Parliament attested, that the privileges of private Members had been steadily decreasing for years. A quarter of a century ago the time of the House was divided between the private Members and the Ministry, the former having the larger share. Ten years ago this division was kept up. Now, however, the private Members had not one-third of the time of the House. Indeed, two Sessions ago they had not one-fourth, and every year there were encroachments. One time they took a day, then two days, then a week. These demands were made on the ground of exceptional circumstances; but a demand having once been acquiesced in was used as a precedent the year after, the exceptional circumstances under which it was granted being forgotten. Hon. Members on his side of the House used to be the special champions of the rights of independent Members. They had ceased to be that now. These encroachments, insidious, gradual, and persistent, on the privileges of private Members, would in time shut them off entirely, and make them almost as extinct as the Dodo. His hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) and others were unceasing in their watchfulness over those rights when they sat on the other side of the House. The late Government never asked for the slightest concession that was not resisted. The present Government never asked for any concession, however extravagant, that was not granted. His hon. Friends and other private patriots sat there, in the face of these encroachments, mute and motionless. That might be all well enough at present; but the day would come when the position of Parties would be reversed. The whirligig of time would take the Liberals to the other side and bring the Conservatives there. And where would Liberal independent Members be then? They would have applied to them the restrictions that they had been instrumental in framing during the tenure of Office of their Leaders. This was no small matter; and when the pinch came they would admit it, although they looked at it so indifferently now. He knew the answer his Friends would give. They would contend that the legislation of the Government met their approval; and, therefore, they were prepared to adjust the Rules of the House to help it forward. But the Rules, once broken or relaxed, might be used for objects that would not meet with Liberal approval at other times. Complaint was made that the Liberal Members did not utilize the time they had. There was some truth in the statement. The frequent Counts out which took place, perhaps, justified the accusation. But there was an explanation for that. Personal and local questions had an equal chance in the ballot with national questions; and it often happened that these local questions, of limited interest, got the first place, and the general body of Members would not attend to make a House for their discussion. This explained some of the Counts out. He did not think the evil would ever be cured until the House decided, as the Prime Minister had often suggested it should do, upon some plan of selecting its Business. There was another reason why there was less interest in these discussions than there formerly was. The Liberals had got more faith in the Government than they once had. They were more official than they used to be. They trusted too much, in his judgment, to the making of new laws, and to the augmentation of the power of the Executive. The narrower they defined the sphere of Government the greater scope there was for personal exertion and individual enterprize. They made too many laws. ["No, no!"] He admitted that in the present complicated and complex state of society they must have laws adapted to the circumstances; but there was reason in everything, and they overdid the law-making. They had better strive to create a condition of mind that would render fewer laws necessary. Not one-tenth of the Bills that had been passed in that House in recent years had had any effect, and some of them had had an injurious effect. He had no sympathy with this constant running after legislative restraints. There never was any trouble but they flew to the Government to remedy it. The time would come when they would ask for a law to cure the toothache. This unnatural and excessive demand for new legislation led Liberals to encourage the Government in making fresh laws—whether good, bad, or indifferent. And their policy was their Party, right or wrong. His policy was with the Government when it was right, against the Government when it was wrong. The craving after legislation and the obsequious obedience to Party Leaders was one of the reasons why the rights of independent Members had been entrenched upon, and with such impunity. He was willing to give the Government any reasonable facilities for advancing the Franchise Bill; but he thought that, instead of taking two half-days, it would have been better to take one whole day. It would have saved the chance of having their Business talked out. But if they insisted on having the two half-days, they should, at least, give some guarantee that at the Night Sitting a House should be made.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS said, he trusted the House would not agree to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman. In his (Baron Henry De Worms's) opinion, the rights of private Members were being curtailed in a most dangerous manner. The speech of the Prime Minister had been most ingeniously framed with the view of lending colour to the statements with regard to Obstruction that had been circulated throughout the country with the object of damaging the Conservative Party. The right hon. Gentleman had said that there had been a great increase this Session in the number of Motions for the Adjournment of the House; but those Motions had been made in accordance with the new Rules, and they merely showed that there had been greater cause this Session for making such Motions, owing to the impossibility of obtaining from the Government any clear disclosure of their Egyptian policy. The Prime Minister had also laid considerable stress upon the time occupied by Questions; but if Tuesdays and Fridays were taken from private Members the time occupied in asking Questions from a reticent Government who only returned evasive answers to Questions put to them must necessarily increase. Unless private Members were to take some part in the proceedings of that House he did not see the use of their constituencies sending them there. Little by little the time at the disposal of private Members had been whittled away; and he, for one, must enter his protest against this plan for securing a Liberal autocracy.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, that the question now before the House excited much interest throughout the whole country, great dissatisfaction being felt at the inefficiency of the labours of the House, and at the waste of time and power that nightly took place there. He gave his firm and cordial support to this proposal of Her Majesty's Government, and ventured to express his regret that, instead of being limited to two months, their demand for Tuesday and Friday mornings was not extended to the whole of the Session. Legislation by private Members was a thing of the past, and in the future all legislation must be effected by the Government of the day. He had heard with regret the Prime Minister remark that no more time ought to be occupied in the discussion of the Estimates.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member for Wolverhampton has misunderstood me. My observation was to the contrary effect.

MR. H. H. FOWLER remarked that he was glad to be corrected by the right hon. Gentleman, because he thought that far more time should be devoted to the consideration of the Estimates. In his opinion, there was no ground for complaining of over-legislation. With reference to making a House on Tuesday nights, there never would be any difficulty in regard to matters in which the House felt any real interest. There would be no difficulty in making a House next Tuesday night; but the country was tired of debates on subjects in which nobody felt the slightest interest, and the country did complain that this gigantic legislative machine should be used for waste instead of for the public advantage.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he wished to point out that the reason there was such delay in the progress of Public Business was because, under the present Rules, they gave up some 16 hours each week that might be devoted to Public Business. The evidence of the late Speaker and Sir Thomas Erskine May before the Committee of 1878 showed that, instead of Public Business being advanced, it was considerably delayed by the introduction of the half-past 12 o'clock Rule. On Wednesdays also Public Business was stopped at a quarter to 6 o'clock, and the result was that if an objection was raised to the third Order on that day hon. Members discussed the two first Orders—though possibly of no interest or importance—until the hour for closing, and by that means the whole day was wasted. The same thing frequently occurred at Morning Sittings, and his belief was that the real cause of the delay of Public Business was because upon every day in the week they had an hour for closing, which was made worse on Morning Sittings, from the fact that they had two hours for closing—one at 7 and the other at half-past 12 o'clock. If the half-past 12 Rule were abolished, and after the interval at a Morning Sitting the Speaker was permitted to call upon an hon. Member to resume the debate which had been suspended, he believed that Public Business would be as expeditiously got through, as was the case in the days of Lord Palmerston, when the Rules were different. He, therefore, could not support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford, because he could not find it in his heart to recognize that Public Business could be properly conducted until hours of closing were done away with on every day in the week.

MR. BRYCE said, he felt so strongly the value of the rights of private Members, and the services which might be rendered by the discussions of their Bills, that he should vote for the Amendment if he thought it would seriously damage those rights. But the fact was that under the present system of procedure, and especially through the operation of the Half-past 12 o'clock Rule, a private Member could do little good; because if he had a Motion which came out second or third on the ballot, with some unimportant Motion preceding it, the House was sure to be counted out before his Motion was reached, while no Bill could get beyond the second reading if it incurred the hostility of even a single Member. Now, the Business of Parliament was conducted more by chance than anything else, and matters would not be better until they substituted a system of choice for that of chance. No real advance in the mode of doing Business would be made until they left it to a Committee or to the House itself, instead of to the ballot, to decide the questions which should be brought on. It was clear that before long they must have a complete revision of their arrangements. He admitted that the New Rules of Procedure framed 18 months ago had broken down. They might as well not have been framed at all. Three reforms were now urgently called for—an effective system of closure, a limitation of the length of speeches, and some means of determining with regard to their comparative importance the topics which private Members might bring before the House.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he thought that some effort should be made to utilize the time now wasted between 4 and half-past on days when there was little or no Private Business. It was a matter of grave doubt whether so sweeping a proposal as that of the Prime Minister, which meant the complete and absolute extinction of the rights of private Members for the remainder of the Session, would have the effect desired. He thought the right hon. Gentleman might have been satisfied to ask the House to surrender a somewhat smaller portion of the rights of private Members. For instance, the Government might be content to take private Members' Tuesday mornings, and then the Government would have no difficulty in keeping a House for their own Business on Tuesday evenings. If Members were ruthlessly deprived of their rights, they would find other means of making their voices heard, and might be compelled to assert them in a manner which the Government would not like; and, therefore, he appealed to the Prime Minister to make some modification in this sweeping extinction of the rights of private Members. Let the Government take one day, Tuesday or Friday, and give private Members the other; They would in this way be far more likely to command the assent and support of Members on both sides of the House.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he had always maintained the rights of private Members, and though he intended to support the Government he had not altered his opinion as to the jealousy with which any attempt to curtail those rights should be regarded. When the House was asked to decide whether they would give the Government a portion of the time generally allotted to private Members, they ought to consider each case upon its merits. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) and the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) thought they should invite the Government on each occasion, when they required to encroach upon the time of the House, to make a Motion to that effect, and place their reasons upon record; but, he asked, had not the Government sufficient reasons? If he understood the Prime Minister they were going to put down Supply for Mondays and Thursdays, and discussion would be then invited. It was very important that Members should examine the expenditure of the country; and, at the same time, he considered that his rights as a private Member would be sufficiently protected by the plan proposed by the Prime Minister.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I should like to trouble the House with a few observations; but it seemed to me that, as this question was one mainly affecting the non-official Members of the House, it was desirable to hear as soon as possible the views those Gentlemen held. I was also rather curious to hear the sentiments of hon. Members opposite, and particularly hon. Members below the Gangway, because we know the line they have taken before when these proposals have been made, and we were anxious to hear what they would say now, perhaps for the last time; for if this Resolution passes they may not have an opportunity again of expressing their views so freely. My hon. Friend the Member for Hertford must feel rather in the position of the man who prayed for a shower and brought down a deluge. The matter began with the proposal of the Government to take Tuesday for a particular purpose; but the hon. Member said it was inconvenient that Tuesday should be taken in that way, and suggested that there should be some solemn record of the fact, and that Tuesdays and Fridays should not be taken without some such record. The Prime Minister comes down to-night and says —"Your suggestion is excellent. It is inconvenient to have these Motions one by one, and to have discussions and debates on them. I tell you what I will do—I will take them all. I will take all the Tuesdays and Fridays till the end of June, and this may lead to their being taken to the end of the Session." That is going rather far. It is said that we are to have Mondays and Thursdays for Supply; but we want some further explanation as to that, for it is not quite consistent with what fell from the President of the Board of Trade on the subject of the Merchant Shipping Bill—it is at variance with it, for that, I understand, is to be taken in the regular course of Business. This taking up of Morning Sittings is very inconvenient to the House in more ways than one. There is not only the extra labour, but those who have to attend Private Bill Committees are placed in a position of very great difficulty and inconvenience when Business is put down in which they are interested, and to which they cannot attend. I will give the House an illustration. The Business we are to consider is the Representation of the People Bill, and one of the first Amendments is one in the 2nd clause, a most important Amendment, with regard to the limitation of the time when the Bill will come into operation, proposed by my right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley). He is Chairman of a Private Bill Committee, and he cannot attend the Morning Sitting. That is one instance of the inconvenience which the proposal entails. The right hon. Gentleman says that he makes it upon a precedent set in 1867; but the Reform Bill of that year was a different Reform Bill. It did not consist of about a dozen clauses, but was a Bill of great length and great complexity, in which it became necessary to propose that Clauses 4 to 34 should be postponed. The proposal was confined to that particular Bill; but the Prime Minister says he will not do this; he will get through as many measures as he wishes. He says it is a very reasonable wish to hope that we may pass three great measures —that is, the Reform Bill, the London Government Bill, and the Local Government Bill. We have not even got that yet. Apparently we are to give up all our Tuesday and Friday mornings for the sake of these three measures, and really I think it is rather beyond the necessity of the case. The suggestion is made at a very early period of the Session compared with that of Mr. Disraeli, and I think the House should look with jealousy on any such proposal. It is said that the House wastes time, and I have no doubt that sometimes this is the case; but these attempts to curb a proper and legitimate development of private Members' rights always end in more irregular proceedings.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I wish to ask the House to consider the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford. He does not say that Morning Sittings are not to be taken; he differs from the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down in that. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No!] Well, I understand the right hon. Gentleman to be against Morning Sittings altogether, and I was surprised to hear that argument from the right hon. Gentleman, because he will remember that he was in the Government that invented Morning Sittings. But the hon. Member for Hertford admitted that Morning Sittings were permissible in certain cases, though on each occasion you must make a Motion to that effect at 4.30. A more certain method of wasting the time of the House could not be conceived. Everybody knows it would be debated for two or three hours, and would necessarily lead to such a waste of time that it would be hardly worth while asking for it, because the time that would be taken up would be almost equal to the time gained. It seems to me that if the House really desires to save time it cannot and will not vote for a proposal of this kind. I do not agree with the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) that legislation is useless. The Business of the country cannot be carried on absolutely and altogether by eloquent speaking. The hon. Member for Newcastle may be a great benefactor to his species; but more ordinary men must pay some little attention to the business of practical legislation. It has been said that a House cannot be made for private Members in the evening. But how is that? As the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) pointed out, when there is a Motion before the House which commands any interest there is no difficulty in making a House. Government numbers some 30 or 40 Members, while the private Members amount to 600; and I do not see why among that gallant 600 there cannot be found a sufficient number to rally to the great cause of private Members' rights, of which at 4 o'clock we hear so much and at 9 o'clock hear so little. This plan of Morning Sittings is much better than taking away the whole of a private Member's day. I venture to say that if we really want the Business of the House to go on we should not accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he thought that the House would agree that the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down had afforded one admirable illustration of his words—that the Business of the House was not to be advanced by eloquent speeches. He had not been fortunate enough to hear the speech of the hon. Member for Hertford; but the effect of the hon. Gentleman's Motion was clear, that previous to the 1st of June Morning Sittings should not be taken except by Resolution of the House. The Home Secretary had said that this must lead to a waste of time. For his own part, he did not think that it would do so in the least degree. It was most improper that the Government should come down at that period of the year and deprive private Members of their rights. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] Hon. Members would have an opportunity of dividing before very long, and possibly more than once before these proceedings terminated, for he intended to do all in his power to protect the rights of private Members. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the rights of private Members could always be vindicated. So they might, but by irregular means. Did the Home Secretary mean that private Members should be driven in their own defence to adopt those irregular methods rather than take those means which the sense of that House had placed at their disposal?

Lord JOHN MANNERS said, that the Home Secretary, in his speech, had somewhat mistaken, not only the Motion of the hon. Member for Hertford, but also the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon. He had stated that the right hon. Gentleman had opposed Morning Sittings altogether. The right hon. Gentleman had done nothing of the kind. He had said that at that period of the year they led to a great and cruel interference with Members who had to serve on Committees upstairs, and so were unable to attend in the House. But why had the right hon. Gentleman laid such stress upon the time of the year? Because experience showed that as the Session advanced private Members were not so much divided between their duties upstairs and their attendance in the House. The Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford only imposed the restriction until the 1st of June. After that Government could claim the privilege without stating their reasons for doing so. He thought that the Home Secretary by his speech had weakened the case of the Prime Minister rather than strengthened it. With regard to private Members themselves, if they chose with their eyes open to vote away their rights and privileges, they must never again make any complaint. If that Motion were carried now, it would be not only for the present Session, but it would be a precedent for next Session. It might be, as the hon. Member for Wolverhampton had told them, that the time had gone by for private Members; that they were no longer any use; that the Motions they might make with regard to foreign or other great interests of the nation were unworthy of the attention of Her Majesty's Government. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had appeared to imply that there were only two objects to be looked to—namely, Supply and legislation; but, for his own part, that was a view which he refused to take, and he should, therefore, support the Amendment.

Mr. NEWDEGATE thought that the real difficulty complained of did not rest with the meetings of the House, but with the prolixity of speech. They had passed a Standing Order providing for the application of a *clôture*, but that *clôture* was too harsh for application. If the House were able to express its opinion as to whether a Member was wasting the time of the House, Obstruction would fail. While thanking the Prime Minister for having submitted the Motion to the House, he should vote for the Amendment, because he thought that the House had not fallen so low as that it could not be intrusted day by day with the disposal of its own time.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 216; Noes 103: Majority 113.—(Div. List, No. 81.)

Main Question again proposed.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he had intimated in the few words that he had previously spoken that he would ask the House to divide again. He had been under the impression that he would be able to move the omission from the Prime Minister's Resolution of the words "Tuesdays and," so as to limit it to the Fridays; but he found that it was not competent for him to do so, and, therefore, he would not trouble the House to divide again.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE wished, with the permission of the House, to make a suggestion, which, however, he was not quite sure would be considered practicable. The Government was endeavouring to take the Tuesdays and Fridays for Morning Sittings, leaving the evenings on those days to private Members. The result of that arrangement, as experience showed, was that the House would be frequently counted out at 9 o'clock. He proposed, therefore, that the mode of procedure at the Evening Sittings on Tuesdays and Fridays should be of the like character to that followed on Wednesdays—namely, that the Speaker should take the Chair at 9 o'clock, and, if the House was not then made, that the Speaker should wait a certain time to enable a sufficient number of Members to come down to make a House. The reason why the House was counted out was often because, immediately on the Speaker taking the Chair, his attention was called to the fact that there were not 40 Members present; whereas, if an interval of about 20 minutes were given, a sufficient number of Members would probably arrive to form a quorum. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had said there never was any difficulty in securing a House when a question of general interest was to be discussed. But such questions often stood second or third on the Paper; and Members who took an interest in them would come down shortly after 9 to join in their discussion. He would suggest that when the Speaker came down at 9 o'clock, and there were not 40 Members present, he should sit for one, two, or three hours. If there were several Motions, a certain time might be fixed in which to make a quorum for each Motion, so that in the course of time some Motion might be reached in which the House was interested enough to make a quorum.

MR. GLADSTONE: The suggestion of the noble Lord, so far as I have been able to follow it, has all the marks of a work of genius; but, at the same time, it is involved in a certain amount of obscurity. The precise relation between the times and the Motions on the Paper have not been quite clearly laid down by the noble Lord; and though the noble Lord has devoted himself in a very patriotic and impartial spirit to the subject, I am afraid that without long Notice and some explanation we could not do justice to it.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he did not think that the Prime Minister had done justice to the suggestion of the noble Lord, for whose proposal there was a great deal to be said. He desired to enter a protest against the course taken by the Government. The vote just taken was unfortunate and deplorable, and illustrated the degradation of the House, and proved the tyranny of the Government and the servility of a large number of their supporters. If Members of the Government would avail themselves of their brief holiday to take a trip to Australia or India, instead of going, for instance, to Copenhagen, they would have their views of these subjects greatly widened, and they would feel the indignation and resentment that prevailed in our Colonial and Imperial Dependencies with regard to the neglect with which questions relating to the Colonies and the Dependencies had been treated.

MR. PARNELL said, that he and his hon. Friends near him had voted with the Government on this Division, because of the general importance of the Government programme; but, at the same time, he was bound to say that the Government had not during the past two years, and apparently did not intend during this Session, to devote any fair proportion of the Government time to their own Bills relating to Ireland; Bills which they had announced their intention of bringing forward, and which the Chief Secretary for Ireland had admitted the importance of. Now, under these circumstances, he thought he was entitled to express the hope that the Government should see their way to devoting some portion of the extra time which they had now obtained in going forward with their own Bills relating to Ireland. It was announced some time ago by the Chief Secretary that he had a Bill ready with regard to the important question of Irish education; the other day he also announced that he had a Bill ready with regard to sites for schools; and on last Wednesday they had the further important announcement from the right hon. Gentleman that in a fortnight he would introduce a Bill with regard to additional facilities for the purchase of land by tenants in Ireland. Now, these were all questions which could not be disposed of without the allocation to them of some fair proportion of the Government time. Last Session they had practically no time devoted to Irish Bills except a day or two at the end of the Session, and the Bill then passed was thrown out by the Lords on the ground that they had no time to discuss it. Now, he hope the same mistake would not be made this year; and he thought the Government, in arranging the Irish programme, in choosing the Irish Bills which should first be presented to the consideration of the House, might fairly take into consideration the general opinion of the Irish Members on all sides of the House upon it. The Government had expressed their own preference for the Irish Sunday Closing Bill. Well, that was a question on which he had always remained neutral, and he intended to remain neutral on the present occasion, although he believed the majority of his own constituents were opposed to it; but he thought the Government, before they decided that the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, or the Bill for the Purchase of Lands, or any other Bill should be taken first, might fairly take into consideration the prevailing opinion of Irish Members on all sides of the House. By doing so they would be lifting from their own shoulders a great load of disagreeable responsibility in the matter, and would not, in any Bill they then introduced, be running foul of any important section of Irish opinion.

Sir JOHN HAY suggested that the House should revive a Sessional Order which had been adopted in some former Sessions, to the effect that at Evening Sittings the Speaker should remain in the Chair for a quarter of an hour after 9 o'clock before counting the House.

Mr. J. LOWTHER differed from his right hon. and gallant Friend. Although the practice referred to did exist for a short time it was soon dropped, and it was felt to be a mistake that it had ever been adopted. The suggestion of the noble Lord the Member for South Wilts (Viscount Folkestone) was really only the discarded plan referred to by his right hon. and gallant Friend. If a House could not be formed at 9 it was a hint that the House did not care for the subject. He entirely agreed with the Prime Minister that it was incumbent upon private Members to keep a House for themselves. To compel the Government to do so would be an act of tyranny on the part of the House. With regard to the noble Lord's proposal, he was sure that it would lead to a system of scheming and intrigue and locks-out which it was most undesirable to introduce. Of course, Members interested in Motion No. 2 would take care to be conspicuous by their absence; and, perhaps, the supporters of Motions Nos. 3 and 4 might by various processes succeed in obtaining special favour. He hoped the Government would not re-open the question, and that if it were re-opened they would not let it be thought that they were in favour of either of the suggestions that had been made.

Mr. WHITWORTH said, he would not have spoken if it were not for the remarks of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). The hon. Member said that a majority of his constituents were opposed to the Sunday Closing Bill. Now, he (Mr. Whitworth) believed that a canvass of the inhabitants of Cork City showed that there were five to one in favour of the Bill. [“Order!”]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not in Order. The House is not discussing the merits of the Sunday Closing Bill.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That, until the end of June, this House will meet on Tuesdays and Fridays at Two o'clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair.”

PARLIAMENT—PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION (CITY OF HEREFORD).

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

Mr. RAIKES, in rising to call attention to the circumstances connected with the withdrawal of the Petition against the last Parliamentary Election for the City of Hereford; and to move for the appointment of a Select Committee to investigate the same, and to report thereon to the House, said, it was with regret that he found himself obliged to undertake the duty of bringing this matter before the House—a duty which he had hoped would have been assumed by the Attorney General, as it affected the Privileges of the House; but he had unsuccessfully appealed to the Attorney General to bring the matter forward. The circumstances in question occurred in the spring of 1880, and it was not until two years after that time that he was returned to the present Parliament. He would have preferred to leave the matter to those who were responsible for prosecuting offences against the Privileges of the House; and he did not feel himself compelled to move until the document, which was the foundation of the case, was cited in the House, as it was on the 7th of March last. So complete, however, was the publicity which this matter had attained, that the document setting forth the corrupt agreement had been posted on the walls of Hereford more than a year ago. He had no personal feeling in the matter, had received no offence, had no desire to give pain, and had not the honour of the acquaintance of either of the Members for the City of Hereford. It was generally understood that the election for the City of Hereford in 1880 was an expensive one to both Parties; and rumours were rife as to the enormous amount that had been expended on behalf of the successful candidates. In consequence of these rumours, a Petition was presented against the return. But before the Petition was presented, and while it was in the air, influential and eminent members of the Liberal Party in Hereford expressed to some of the Conservative leaders their extreme desire that no Petition should be presented, and their readiness to make a compromise. A gentleman, whom he would rather not name now, offered to one of the Conservative leaders that if they would withdraw the Petition that was threatened against the return, then the hon. and learned junior Member (Mr. R. T. Reid) would vacate his seat as soon as he had the opportunity of offering himself for a Scotch borough. That proposition was considered and discussed; but it was not accepted, and the Petition was accordingly presented. On the last day for the filing of the recognizances and affidavits the same gentleman met the agents for the Petitioners close to the Royal Courts of Justice in London, and entreated them to delay the filing to as late an hour as they could, because he hoped he would be in a position to make an arrangement which would be satisfactory to them. This second proposal was communicated to the Conservative leaders in Hereford in the course of the evening. It was to the effect that the hon. and learned junior Member should retire from the representation of the borough at the close of the present Parliament, and that he should not offer himself again. That proposition was also refused, the recognizances and affidavits were filed, and the decks were apparently cleared for action. About this time Mr. Sydney Myer, one of the principal ornaments and supporters of the Liberal Party, met Mr. Garrold, the Conservative agent, who was to conduct the Petition against the return; and Mr. Garrold advised Mr. Myer to put himself into communication with Mr. Ralph, an ornament of the Conservative Party. Mr. Ralph and Mr. Myer had a meeting at a tavern, and they could not arrive at a satisfactory agreement. It was determined that they should meet again, and on the 22nd of May, by an appointment made through Garrold, they met in his garden, approaching it through a back street and entering by a side door. Mr. Myer commenced business by exhibiting a roll of bank notes, and intimating that Mr. Ralph might have as many of them as he desired if by his influence the Petition could be withdrawn. Mr. Ralph was at the moment proof against the temptation, and said it would be impossible that he could use his influence unless satisfactory terms could be made for the Party. These terms he defined to be, that one of the sitting Members should apply for the Chiltern Hundreds about Easter, 1882, that the Conservatives were to be indulged with a walk over, and that at the next General Election the Liberals should bring forward only one candidate and allow the Conservatives to have the second seat. These terms Mr. Myer said he thought were hard, but he would see what he could do. He was told that a document must be drawn up, and that it should be signed by the leaders of the Liberal Party. Mr. Myers then went away, but happened to leave a roll of twelve £50 Bank of England notes on a bench in the garden where the conversation had taken place. He further covenanted with Mr. Garrold that in the event of the Petition being withdrawn he would find a sum of money which should defray the costs of the Petitioners, both taxed and untaxed, which he (Mr. Raikes) understood were considerably in excess of the £600 deposited in the peculiar manner just described. Mr. Myer seemed to have had difficulty with his friends at first. However, after a short time, he communicated to Mr. Ralph the terms of the agreement which had been quoted in the House by the hon. Member for Evesham (Mr. Dixon-Hartland). The following was the document which formed the basis of his case:—

> "May, 1880. (1.) One of the present sitting Members for the City of Hereford to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds before Easter, 1882. (2.) If a vacancy occurs in the representation of the City of Hereford during the present Parliament the first shall be filled up by the Conservative Party without opposition from the Liberal Party, and each Party shall thus continue to have one Member in the present Parliament. (3.)"—

he wished to call attention to the wording of this paragraph—

> "At the next General Election the Liberal Party shall nominate one candidate only for the City of Hereford, and the Conservative Party shall nominate one candidate only, and both Parties pledge themselves to support the return of such two candidates only. The undersigned approve of the terms above written, and severally engage to use our best endeavours to carry them into effect."

The following were the signatures attached to the document:—Sydney Myer, William Mason, M. J. G. Scobie, who had been appointed an Official Receiver to the Board of Trade, and was Secretary to the Hereford Liberal Association, J. R. Dillon, James Bowers, William Barker, J. L. Barling, Henry Lane, Henry Rogers, Robert Reay, O. Shellard, Thomas Cane, S. Packwood, a gentleman remarkable in the history of elections at Hereford, James Haim, William Prosser, F. H. Merrick, John Bowers, E. W. Fenton, J. M. Pearce, and Thomas Carless. Those were the names which were ultimately attached to the document. The transactions to which he had referred all took place in the last week of May, 1880. On the 28th of May proper steps were taken to withdraw the Petition. The necessary affidavits were put in by the two Petitioners, and affidavits in answer were signed by the two hon. Members for the City of Hereford. Those hon. Gentlemen, of course, disclaimed any corrupt action on their part, and the Judges before whom the affidavits came presumably had no alternative but to dismiss the Petition. He imagined that this transaction took place subsequent to the Gloucester Election Petition. The Report of the Judges upon the Gloucester Election was as follows:—

> "In these circumstances we are not satisfied that the abandonment of the case against Mr. Monk was not the result of an arrangement made with a view to the withholding from us of evidence of the extensive corrupt practices which there is reason to believe prevailed at the election."

The House of Commons, upon that Report, appointed a Committee to investigate the circumstances; but the case which he had laid before the House carried the matter a great deal further. The House, perhaps, would like to know where the bank notes were likely to have come from. Mr. Myer, who had possession of the notes, was the gentleman who first introduced the senior Member for the City of Hereford (Mr. Pulley) to the constituency. Some of the bank notes, of which he had the numbers, were dated the 16th of July, 1879, and the others September 16, 1879. They all bore the familiar signature of "F. May." He found that they were issued to the National Provincial Bank, with which the hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Hereford had an account; and, as far as he could ascertain, they were again issued by that bank at the Hereford branch.

Mr. PULLEY: May I ask the date?

Mr. RAIKES said, the date, when he first found them in circulation, was the 22nd of May, 1880. That was the day on which Mr. Myers handed them to Mr. Ralph. He thought that was an interesting circumstance in connection with this matter. In 1882 the persons who had made this arrangement on behalf of the Conservative Party became a little anxious as to its fulfilment. A letter was accordingly written to Mr. Scobie, who was then the Secretary of the Liberal Association, calling his attention to the agreement and claiming its fulfilment. In reply, Mr. Scobie wrote a letter, dated March 17, 1882, stating that the persons who had signed the agreement had no intention of departing from the future terms of the agreement. Mr. Scobie inclosed two letters which he had received, dated from the House of Commons. The first was from the hon. Gentleman the senior Member for the City of Hereford, who stated that the agreement was not drawn up with his consent or knowledge, and that he should not apply for the Chiltern Hundreds. The other letter was from the junior Member for the City of Hereford (Mr. R. T. Reid), who also stated that he had no intention of applying for the Chiltern Hundreds, and that the agreement, to which he was not a party, was signed without his knowledge or consent. Both the letters were dated March 15, 1882. *The Hereford Times*, a Liberal paper, on the 20th of May, 1882, said—

> "We learn that at a specially convened meeting of the Hereford Liberal Association, held at the Liberal Club Rooms yesterday, a letter was read from Mr. R. T. Reid, M.P., announcing his intention to retire from the representation of Hereford at the end of the present Parliamentary Session."

MR. R. T. REID: I never wrote any such letter; and a denial was posted all over the town within 24 hours after the paragraph appeared.

MR. RAIKES said, the hon. Gentleman would have an opportunity of giving an explanation by and by. He had a longer extract from a Conservative paper, *The Hereford Journal*, saying that the statement referred to was inaccurate, but that what was meant was that Mr. Reid, when a Dissolution came, would not offer himself to Hereford for re-election. The hon. Gentleman would have to explain the concurrence between this modified statement, which he did not understand the hon. Member to contradict, and the statement of Mr. Scobie that the signatories were prepared to carry out the future part of the agreement, which was that one of the Members was to retire at the next General Election. He did not think that the facts which he had given presented so complete a case against those hon. Members as would warrant him in asking for an inquiry into their conduct; but he did think that he had presented as complete a case for inquiry into corrupt practices as had ever been brought before the House. There was a clause in the Corrupt Practices Bill of last year, against which he protested at the time, by which a future Royal Commission would be precluded from going into the circumstances or practices which had taken place at the previous election. But here was a case in which a gentleman in an official position had been concerned in a most deliberate and unblushing attempt to defeat the law with regard to corrupt practices at Parliamentary Elections, and to evade the jurisdiction of the Election Court to which that House had intrusted discretion in such matters. If the House passed by a matter of this sort as light and inconsiderable, it would do a great deal more to encourage and promote corrupt practices than was done even by the unfortunate clause of the Act of last year. If this inquiry was given it would be necessary to press Mr. Sydney Myer for some information as to where he got the notes, and also as to the source of the sum of £1,100 or £1,200 which he paid to Mr. Garrold for the election costs. Mr. Myer was not a man who was able to pay them out of his own pocket, and was probably acting for someone who was well able to pay. As to the senior Member for Hereford (Mr. Pulley), he was content to leave the case there. With regard to the junior Member (Mr. R. T. Reid), he had listened with some regret to his observations when he questioned the Attorney General on the subject some time ago. The hon. Member appeared to take great credit to himself, not for his freedom from any complicity in this matter, but seemed to think it an act of heroic virtue that he should have profited by those nefarious transactions, and declined to pay the price. They must go back to the days of Joseph Surface for anything like it; for the hon. Member had placed himself exactly in the position of a man who, having made a settlement on some person which he found afterwards inconvenient to carry out, turned round and said it was obtained by an immoral consideration. The House would do well to be strict in preserving its privileges, and in dealing with corruption; but he hoped there was one thing which it prized still more, and that was the recognition of all honourable obligations. He thought he had made out a case which the Attorney General would find it impossible to confute, as far as the facts went; and he hoped he might appeal to the judgment of that House, as he was certain he might have done to the judgment of any

House of Commons which preceded it, to show its jealousy of its own honour and its hatred of immoral practices, which could only be done by appointing the Committee for which he moved. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution which stood in his name.

MR. PULLEY begged to second the Resolution.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Select Committee appointed to investigate the circumstances connected with the withdrawal of the Petition against the last Parliamentary Election for the City of Hereford, and to report thereon to the House,"—(*Mr. Raikes,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. R. T. REID said, the right hon. Gentleman commenced his speech by saying that neither his Colleague (Mr. Pulley) nor himself had given him any offence, and that it was a source of pain and regret to him to have to make any charge; and yet he concluded, without having heard what he had to say or asking him for any explanation, by comparing him to Joseph Surface, and suggested what was even worse and more contemptible than corruption—swerving from the word he had given. Although he believed that the transactions to which the right hon. Gentleman referred were dishonourable in the extreme, if he had directly or indirectly been a party to them he should have most strictly carried out even such dishonourable compacts. So far as he was concerned, he was very glad that his hon. Friend had seconded the Resolution. He stated in the most emphatic manner the fact that he had not been directly or indirectly a party or privy to any agreement of any kind relating to the representation of the City of Hereford, or the withdrawal of any Election Petition. That statement he had made before, and he repeated it. In 1880 an Election Petition was presented against his Colleague and himself. The right hon. Gentleman said that the election was expensive on both sides. Well, the right hon. Gentleman himself had some experience in that way. For his own part, he had not spent or paid a single shilling except for legal expenses, and he was perfectly prepared to prove it before the Committee if it were appointed. The Election Petition was not presented with any view to vindicate purity of election. The object was, if possible, to force one of the Members to withdraw in order to make room for one of the opposite Party, and he was the victim who was designated for sacrifice; and had it not been for his own conduct in the matter, and his determination to refuse to have anything to do with any such bargain, he should now have been a disgraced and a dishonoured man. He wished to say distinctly that a formal proposal had been made to him in the presence of a witness that the Petition should be withdrawn if he would consent to retire from the representation of the City of Hereford, and strong pressure had been put upon him from both sides to induce him to retire. To that proposal the answer he made was that he had nothing whatever to fear from the Election Petition, that he had absolutely obeyed the law, and that he would not retire from the representation of the city at any time before the Dissolution of the present Parliament, and that he would represent that city in as many Parliaments as it might please himself to stand and the electors of Hereford to choose him as their Representative. He was in a position to prove that by witnesses who were present when he made the statement. The right hon. Gentleman had said that some person had offered on his part that he should withdraw; he, on the contrary, asserted that that statement would prove to be a falsehood when the matter came to be investigated before the Committee. He believed that he knew the gentleman to whom the right hon. Gentleman referred, and he would say that he had never made such a statement in his life. He had communicated to his hon. Colleague the pressure that had been brought to bear upon him to induce him to retire; and he had declared to him at the same time that nothing would induce him to retire with the cordial approval of his Colleague. This determination on his part had been communicated to the Conservative leaders in the city. Moreover, the right hon. Gentleman would find that in every daily paper in London there had appeared, on the 28th or the 29th of May, a statement that there was no foundation for the rumour that he intended to retire from his seat. Under such circumstances, it was preposterous to suggest that the Petition was withdrawn in the belief that he (Mr. Reid) was about to resign his seat. At the time that the Petition was withdrawn, he believed that it had been withdrawn unconditionally. He desired to put it to the right hon. Gentleman whether he really did mean what his words appeared to be intended to convey? He and his Colleague had, in the most perfect good faith, made affidavits in which they had sworn that, to the best of their knowledge and belief, no bargain whatever had been made in respect of the withdrawal of the Petition; and he wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman seriously intended to convey to the House that he and his Colleague had deliberately committed perjury in this matter? He would not for the world make any such suggestion about any man without the very strongest proof. He asked the right hon. Gentleman what proof he had that he (Mr. R. T. Reid) knew of the existence of the document containing the agreement referred to at the time that the Petition was withdrawn? He did not want to wait for the Committee—would the right hon. Gentleman, inasmuch as he had made a monstrous imputation, now rise in his place and, in the face of the House, state who was the man who, he said, had brought this document to his knowledge?

MR. RAIKES said, he would rather not give any names, from consideration for the persons interested. The hon. Gentleman was going a little further than he went. He said the gentleman who professed to make the communication on behalf of the hon. Gentleman—he did not say it was made by the hon. Member—but that a proposal was made by a gentleman well known in the borough to the Conservative Party at Hereford.

MR. R. T. REID: Who is the gentleman?

MR. RAIKES said, he would give the name if the hon. Gentleman really desired it, though he would rather not.

MR. R. T. REID: Certainly.

MR. RAIKES: Well, the gentleman who professed to make the proposal on behalf of the hon. Member was Mr. Gwyn James, the brother of the Attorney General.

MR. R. T. REID said, the right hon. Gentleman had not answered the question. Considering what he had said about the affidavits, he wanted to know who it was he suggested had informed him (Mr. R. T. Reid) at the time that the Petition was to be withdrawn on the terms that he should retire, or what proof the right hon. Gentleman had that he was in the smallest degree aware of the existence of the document in question?

MR. RAIKES said, that the hon. Member appeared to be anxious to anticipate the decision of the Committee. It would be far preferable to leave the whole matter to be inquired into by the Committee. He had not said that he knew who it was that made the hon. Gentleman aware of it, and he did not know; but he did say that, inasmuch as the document in question had been signed by 23 leading members of the Liberal Party, it was not unreasonably supposed that they were authorized to treat on behalf of the hon. Member.

MR. R. T. REID said, that he claimed the right, unless prevented by the Speaker, to extract from the right hon. Gentleman an answer to his question. The right hon. Gentleman either did or did not suggest that at the time he (Mr. R. T. Reid) made the affidavit in 1880 he was aware of the existence of the agreement. If the right hon. Gentleman suggested that he was aware of the agreement, would he say whether he had proof of it upon the statement of any respectable man, or whether it was merely a matter of inference?

MR. RAIKES said, that he thought he had a right to ask whether the hon. Member was pursuing the course usual in these cases? He had brought forward a statement in that House which he was prepared to verify before a Committee. He asked the House to allow him to call his witnesses in verification of his statement, and not to allow themselves to be put in the place of the Committee.

MR. R. T. REID said, the House would observe the attitude of the right hon. Gentleman. He must say it was rather hard that he should be placed in this position—that he should not be told whether a grave charge was made against him or not. From the mode in which the right hon. Gentleman was withholding this information, the House would be able to judge of the weight that should be attached to the right hon. Gentleman's statement that he had brought forward this matter with regret. The explanation of the document referred to was simple. There were persons on both sides of politics whose interest it was to cause the Petition to be withdrawn, and those were the persons who made the bargain in defiance of him, and for the purpose of coercing him. It was a secret agreement, and absolutely unknown to him in its inception, in its creation, and in its execution, and he never heard of it until after the withdrawal of the Petition. He was the person against whom the whole of the arrangement was levelled. The right hon. Gentleman had said that there should be honour among thieves; if he had been a thief, he should have acted in accordance with that honour, however low it might be. But the thieves in the matter were the persons in whose interest this Motion was made; and he (Mr. Reid) was the man whom they had attempted to rob. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of bank notes—he did not know what the right hon. Member meant by that; but he had not paid a single farthing beyond the legitimate expenses in connection with his election. That was what enabled him from the very commencement to defy the Petitioners. This matter was now four years old, and it was rather remarkable that it had not been brought forward earlier; but this was part of the same pressure put upon him at the time of the Election Petition. If the Motion proceeded from a desire for purity, the right hon. Gentleman would scarcely have waited for two years. He (Mr. Reid) had known for some time that a Motion of this kind would be made unless the Liberal Party consented to divide the representation of the city at the next General Election. This Motion was held as a terror over the heads of some men, to be used if it appeared that the representation was not going to be divided; and when it was found that the people of Hereford were not to be enslaved, and were going to contest both seats, this Motion was brought forward in the interests of those who had been disappointed. That was the plain account of the action of the right hon. Gentleman. He made no complaint of this Motion. It was better that the right hon. Gentleman should come forward and expose himself by such a Motion as this, rather than that he should pillage his (Mr. R. T. Reid's) character in secret by whispers in the Lobby. He courted with great satisfaction the inquiry moved for by the right hon. Gentleman, and the right hon. Gentleman should hear of it when the Committee had reported. He should then request from the right hon. Gentleman an apology for the injury he had attempted to do him as public as the charge he had made against him.

MR. RANKIN said, that, occupying the position of Chief Steward of the City of Hereford, he felt that he ought to make a few remarks to the House on the subject under discussion. Though he was sure the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) had brought forward the subject from the purest motives, he very much regretted he had done so. In the first place, the time was most inopportune for the purpose. Hereford had now been allowed to slumber for four years without having had any Petition to disturb it, except municipal election petitions; and it would be a great pity for this inquiry, which was in the nature of an Election Petition, to be now held. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman what good he imagined could come to either Party from the course he had taken? He (Mr. Rankin) had, of course, heard the rumours as to the bargain alleged to have been made between certain parties in the City of Hereford, and he had no word of extenuation to say on their behalf if they made the corrupt bargain as stated. Still, the course taken by the right hon. Gentleman could have no good result whatever; but it must create animosity, ill blood, and rancour very extensively. It would be bad for the City, and it could not be good for the Conservative Party, as he could positively say, knowing the city as well as he did. He hoped the inquiry would not be granted. He regretted very much that the City of Hereford should have been dragged into a debate of this description, and that it should have been made to occupy such an unenviable position. The proposal of the right hon. Gentleman was the inverse of that made in the case of the Cities of the Plain, and Hereford was to be destroyed because of five or ten unrighteous men who were numbered among its citizens. He hoped that the House would not grant the Committee asked for by the right hon. Gentleman, and that they should hear no more about this matter in the House of Commons.

MR. PULLEY reminded the House that, having seconded the Resolution of the right hon. Gentleman, he thought he had shown his readiness to meet the charges which he had made. He thought that if the Committee of Inquiry were granted it would show how absolutely without foundation those charges were. The agreement referred to had been sent to him two years after it was made. He did not know the terms of that agreement until it was received by him. He had certainly heard of the subject before that time; but he had no accurate information as to what the arrangement was until two years after it was made. He was aware that great pressure had been put upon his Colleague. Great pressure had also been put upon himself to use whatever influence he might possess with his Colleague to induce him to withdraw from the House before the Petition was presented. His Colleague had told the House how they had stood side by side to resist any pressure that might be brought to bear upon them to adopt the course suggested. The right hon. Gentleman referred to a report published in *The Hereford Times* as to his Colleague retiring from Parliament after the then existing Session. He happened to go to Hereford the day following that on which the paper had been published. On reading it he was astonished very much at the manner in which it was worded. He took immediate steps to have the mistake rectified. The mistake arose in this way. The report had been mentioned to the editor of *The Hereford Times,* who went to his office, and, by a slip of the tongue or of the pen, used the word "Session" instead of "Parliament." That was the real history of the case, and he hoped it would satisfy the right hon. Gentleman opposite.

MR. WARTON said, if it was the intention of the Government to refuse this inquiry a very unfavourable inference would be drawn with regard to the hon. Members for Hereford, because their indignant denials would then be supposed to be made in consequence of the intention of the Government to refuse the inquiry. If the Government intended to refuse this Committee, their action would be on a par with that shelter which they always threw over corruption. A Corrupt Practices Bill had been introduced by the Government, and it was very amusing to think that the most corrupt Election of 1880 had been carried on by an enormous expenditure of money on the Liberal side. That was the reason why they had included in that Bill the whitewashing clause; and he maintained that the existence of that clause in the Bill was an additional reason why this Committee of Inquiry should be granted. If, however, it was refused, such a refusal would throw light on the real object of the whitewashing clause and the hypocritical pretence of the Government in coming forward to support this Corrupt Practices Bill. He thought the Government ought not to refuse this inquiry, on the ground that if it resulted in nothing everyone concerned would be rendered happy; and if the reverse was the case, and Liberal corruption was brought to light, then some good would have been done. The Government would not like this, it was true, and probably for that reason they would refuse the Committee. He had heard a great deal about the large sums of money paid during this Hereford Election; and he thought it was a curious fact that the senior Member for Hereford should have failed twice on his merits in being elected, and that on the third occasion he had succeeded by the power of his money. The Committee of Inquiry would be useful in this respect—that it would bring out the fact that that election was a very expensive one indeed, especially on the Liberal side. It would not be to the honour of the Government or of the House to refuse a Committee of this kind. It was to the interest of the hon. Members for Hereford that inquiry should be made. They would stand before the world in a bad light if the Government sheltered them from an inquiry of this description. The right hon. Gentleman, therefore, was entittled to the respect of the House for having brought this matter forward. He believed he had no interest in the matter, his motive being quite pure and disinterested. The only objection to be found with the speech of the junior Member for Hereford was that he attempted to impute some motive to the right hon. Gentleman for having called the attention of the House to the subject. He felt quite sure that his right hon. Friend had brought this subject forward with the highest, the purest, and the best motives, and therefore he should support the Motion. [" Divide!"] As regards hon. Members calling out "Divide," he did not know how they could go to a Division until there were two sides to the question. He expected that the Government intended to oppose the Motion in consequence of their love of corruption, for they had introduced a Corrupt Practices Bill which contained a whitewashing clause.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had some delicacy in attempting to afford the House any guidance on the present occasion—first, because the constituency which had been referred to was that of his own native city; and, secondly, because the name of a relative of his had been introduced by the right hon. Gentleman in connection with this matter.

MR. RAIKES said, he did not think the Attorney General was in his place at the time. The name was most unwillingly drawn from him.

MR. R. T. REID wished to make an explanation. The name was volunteered by the right hon. Gentleman. He asked a question which had never yet been answered, as to what proof the right hon. Gentleman had of alleging his complicity in the agreement; and the right hon. Gentleman introduced the name of the gentleman in question in a perfectly different connection.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was perfectly aware of what had taken place. He did not wish to come in conflict with the right hon. Gentleman, for the right hon. Gentleman had shown him but scant courtesy of late in that House; and among his own constituents the right hon. Gentleman had spoken of him in a way in which he was glad to say one Member seldom spoke of another. If the right hon. Gentleman had given him Notice that he was about to make this charge, he should have been prepared to make some statement in relation to it. But, as he knew nothing about this election, he was unprepared to make any comment except this—that he could answer for the honour and the conduct of his relative as much as he could answer for his own. He passed from this subject in order to ask the House to consider what, apart from political and, he hoped, personal considerations, they ought to do. They were asked to appoint a Committee to inquire into the circumstances under which the alleged agreement was made. Did the right hon. Gentleman mean to charge either of the hon. Members for Hereford with being a party to that agreement? If he did, let him say so. As he obtained no reply, he gathered from the right hon. Gentleman's silence that he made no such charge. The House had jurisdiction over the conduct of its Members; but the right hon. Gentleman, by his silence, acquiesced in the statement that he had no charge to make, or that he had not the courage to make it. There was no suggestion that a breach of the Rules of the House had been committed by either of the hon. Members. Supposing it were found that 20 gentlemen signed the agreement, as seemed to be admitted, the House could do nothing. There had been no contempt of the House. No further proceeding could be taken; and a Committee would simply find that certain persons, without authority, entered into an improper agreement. At the end of four years after the transactions, without having power to punish or even to censure the parties to the agreement, they were asked to arrive at facts, which seemed to be admitted, and which could be carried no further. He would not enter into the question of the object with which this Motion had been made, or discuss why it had been kept in abeyance. It was asked why an inquiry into this matter should not be granted. Well, this was a question of precedent. If the House were to grant a Committee on the representations of men of strange conduct themselves, from whom the right hon. Gentleman had obtained his information, they would be going beyond any precedent. Moreover, the inquiry could have no Constitutional result. In the circumstances, he must ask the House to consider whether this was a case in which inquiry ought to take place. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport told the House that it was comical for the Corrupt Practices Bill to have been introduced by the Attorney General. Did the hon. and learned Member mean to say that he (the Attorney General) had ever, directly or indirectly, taken part in any corrupt practices in his life?

MR. WARTON: Taunton is a very corrupt place. The hon. and learned Gentleman knows it.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, his constituents could defend themselves. The question was, whether the hon. and learned Member for Bridport meant to charge that he had been guilty of corrupt practices? The hon. and learned Member for Bridport was a fitting supporter for the right hon. Gentleman who introduced this subject, and who hinted at charges he did not dare to make. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport asserted that the Government carried a whitewashing clause, so that there should be no retrospective inquiry; but he might point out that there was no such clause in the Government Bill, and that it was inserted at the suggestion of a Conservative Member of the House. In conclusion, he appealed to the House not to grant an inquiry, which would be without precedent and without result.

MR. ONSLOW said, he thought the Government ought to grant the Committee, in order that the grave charges made by his right hon. Friend might be thoroughly investigated. If the House refused to grant the Committee the public would say that the Government were using their influence to shield the Members for Hereford, and that the Attorney General was seeking to cover the sins of his relative. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Oh!] The Home Secretary, of course, knew a great deal more about corrupt practices than he did. He wished to impress this fact upon Her Majesty's Government—that, however painful it might be for that House to give a vote against these hon. Members, still, if the Committee were refused, the public would disbelieve in all their protestations of their desire to put down corrupt practices at elections. It would be said out-of-doors that the Government were determined to screen the hon. Members lest many nasty things should come to light. When charges of this serious character were brought against hon. Members, they ought, in the interests of those hon. Members themselves, to be sifted to the bottom before a competent tribunal, with the view of their being either substantiated or disproved. He hoped that the Attorney General would see his way to alter his decision in this matter, and to consent to the appointment of this Committee.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, that it appeared to him that the only question for the House to consider in this matter was, whether the appointment of this Committee would be for the public advantage in checking those corrupt practices which they all so much deplored? A good deal might be said in favour of appointing this Committee if the inquiry before it would result in exposing corrupt practices that had not yet been brought to light; but all the exposure that was likely to result from the inquiry had been brought about by the right hon. Gentleman himself. The statement of the right hon. Gentleman that an improper agreement had been entered into with the view of making a bargain with an hon. Member in connection with the withdrawal of this Petition had not been contradicted, and the names of the persons concerned in that agreement had been given publicly. An inquiry before a Committee, therefore, would not bring to light any new facts. How were hon. Members to vote on this question? The view he took of the matter was this—if the right hon. Gentleman intended to impute that the two sitting Members for Hereford were guilty of being privy to this agreement, he should cordially vote for the appointment of the Committee; but if the right hon. Gentleman did not make that imputation he should vote against the Motion.

MR. BIGGAR said, that having heard the opening speech he could bear testimony to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had not given the name of the Attorney General's brother without considerable and most unusual pressure being brought to bear upon him by the hon. Member for Hereford (Mr. R. T. Reid), and then he had not given it with any great pleasure. The hon. Member for Hereford had acted throughout in a most unusual manner. It was a most extraordinary thing that while both the hon. Representatives of Hereford had expressed themselves as being most anxious that this inquiry should take place the Attorney General should refuse the Committee on the part of the Government. Of course, the hon. Member for Hereford, being a lawyer, did not know more of the matter than he wanted to know.

MR. R. T. REID rose to Order. He wished to know whether the hon. Member was in Order in making imputations of this nature upon an hon. Member?

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope that the debate will be conducted without the imputation of motives, and without personalities which are extremely painful.

Mr. BIGGAR, in continuing, remarked that the state of political morality in Hereford must be a singular one, seeing that 10 of the leading Conservatives of that city had believed that one of the Representatives of the constituency could be induced to enter into a bargain to retire from his seat after a specified time. He could conceive an instance in which two candidates holding the same political views agreed to contest a borough, one being a man of wealth and the other being a man of ability, on the understanding that the wealthy man was to find the ready money and the able man was to do all the talking. The real question before the House was whether the two hon. Members for Hereford, who had declared themselves so anxious for this inquiry, were to be allowed to clear their characters, or were to be forced to rest under the grave imputations which the right hon. Gentleman had brought against them?

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that when he left the House the senior hon. Member for Hereford had seconded the Motion, and the junior Member had supported it, the first merely stammering out, "I second this Motion." The impression on his mind then was that the inquiry was practically granted; but he understood since that the Attorney General, speaking on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, had flatly refused it. Such a course on the part of the Government threw considerable doubt upon the sincerity of the hon. Members implicated in this matter.

Mr. PULLEY: I appeal to you, Mr. Speaker, as to whether I violated any of the Rules of the House?

Mr. SPEAKER: Had the hon. Member violated any of the Rules of the House I should have corrected him.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he would not go into that question; but what he wanted to point out was, that it was very difficult for those sitting on the Opposition side of the House, or any independent Member, to believe that the support given to the Motion by the hon. Members for Hereford could be sincere, on account of the extraordinary conduct pursued by the Government. What was to become of the reputation of the House of Commons if the Government—[*A laugh.*] He knew that the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds), and his protector, the Home Secretary, cared very little for the reputation of the House of Commons, and allowed its honour and character to be dragged into the dirt. ["Order, Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope the noble Lord will not introduce any fresh personalities into the discussion, which has been made painful by such personalities already.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, it was very difficult indeed to debate this question and keep absolutely clear of anything approaching to personalities. He was speaking of the honour of the House of Commons, when he was met with the jeers of the hon. Member for Stockton; and naturally his mind recurred to the extremely painful scene in which the hon. Member was engaged some time ago. He was asking what was to become of the reputation of the House of Commons if, in the course of one Session, Her Majesty's Government used their mechanical majority to prevent two inquiries that were demanded, one into a matter deeply affecting a Minister of the Crown, and the other into a matter affecting two Members of the Liberal Party. It was a great misfortune that the Front Opposition Bench was upon this occasion so tenantless. He did not know whether the election transactions connected with 1880 were matters about which they felt a little delicacy. Certainly, it was a most remarkable feature that when a question of great importance to the House of Commons was being discussed they should have taken themselves off. He did not think his right hon. Friend (Mr. Raikes) need be disappointed at the attitude of the Government. Nothing could be more favourable to the cause which they represented than the obstinate and, he believed, the interested refusal which the Attorney General had made in this matter to the cause which they on the Opposition side had advocated—namely, electoral purity; and they should lose no opportunity of drawing public attention to the corrupt and dark practices which placed the Liberal majority in power.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he did not intend to follow the noble Lord into the personalities in which he had indulged; but it was always a consolation to the Government to know that, whatever hard words he might apply to them, he always said much harder things about his friends. But the noble Lord, not having heard the Attorney General, did not appreciate the position of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman did not make a charge against the Members for Hereford; and it was all very well for them to say "the more inquiry the better;" but the Government had to consider, irrespective of the hon. Members, what ought to be the action of the House of Commons. It had been pointed out that it was not for the House to enter upon an inquiry, not with reference to its own Members, but with regard to persons over whom it had no control and no jurisdiction. Such an inquiry would place the House in an entirely false position; it would lend encouragement to proceedings which were much better fitted for the anonymous columns of a society newspaper than for the transactions of a deliberative Assembly. He had never heard of the Hereford Election before. He had listened with great attention to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes), and he was wondering the whole time when he was coming to any point which would justify the Motion he had made. To his infinite surprise, he sat down without even approaching anything that had any relation to it, or even of making out a *primâ facie* case for inquiry by a Committee, and it was for that reason alone that the Government could not support the Motion.

Mr. GORST said, that having had an intimate acquaintance with the proceedings of political parties at elections, he could not share the noble Lord's surprise at the absence of the Leader of the Opposition or at the conduct of the Government. No doubt there was no charge against the Members for Hereford; it was only incidentally and in a secondary degree that their conduct was brought in, and no doubt they would come out of the inquiry with clean hands. A gross scandal had been committed by the local wire-pullers, who did not act on their own responsibility, but were intimately associated with others, who kept carefully in the background in London, who kept within the limits of the law and were perfectly safe; and this was true of both Parties. If there were corrupt proceedings in a constituency, the House of Commons was justified in dragging them to light. In this case both Parties were involved. It was inconvenient that these things should be inquired into, and that was the reason the Front Opposition Bench was unoccupied, save by the right hon. Gentleman who had just come in (Mr. Sclater-Booth), who was a county Member, and quite innocent in regard to what was done at borough elections. He was also equally certain that there were Gentlemen sitting on the Government Bench who would have imitated the example if they had dared, but being Members of the Government they had been obliged to be present and brazen it out. The course the Government had taken was deliberately to invite the House of Commons to stifle inquiry. The Government did not want the inquiry because they were afraid that matters would be brought to light which had long been kept secret, and which would be extremely inconvenient for some Members of their Party. A *primâ facie* case was made out as to an abominably corrupt bargain made by wire-pullers on both sides for the purpose of securing the withdrawal of a Petition. The Home Secretary said that inquiry would be fruitless; but it was precisely because it would not be fruitless that he opposed it. He was certain, whatever the decision of the House might be, the country would believe that the leading Members of the Opposition went away because they did not dare to face the inquiry, and that the Government tried to stifle the discussion because they could not sustain an open investigation.

Mr. HOPWOOD said, he thought the House had seldom witnessed such a spectacle as that which had just been presented by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). The hon. and learned Member had been the dispenser of the secrets of the Opposition side of the House. He knew what had been done so well, and he liked to dilate from time to time on all that had passed through his hands. He could not believe that the Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench were absent because they knew of infamous practices. He could hardly think that the hon. Member could have meant to charge a whole body of men with such improprieties, and he (Mr. Hopwood) should think that before morning came the hon. Member would be convinced of the imprudence of having made that statement and that attack. He thought the Attorney General had put this matter on its right footing; and as the right hon. Gentleman who brought forward this Motion had declined to aver that the two hon. Members for Hereford were mixed up with this transaction, he should vote against the Motion.

Mr. MONTAGU SCOTT said, he would be very loath to impute venality in election matters reflecting on either of the hon. Members for Hereford, with whom he was not acquainted, and against whom, consequently, he could have no personal grudge. Because that was so he took their part, and he should say for them, what he would say for himself, if charges of this kind were brought against him—"I am ready to meet them; if you persevere in your accusations, go on, and I will meet them." The hon. Members, it was true, might be entirely innocent of the grave charges brought against some of their constituents—persons supposed to be truthful. He did not know anything about them, or anything about Hereford, and he did not want to know; but it was rather suspicious that after the visit of Mr. Sydney Myers to the Conservative agent, a rouleau of £600 in bank-notes had been found lying on his table. Did anyone suppose that Mr. Myers, from philanthropic motives, had left there £600 of his own money? He only wished that he was acquainted with this gentleman, and that he would visit him in a similar way. He should like to be on the proposed Committee if it were only for the purpose of putting a few questions to this Mr. Myers. There had been a compact entered into by 20 reputed respectable men of the Liberal Party, and one of them wrote that they intended to act up to that compact. He appealed to the Treasury Bench, and especially to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham and President of the Board of Trade, whether Mr. Scobie, the Secretary of the Liberal Association and Official Receiver of the Court of Bankruptcy, just appointed to the latter office by the President of the Board of Trade, was not a respectable man, and, therefore, to be believed before a Committee of the House of Commons? This Mr. Scobie wrote that he intended to carry out a certain compact with the Conservative agent. Why, therefore, should the Government, by shirking a Committee, seek to prevent his examination? When imputations were brought against Members of that House who sat on the Ministerial side of the House—or, indeed, in any quarter of the Chamber—it was absolutely cruel on the part of the Government to shirk this inquiry, knowing that they were backed up by a large majority, and feeling that they were expert enough to use it. "The whirligig of time brings its own revenges." Last Session they had the Corrupt Practices (Elections) Bill of the Attorney General, who, that night, attacked the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes) for personalities, and threw his pure robe of protection around both Mr. Myers and Mr. Scobie, out of goodwill to the hon. Members for Hereford. He (Mr. Montagu Scott) would not follow the example of their *pseudo*-Friends, but should vote for the appointment of the proposed Committee.

Mr. WARTON asked, on a point of Order, whether the senior Member for Hereford, having seconded the Motion, could not be compelled to be a Teller?

Mr. SPEAKER said, that there was no such obligation on the hon. Member.

Mr. TOMLINSON thought that the House would want some stronger authority than had been given for the doctrine that no Member of the House had a right to an inquiry unless a direct charge had been made against him.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 107; Noes 55: Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 82.)

Main Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MADAGASCAR.—OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. ASHMEAD - BARTLETT, in rising to call attention to recent events in Madagascar, said, that if he was obliged that night to intervene between the House and the consideration of other Business, which might be more interesting to some Members than the subject he was about to bring forward, the House would feel that it was no fault of his. On a previous occasion he was able, at a convenient time, to invite attention to that question, when it would have been disposed of but for the unusual and unfair action of the Government in depriving him of a House that had been made. His position in regard to the matter which he was now bringing under consideration might be summed up under these three heads—first, that a wanton and unprovoked attack had been made on a friendly and innocent State by the authorities of the French Republic; secondly, that the attack and the operations subsequent had inflicted very serious loss on British subjects and very grave injury on British commerce; and, thirdly, that those proceedings had been accompanied by grievous insults and affronts offered on the part of the French Commanders to British officials and British subjects. To those three he might add, as a fourth, that no satisfactory apology, and no reparation worthy of the name, had been made to this country for the insults offered to our flag and the losses and injuries inflicted on British subjects. He could not better describe the natural feelings of indignation and shame with which these facts affected those who were acquainted with them than in the language used by a Member of the Liberal Party. In September last, the hon. Member for Plymouth (Mr. Macliver), speaking at Weston-super-Mare, said—

> "We find France indulging in such a spirit in distant posts, where British commerce is overwhelming, and our influence almost unchequered, that it is impossible to say what the outcome may be. Certainly, the case of Mr. Shaw is not one that should be overlooked. Are we always to remain passive under insult and wrong? Has the fire gone out that once burned in Englishmen's breasts?"

The hon. Member then proceeded to recapitulate the main facts as to the French Admiral's treatment of Consul Pakenham, of Commander Johnstone, of Her Majesty's ship *Dryad*, of the officers of the British mail packet on its arrival at Tamatave, of Mr. Shaw, the English missionary, and other incidents connected with the French operations in Madagascar.. He would not go into the details fully, because he had already referred to them on other occasions. He mentioned that a trade of £750,000 sterling had been destroyed by those operations, the loss thus produced ahving fallen almost entirely on British subjects, many of whom had been ruined. Besides a number of British merchants and Natives of Mauritius, a visitor to Madagascar stated that—

> "At Mojanga, and along the Western Coast of the Island, are over 500 Chorah merchants from Bombay, regarding whose fate during the past six months their friends in India have learned little. Although British subjects, they have apparently been altogether abandoned by their Government."

The Government had been inaccurate as well as secretive. In referring to those events on a former occasion, the Prime Minister informed the House that Commander Johnstone was in no respect acting in a civil capacity, and had no authority to do so; and yet, three weeks before that statement, the Foreign Office issued a letter to that officer formally thanking him for the part he had taken as Acting Vice Consul, and another letter appointing him as Vice Consul after Consul Pakenham's death; and the Prime Minister had also stated, on August 21, that he had no reason to believe

> "That Mr. Shaw had not free access to, and means of, providing himself with legal defence,"

when despatches were in his possession proving that Mr. Shaw was a close prisoner, and not allowed to communicate with anyone. The hon. Member went on to complain that, in the Blue Book which had been presented by the Government, the despatches of Commander Johnstone, which stated the whole case against the French authorities, were wholly suppressed, together with the Memorandum that was sent by the British Cabinet to the French Government asking for reparation. He expressed his belief that if Her Majesty's Government had dared to present the despatches of Commander Johnstone to the House, they could not have remained on the Treasury Bench, the indignation of the country would have been roused so strongly against them on account of their pusillanimity in regard to those transactions. The Government, by the way in which it had prepared that Blue Book, had been guilty of a breach of faith with the House and the public. The only person who came with credit out of this painful and humiliating affair was Commander Johnstone, whose intrepid courage, firmness, and tact deserved the highest praise. He would quote a statement which appeared in

The Daily News on the 25th of last September—

> "Captain Johnstone throughout behaved admirably, and did all that the rules of international courtesy permitted. Nothing could induce Admiral Pierre to grant Mrs. Shaw an interview with her husband, from whom she had been two years separated, and of whose probable fate, or even the charges on which he was detained, she was ignorant. Admiral Pierre, in his despatch to his Government, speaks of the pain of having had to harden his heart against a lady's entreaties. But he adopted an easy method of hardening his heart, for he would not even see her himself, and gave all his answers in writing and through his officers, keeping Mr. Shaw below, so as to prevent his being ever seen from the deck of the *Dryad*, or from the town by the aid of a glass."

The only fact upon which the Government could rely by way of defence was that Mr. Shaw obtained £1,000 from the French Government. The great majority of the English people, however, did not look upon that sum as adequate compensation for a man who was imprisoned unjustly, treated like one of the lower animals, and denied all access to his friends for two months. The craven conduct of the Government on the occasion to which he was referring would encourage foreign nations to go great lengths in future in their behaviour towards Englishmen. The insults to the British flag did not cease with the withdrawal of Admiral Pierre, and the movements of the British vessels had since been dogged by the French ships. A reliable witness, Captain Cameron, the Correspondent of *The Standard*, whose brilliant description of the recent Soudan campaign was so well known, had stated—

> "From the officers of the *Euryalus* and *Dragon* we had confirmation, and more, of all that has appeared in the Home Press regarding the insulting attitude of the French Fleet towards the British vessels. On more than one occasion the latter were threatened with active hostilities. Both sides went to quarters; the respective crews stood by their guns, and thus faced each other, broadside to broadside. The *Dryad* and *Dragon* were, of course, greatly overmatched, and had arranged, should the French have opened fire, to slip their cables, and ram—the one the *Flore*, the other the *Forfait*—the two largest of the opposing ships. The insults did not cease with Admiral Pierre's departure. This wanton display of unfriendliness has been reported home."

With regard to the Island of Madagascar itself, it was worthy of remark that our trade with it amounted to £750,000 a-year, and was steadily increasing. In addition to this, it was very important to the Colony of Mauritius, which derived the greater part of its meat supply from the Island. Many of our fellow-subjects from Mauritius had made large investments of capital in Madagascar. As far as its physical features were concerned, it was one of the richest, as far as its soil was concerned, most fertile, and most promising countries in the world. The Correspondent of *The Standard* newspaper, who had visited that Island, drew a remarkable picture of its soil and products. He said—

> "The virgin soil is rich and deep—on an average from 6 feet to 8 feet of the special loam required for the sugar-cane. The wealth of tropical growth displayed here cannot be matched all the world over, not even in the richest portions of India. The rivers are wide and navigable. Not only sugar, but tobacco, cloves, pepper, cinnamon, and all the spices can be grown in profusion. Palms of all the different species, magnificent groves of mango trees, the coffee, indigo, and bread-fruit plants are to be seen, while the slender and graceful bamboo tones down, with its delicate green, the more flaunting colours of the robuster growths. There is no country in the world where live stock is so cheap as in Madagascar. Fine bullocks can be purchased for two or three dollars each. Cattle are cheap in Madagascar because there are no droughts, and the grazing grounds are practically inexhaustible. The indiarubber trade is rapidly increasing. But the sugar plantations are the most promising source of wealth."

Again, the same able observer, writing of the brisk trade between Madagascar and England, says—

> "Forty-one British vessels cleared from this port (Tamatave) alone during the past year. The consumption of Lancashire cotton prints and fancy cloths is steadily increasing. Hardware goods come almost entirely from England."

The Malagasy people had largely adopted the Christian religion, and were far from being the barbarous race which some had described them. As a proof of the advance of the Malagasy people in civilization and Christianity, he would like to quote the evidence of a recent eye-witness who had visited the capital—

> "Around us were numerous villages clustered on the hill slopes. There were no trees, only rolling veldt, like that peculiar to South Africa. But the villages were not mere collections of bamboo-built huts. Strong and substantially-built houses of brick they were, not lacking in pretensions to architectural design, and superior in comfort and appearance to those which many a villager in Britain and Ireland can boast of. And here, too, the townships had each its detached building, trim and neat, whose style and architecture at once indicated the other chapel.

There were, moreover, indications of missionary work in the land. As we passed through the streets we could hear the hum of children busy at their lessons, and singing sometimes the Morning Hymn, so well known in many an English school. There could be no question that, so far as outward appearances went, the people of Tonerina had reached a high level of civilization. It was difficult to imagine that this peaceful country, with its pretty cottages, its innumberable chapels, whose bells were then calling the people to worship, and its troops of white-robed men and women answering the summons, was the barbarous Madagascar of 20 years ago."

He would particularly commend these interesting descriptions to the attention of hon. Members opposite who were attached to the Nonconformist Bodies. This good work had mainly been done by Methodist missionaries, and it was confessedly against these Wesleyan converts that the aggression of French fanatics and Chauvinists was now aimed. He hoped the Government would not admit the claims of France to supremacy in the Island. He dared say the Government would meet him by the statement that they had done the best to defend British interests in Madagascar, and to promote the interests of the people of that Island. They would, probably, further say that any intervention on their part could only be satisfactorily carried out by active military operations, and by a display of force which might have involved them in a war with France. That might be their defence; but he would ask Ministers whether they had really done all in the power of a great country like England, with special interests and duties to maintain, to protect the people of Madagascar from unjust attack? He would ask them if they had made those distinct and emphatic remonstrances with the French Government which, at all events, in his humble opinion, they ought to have made? He would further ask them whether, at that moment, they stood in a dignified position with regard to France, or the other Powers of the world? Whether they were less likely to have further advantage taken of them, and less likely to be pushed further down the hill of insult and injury, than if they had taken a bold line at first? It was but too evident that the tame acquiescence of the Government in those grievous affronts had brought this country a great deal nearer to active hostility with regard to other Powers, and especially France. Such weakness must lead to still further insults and still more grievous affronts being offered to them. [Mr. Gladstone dissented.] He would repeat that that was so, in spite of the indignant gestures of the Prime Minister. It was perfectly evident to the whole world that, so far from Her Majesty's Government being on satisfactory terms with the French Republic, for whom they had sacrificed so much, they had now drifted into such antagonism that even their own supporters in the Press warned them that they were drifting into war. The more they conceded, the more was demanded of them. They began by basing their policy on the French alliance; but they had given way to France point after point. He was not going to discuss those points, and he only referred to them as links in a chain of which this Madagascar question formed one. The British Cabinet allowed the French Government to deceive them in regard to Tunis, and they took pride in concealing the facts of the case from the House. In regard to the Commercial Treaty, they had also been cajoled by France, and they had allowed themselves to be dragged into a political and military intervention in Egypt, with the result which the country was now witnessing. The fatal and irretrievable position now occupied by Her Majesty's Government was the consequence of the Joint Note; and, at this moment, the one Power which was thwarting, embarrassing, and opposing us in every way in regard to the Egyptian Question was the French Government, for whom they had sacrificed so much. His opinion was, that if they had taken a firm stand at first with regard to Madagascar and other questions, so far from involving the country into war, they would have saved the people of Madagascar and their own credit. What course would Lord Palmerston have taken in a case like this? Lord Palmerston, having long been concerned in matters connected with the foreign policy of the country, was not approved of by the present Prime Minister. He would remind the Prime Minister that Lord Palmerston was regarded by the right hon. Gentleman as the Prince of Jingoes, and on more than one occasion the right hon. Gentleman had deprecated the foreign policy of that statesman.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Is the hon. Member prepared to prove the charge he makes?

Mr. ASHMEAD - BARTLETT admitted that he had not the statements of the right hon. Gentleman in his hand; but if the House would take it from him, he was perfectly prepared to prove, at the proper moment, that the Prime Minister, on more than one occasion, had deprecated the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston. The strained relations between himself and Lord Palmerston prior to the Crimean War were notorious. But Lord Palmerston, although he always firmly maintained the honour and power and dignity of the country, never involved England in a single great war; whereas the indecision and weakness of the right hon. Gentleman, and the Cabinet of which he was a prominent Member, had caused the country to drift into the Crimean War——

Mr. GLADSTONE: And Lord Palmerston also.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: No; Lord Palmerston was not a Member of the Cabinet at that time.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Certainly; he was a Member.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, if he was wrong in that assertion, he regretted to have made it. He had forgotten for the moment that Lord Palmerston, after resigning his position in the Cabinet at the close of 1852, on account of differences with his Colleagues, and especially with the right hon. Gentleman, afterwards had been persuaded to return. This was, at any rate, the fact, that the right hon. Gentleman the present Prime Minister was, at that time, a more prominent Member of the Cabinet than Lord Palmerston. ["No, no!"] If the Prime Minister objected to that statement he would withdraw it; but he was justified in assuming, in view of the recent policy of the Premier, that it was more likely that the present Prime Minister was the cause of the Crimean War—that was, of the weakness and vacillation which led the Government to drift into that war—rather than Lord Palmerston. He believed that a policy of firmness and resolution was the best preservative against war. He believed that the policy of Her Majesty's Government, in regard to Madagascar and in regard to other questions of difficulty into which England had been drawn, had, as was too apparent at the present time, drawn upon this country the contempt of other nations. He used the word with the greatest reluctance. If, however, they judged the opinion of other countries, as other countries judged the opinion of this country at this moment—namely, from the expressed views of the public Press—then, from the almost unanimous expressions of opinion on the part of the public Press of other countries, hon. Members on both sides of the House must be bound to admit that what he said was fully justified. He deeply regretted to find that the public Press of every nation on the Continent, at that moment, was crying shame on England and her present Ministry for the weakness and inconsistency of their policy. He knew that the Prime Minister said that the great majority of the Press upon the Continent were in the pay of the great financiers. That was a perfect myth. It was only the other day that the Prime Minister, while admitting the fact of this universal censure, said the reason why the Foreign Press was constantly condemning his policy was that the wires were pulled by the great financiers. No doubt, the great financiers of Europe possessed considerable power; but he absolutely denied that the financiers of Europe, or any other body of men, had power to form a combination against Her Majesty's Government that would extend from St. Petersburg to Rome and from Paris to Bucharest. In conclusion, he would apologize to the House for having taken up so much of its time.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the hon. Member who had just addressed the House (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had said, very truly, that there was on the Paper for consideration that evening some very important Business which hon. Members on his own side of the House were very anxious to reach, and, therefore, the hon. Member proposed to curtail the observations he would otherwise have addressed to the House. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) hoped the House would not consider him disrespectful if, animated with the same feeling, he were also to curtail the observations he would otherwise have made, because he knew the great interest which the other Business excited in the minds of many hon. Members on his own side of the House. The hon.

Gentleman began by complaining of the action of the Government the other night in regard to this question, and of the manner in which the debate he then attempted to raise had terminated. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) absolutely denied that there was any cause of complaint against Her Majesty's Government for the manner in which the debate terminated. It was only through him (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), personally, that the hon. Member was able to speak at all, or that there was a House. [Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: No, no!] It was quite true that the House was formed; but, 20 minutes afterwards, it was not continued owing to the action of the Friends of the hon. Member himself, who left the House. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) was in his place upon that Bench, and he was, at a critical moment, joined by his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke). He was glad to find that the hon. Member had not favoured the House with a repetition of the statements he had made during the winter.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: What statements?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: He referred to the statements of the hon. Member during the winter, in connection with the Pritchard affair. The account which, however, the hon. Member gave of the history of the Pritchard affair was only on a par with the statement he had made just now in regard to the formation of the Aberdeen Ministry. He hoped the House might not deduce from that fact that the hon. Member had altogether discontinued his historic researches.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: What were they?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: If the hon. Member would only examine them, he would find that the statements he had made were altogether inaccurate, and he would also discover in the history of the different Governments who had ruled the country in the past that Lord Palmerston was a Member of the Government which began the Crimean War.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked what were the statements referred to by the noble Lord?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he referred to the statements of the hon. Member in regard to an Ultimatum, and to a large sum of money having been paid. Both statements were absolutely incorrect.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he rose to correct the statement of the noble Lord at once. He had never made any assertion, either in that House or elsewhere, in regard to an Ultimatum, or to a large sum of money having been paid. What he had said was that a demand for reparation was made by Sir Robert Peel, and that reparation was made fully, and without delay.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that that statement of the hon. Gentleman was inaccurate also, but not quite so inaccurate as the one he had read in the reports which appeared in the newspapers. The hon. Member had directed his observations to three points, which he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) would very briefly touch. He had spoken of the attack of the French on Madagascar, and said he hoped that, on behalf of the Government, no attempt would be made to justify that attack, or to support the claims of France upon Madagascar. Now, he was not concerned in any way to enter into the merits of that dispute. Her Majesty's Government naturally regretted that war should have been entered into between two friendly Powers, and the attitude which had necessarily been observed was one of strict and impartial neutrality. He was not called upon at that moment to enter into the nature and history of the Treaties put forward by the French Government as a justification of their attack. He would do no more than express a hope that the French Government and the Government of Madagascar would soon find some method of composing their differences; and he would repeat what was already in the Blue Books—that should an opportunity arise in which Her Majesty's Government could usefully offer their services for the arrangement of those differences, that opportunity should not be lost. Then the hon. Member proceeded to speak in detail of the incidents which happened nine months ago at Madagascar, and which occasioned a great deal of feeling at the moment both in that House and in the country. He was quite sure that the House would feel that there was a time for all things, and that it was not wise or desirable, when a quarrel had been happily arranged by the diplomatic skill of the French Ambassador and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to go back upon it now, and rake up the various incidents, and even to exaggerate those incidents, and run the risk of exciting ill-feeling, which it had been the object of Her Majesty's Government to allay. Perhaps the hon. Member would be glad that he should say so; but he believed it very possible that, if Parliament had been sitting while those delicate negotiations between Lord Granville and M. Waddington were going on, and if it had been in his power to come down to the House three or four times a-week, and ask the most irritating Questions about the progress of those negotiations, and to have pressed the Government to give inconvenient explanations which might have thwarted the progress of the negotiations, it was possible that the hon. Member might have succeeded in exciting such an amount of ill-feeling in France as would have rendered the friendly settlement of the question impossible.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I did not do so.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the hon. Member had not done so because Parliament was not sitting; but, as far as the hon. Member could do so, he did it, in going all over the country giving an inaccurate account of the matter. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had no doubt that, if the hon. Member could have done so in that House, he would have availed himself of every opportunity of doing it. Fortunately, through no merit of his own, the hon. Member was not able to do so, because Parliament was not sitting at the time. The hon. Member had stated that there was no expression of regret on the part of the French Government of any kind about Mr. Shaw.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I did not state that.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he had taken down the words of the hon. Member, and he wished to call the attention of the House to the facts of the case. On page 61 of the Blue Book, in a despatch of M. Challemel-Lacour to M. Waddington, written to be communicated to Earl Granville, there was a passage in which it was said that, whatever the facts might have been, it was certain that an innocent man, who was the subject of a Foreign Power, had been deprived of his liberty and unjustifiably detained under painful circumstances. The despatch went on to say that the Government had therefore decided to offer a sum of 25,000 francs, as an evidence of their wish to lighten the consequences to Mr. Shaw. The despatch added that Her Majesty's Government would see, in this decision, a proof of the motives by which the French Government were animated; and he hoped they would be animated by the same spirit in securing the settlement of the difficulty. For a great nation like France frankly to come forward and state that the conduct of her Agents was not justified—for that was the phrase—was an expression of regret; and would it have been desirable, or wise, or just, or dignified on the part of Her Majesty's Government to have insisted upon the use of stronger terms, when the negotiations on both sides were being conducted in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, having due regard to the mutual dignity of both countries? That was the reason why the negotiations had been successful.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Very successful indeed!

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the hon. Member had also dwelt on the insult to Consul Pakenham; but he had carefully avoided referring to the facts which were not known to the House when the question was raised last year. Now, on page 61 of the Blue Book, in a despatch of October 29th, 1883, from Lord Granville to M. Waddington, Lord Granville said that Her Majesty's Government had no desire, after the communications received from the French Government, to dwell upon the events which had occurred; and he added that he had great pleasure in receiving a letter, which he annexed, from the French Ambassador, in reference to Consul Pakenham, which showed that Admiral Pierre would not have carried out the order for the Consul's expulsion. That was most satisfactory, because the course taken by Admiral Pierre was said at the time to be unjustifiable. He desired to speak in terms of respect of Admiral Pierre as a gallant sailor, who, having served his country well in many ways, was now dead. But as to the orders given in regard to Consul Pakenham, those orders were felt to be unjustifiable, and the French Government had made that acknowledgment. He was glad to find, although at the last moment, that that fact had been recognized—that, considering the painful circumstances in which Consul Pakenham, a dying man, was placed, the orders of the Admiral would not have been carried out. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) was also glad to have that opportunity of paying a tribute of respect to the memory of Consul Pakenham, who had served Her Majesty's Government faithfully for many years, who was a man of great knowledge, intimately acquainted with the Island of Madagascar, in which he had long lived, and who was so much respected by all the inhabitants, French as well as English. Consul Pakenham was viewed with the highest respect, not only by the French Colony, but by traders and naval men who had occasion to visit the Colony from time to time; and there could be nothing more distasteful to the French in that part of the world than that any disrespect should be shown towards Consul Pakenham himself. The hon. Member had also dwelt upon the alleged insult to Commander Johnstone, and to the order he was supposed to have received to send the mails on board the French steamer, before placing them on board the packet. It was, no doubt, true that Captain Hay believed he was speaking accurately when he told Commander Johnstone that such an order had been issued; but it was quite evident that Captain Hay, although he believed that such an order had been issued, had misunderstood what the order was. The order was intended to apply to private letters going in by the ship of which Commander Johnstone was himself the captain; but there was no intention whatever on the part of the French Commander to extend the order for his examination to the official mail bags of the Government going out in Commander Johnstone's own ship. He would not enter more fully into this matter, because he felt quite sure that the common sense of the House and of the country would not sanction an attempt to go into the past and rake up all these old matters which had been settled some time ago, and settled with the happy result of re-establishing a good and friendly feeling between England and France. The hon. Member had also touched upon the trade of Madagascar. He congratulated the hon. Member upon not having used the figure of £2,000,000 in relation to the trade of that country, which he had so frequently used on other occasions. As a matter of fact, the hon. Member had always hitherto used the figure of £2,000,000 in regard to that and several other subjects. The trade between England and Madagascar, and between this country and various other parts of the world, was always estimated by the hon. Member at £2,000,000. [Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Never.] Now, he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) believed that the trade of England was constantly increasing in all parts of the world; but he protested against the attempt of the hon. Member to introduce in regard to Madagascar the £2,000,000 which weighed so greatly upon his mind, and was as difficult to keep out of it as the head of King Charles, in the famous Memorial of Mr. Dick, mentioned by Mr. Dickens in *David Copperfield.* The hon. Member said the trade of Madagascar had been very much affected by the cowardly conduct of Her Majesty's Government. Of, course, when war was going on, trade necessarily suffered. The hon. Member chose to say that it was owing to the action of the Government, although he made no attempt to prove it; and he also chose to say that the devastation which had occurred in the Island, and of which he said there appeared a faithful account in *The Times*, was the work of the French. Now, there was no proof of that at all. Some parts of the Island of Madagascar had been deserted, and it was much more likely, in such a case, that the Natives had gone down into the interior and devastated the rich plantations. So far as Her Majesty's Government were concerned, they could have but one wish. The Island of Madagascar had excited much interest in this country, on account of the progress the inhabitants had made in Christianity and civilization. They would only be too glad to see the people of Madagascar restored to the position they occupied a short time ago, and they fully hoped and believed that the magnanimity of the French Government would arouse itself, and that they would feel they were dealing with an important and interesting community—a community in no sense a savage community, but enjoying, to a large extent, the advantages of civilization and Christianity. If any opportunity occurred such as occurred about a year ago, when, unfortunately, they were refused, that would enable Her Majesty's Government to use their friendly offices in order to bring about that condition of things which all desired to see restored, the House and the country might rest assured that the opportunity would not be lost.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he wished to correct two statements which the noble Lord had made with regard to himself. ["Oh, oh!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member desire to make a personal explanation?

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT replied in the affirmative. He had never used any other figure in regard to the trade of Madagascar than £750,000. Nor had he said, in his speech, that no apology was made by the French Government in connection with the case of Mr. Shaw. His words were that no apology was offered for the insults of the Commanders and others, except in the case of Mr. Shaw.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 107; Noes 55: Majority 52.—(Div. List, No. 82.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL [*Lords*].—[Bill 120.]

(*Mr. Dodson.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 29th April.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 3, as amended, stand part of the Bill."—(*Mr. Dodson.*)

Mr. KENNY said, that an objection had been raised to the clause, on the ground that it did not sufficiently define the powers of the President of the Council. It gave the Privy Council certain powers, and said that the Privy Council might, if they thought fit, exercise them. Now, the Committee knew very well that when powers were given to the Privy Council, and it was left to their discretion to exercise them or not, the Privy Council, as a rule, did not exercise them. This clause would apply to the importation of three-fourths of the cattle which came into this country from other countries, although the other portion might be prohibited. It would mainly affect store cattle brought from the different States of the American Union to England, and it had been already explained that the cattle of all the States bordering on the Atlantic, so far as America was concerned, were practically affected with disease. That being so, it was not sufficiently clear that the disease might not be imported into England, and sent to Ireland and other countries, in consequence of importing diseased cattle from the Western States. He did not wish to protest against the clause at any length, and he had no doubt that it would be carried; but, at the same time, he begged to give Notice that on the Report he intended to move, in line 1, page 2, that the word "may" be expunged, and the words "shall in certain respects" be substituted.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he entertained a strong objection to the clause, and he thought if the Bill was to be passed at all this clause should be omitted from it. If the Privy Council were to be allowed to admit store cattle, he thought it would be altogether impossible to obtain adequate information as to the state of disease in the countries from which cattle were allowed to be exported. At any rate, he thought it would be difficult to obtain information of a thoroughly reliable nature. They had an illustration of that the other day, with regard to a cargo of cattle from Canada. The cattle were really diseased when landed; they were kept for a few days in a field; and four or five days afterwards, a very large number of them were found to be suffering from foot-and-mouth disease. He thought it was undesirable to allow cattle, purchased for store purposes, to be brought into the country at all, except when they came from localities that were wholly free from disease.

Mr. CLARE READ said, he might be allowed to express a hope that his hon. Friend the Member for Hereford (Mr. Duckham) and hon. Members from

Ireland would allow this clause to stand part of the Bill. For his own part, he would prefer to see it expunged altogether rather than introduced into the Bill, because he believed that it might have a somewhat dangerous effect. But, on the other hand, he did not believe that any large amount of store stock would come into the country if they were subjected to a lengthened quarantine. It was just within the bounds of possibility that some of the best shorthorns would come from the healthy States of America; and his hon. Friend the Member for the County of Hereford might desire to have some breeding animals from those regions. He would, therefore, not oppose the clause.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clauses 4 to 6, inclusive, severally *agreed to.*

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he rose to move the insertion of the following new clause:—

(Slaughter of animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease.)

"When, at any time after the lapse of a period of sixty days, during which no case of foot-and-mouth disease has been reported to the Privy Council (of which the Privy Council shall give due notice), every local authority shall slaughter all animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease whenever the disease appears within its district, and, if the local authority thinks fit, also animals which have been in contact with others affected with foot-and-mouth disease. The compensation for animals slaughtered shall be as follows:—(a.) Where the animal slaughtered was affected with foot-and-mouth disease, the compensation shall be four-fifths of its value immediately before it became affected, but so that the compensation do not in any such case exceed thirty pounds; (b.) In every other case the compensation shall be the value of the animal immediately before it was slaughtered, but so that the compensation do not in any case exceed forty pounds."

His object was to prevent the spread of disease. Judging from the action of the majority of the House, it might be supposed that the existence of disease in this country was dependent on its continued introduction from abroad. Such, however, was not the fact. Foot-and-mouth disease was, no doubt, originally imported from abroad; but it travelled very rapidly over the country, and had existed for the last three years, although it could not be said that any disease had been imported in the last 12 months. It, therefore, seemed to him that they ought to adopt some more stringent measure than now existed for the extermination of the disease now prevalent in the country. His own opinion was, that it was quite as important to do that as to make more stringent regulations to prevent the introduction of disease from abroad. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, when he proposed to deal with the disease which still remained in the country, and whether no more stringent measures were to be taken than those which had existed during the last three years? If nothing were done, there was every reason to apprehend that disease would continue in the country, and that it would extend from time to time, and overrun the country. In that view, an attempt to frame regulations for the extermination of disease in the country was even more important than more stringent measures against the introduction of disease from abroad. The regulations of the Privy Council during the last 12 months had been very effectual, and they could not hope for greater security against the importation of disease from abroad than had been enjoyed during that period. But the policy which, it seemed to him, ought to be adopted with foot-and-mouth disease, in the case of a new outbreak, was the immediate slaughter of all animals found affected. The Returns which had been lately laid before the House showed that, on the average, every outbreak of disease affected about 10 animals; and, therefore, a provision of this kind would only involve, in the event of an outbreak, the slaughter of about 10 animals, at a cost of about £50. There was no doubt whatever that, if the animals affected were dealt with the moment disease was manifested, it would be far more economical, and give farmers much greater security and freedom in dealing with their cattle, and in a very short time they would hear very little of foot-and-mouth disease. Under the present system, disease was allowed to spread throughout the country, and then, when it was generally prevalent, regulations of a general character were issued, and proved of comparatively little use. The policy to be adopted, according to his view, was to deal very stringently with the district in which the disease broke out by slaughtering the animals affected, and taking care not to allow the affected area to spread. That policy had been carried out in Scotland with the best results; and although disease had frequently been introduced into Scotland, care had been taken that it should not be allowed to extend. This was due in a great measure to the action of the local authorities; and he could not help thinking that if the same energetic measures had been taken elsewhere, similar beneficial results would have followed. A great deal of energy had been expended in urging the prohibition of the importation of foreign cattle; but the effect would be to give farmers throughout the country a false security. He was afraid that the same feeling of false security would be engendered by the passing of the present Bill. He was strongly of opinion that the best interests of the farmers would be consulted, and the healthiness of the cattle secured, not only by slaughtering diseased animals at the port of debarkation, but by slaughtering them throughout the country. At the present moment it was estimated that there were some 500 diseased animals in England, and these were so many centres for the dissemination of disease. Surely, there was far greater risk of disease being spread from those 500 centres than there could be by the importation of animals under stringent regulations at the port of debarkation. With a view of testing the feeling of the House upon the question, he had placed upon the Paper a new clause, which he now begged to move. His object in moving it was to give the Privy Council power to take energetic measures, and to urge upon local authorities the expediency and necessity of stamping out the disease when it existed within narrow limits. He believed this would be by far the most economical course, and would free the trade from the stringent regulations which the existence of disease necessitated. He begged to move the clause which stood on the Paper in his name.

Clause (Slaughter of animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease),—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Mr. DODSON said, it was necessary that he should say a word or two in regard to the clause proposed by his hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay). He hoped his hon. Friend would not think him wanting in courtesy if he refrained from following him into his arguments upon the subject. He desired simply to point out that, under the Act as it stood, the Privy Council had power to order slaughter and compensation in the case of foot-and-mouth disease, and they had lately passed an Order by which the local authorities themselves might, on application, obtain power to slaughter and to compensate. He did not wish to say more upon the subject than that he fully recognized the efficient manner in which many of the counties in England, and most of the counties in Scotland, although not all of them, had exercised the powers entrusted to them by the isolation of disease and by strictly carrying out regulations for keeping down foot-and-mouth disease, and, in some cases, by slaughter. But what he wished to call the attention of his hon. Friend to was this. This was a Bill which dealt with foreign cattle only, and he thought it would be very unfortunate if they should open any door which would raise the vexed question of the laws and regulations affecting cattle at home. Such a step would give rise at once to great difference of opinion; and if they were to embark in such a discussion, he really did not know when they would get out of it. Therefore, with no want of respect towards his hon. Friend, he did not propose to follow his argument in favour of the clause; but he ventured to appeal to him not to press it, or the other clauses of which he had given Notice dealing with domestic regulations.

Mr. KENNY said, he should like to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in reference to the recent Order of the Privy Council.

Mr. DODSON said, they had not yet come to that matter. The present Bill did not apply to domestic regulations, but simply to the importation of foreign animals. When they reached the Amendment of the hon. Member, he should be prepared to accept it.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he understood the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to say that the Privy Council had, at present, power to order the slaughter of animals suffering from foot-and-mouth disease, and to compensate the owners. If the right hon. Gentleman would tell the Committee that the Privy Council had the courage of their opinions, and would order the slaughter of diseased animals when the disease got within narrow limits, he should be quite satisfied. But he certainly thought they ought to have some authoritative declaration from the Head of the Agricultural Department as to what was to be the policy of the Privy Council in respect of animals suffering from disease. If the Privy Council would only come to some resolution as to what was the most economical course to adopt, and would give a definite Order, instead of vesting a discretionary power in the local authorities, he thought they would arrive at a satisfactory solution of the difficulties which now surrounded the question. He believed that if disease was allowed to go on smouldering in various districts in England, there would be every reason to fear that it would again break out and extend its ravages. According to his view, there was quite as much necessity for improving the internal regulations as there was for dealing with foreign importation; and he thought if the Privy Council had imposed regulations in a more stringent manner than they had done, they would not have had all this trouble and difficulty with regard to the importation of foreign animals.

DR. FARQUHARSON said, he thought that it was quite impossible to stamp out this disease simply by the prohibition of importation, because the disease had now become thoroughly established in this country, and was endemic. ["No, no!"] There was abundant evidence to show that it was quite possible for the disease to spring up spontaneously in their midst. ["No, no!"] It was, therefore, requisite to have this power of slaughter, as it was impossible to stamp out the disease by regulations imposed from time to time.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had exercised a wise discretion, under the circumstances of the case, and for the reasons he had stated, in appealing to the hon. Member opposite (Mr. J. W. Barclay) not to press his Amendment on that occasion. At the same time, he (Mr. Chaplin) thought the hon. Member was perfectly justified, and more than justified, in the appeal he had made to the right hon. Gentleman, as the Head of the Agricultural Department, to exercise more energy in future in using the powers of slaughter which the Privy Council possessed when foot-and-mouth disease was reduced to narrow limits throughout the country, or whenever it might break out in any particular district. He (Mr. Chaplin) himself had frequently advocated this method of dealing with foot-and-mouth disease when it broke out; but he would not, under any circumstances, have supported the clause of the hon. Member in its present form, because, although it proposed that compensation should be given, yet that compensation was, in all cases, limited to such a comparatively small sum, that he need hardly point out to the Committee, in the case of a valuable herd of shorthorns, if the clause were to be enforced, the loss inflicted upon owners would be ruinous. Under the circumstances, he hoped the hon. Member would accede to the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman, with the understanding that, in future, the Privy Council would exercise their powers in regard to slaughter more stringently than they had hitherto done.

MR. DUCKHAM said, he was surprised at the remarks which had been made by his hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay). His hon. Friend appeared to forget altogether that Scotland had hitherto been an isolated country. His hon. Friend took great credit to Scotland for stamping out disease; but he (Mr. Duckham) would tell his hon. Friend that if Scotland had been as open to disease as England, the farmers of that country would have suffered quite as severely as the English farmers had done. The herds of England had been open to infection from Ireland, Scotland, and foreign countries; but not so Scotland. His hon. Friend the Member for West Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson) seemed to consider that the disease had become acclimatized, and that it sprung up spontaneously. That was altogether contrary to the facts of the case. Every day's experience had proved that that was not so. For three years Ireland had been free from disease. Ireland had suffered for many years from it; but it had been altogether free until the disease was taken over there last year. Scotland had been free for four years, and remained free until the disease was taken over last February 12 months. His (Mr. Duckham's) own county had been free for six years, with the exception of a few traceable outbreaks, and yet no county had suffered more than it had done formerly. Every time the disease was introduced the herds were isolated, a strict *cordon* established, and the disease had not spread. In other counties in England it had been dealt with in the same manner; and it was monstrous to endeavour to persuade the House, and to send it forth to the world, that foot-and-mouth disease sprung spontaneously from the soil of this country. Such an assertion was not borne out by the facts of the case. As regarded slaughter, it might be very well for the hon. Member, who had possibly nothing more on his farm than animals of the ordinary market value; but when they came to deal with valuable animals for breeding purposes, such as the shorthorns alluded to by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), or as in his (Mr. Duckham's) county, Herefordshire, when there were many farmers who had any valuable herds of Herefords who would strongly object to the slaughter of their herds. It was, therefore, necessary that there should be a discretionary power in the hands of the Privy Council. He quite agreed with his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster that it would be better to confine the present Bill to the importation of foreign animals, and let them have improved regulations, if necessary, for their internal arrangements quite independent of the present Bill.

Mr. CLARE READ said, he was very glad, indeed, to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster say that the Privy Council had ample powers for stamping out the disease if it should be again imported. He did trust that, if they succeeded in getting rid of the present long-continued outbreak, and the country became entirely freed from disease, if from any accident, after the passing of this Bill, it should be again introduced, the Privy Council would exercise their powers of slaughter with more promptitude than they did in 1880.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he had only a word or two to say in reference to the statement of his hon. Friend the Member for Hereford (Mr. Duckham). His hon. Friend seemed to think that the action of the local authorities had very little effect in preventing the spread of disease. Now, there had been in Forfarshire 80 outbreaks during the last eight or nine months, but, thanks to the local authority, the disease had not spread; and if local authorities had dealt with outbreaks as energetically as the local authority of Forfarshire had, he thought they would have been equally successful. He would remind his hon. Friend that valuable breeding animals were not exclusively owned by English farmers. There was, proportionately, a larger breeding stock in Scotland. He had made this appeal to the House on behalf of the purchasers of store cattle, who, at the present time, were put to very great straits to procure feeding stock.

Question put, and *negatived.*

The CHAIRMAN asked if the hon. Member (Mr. J. W. Barclay) proposed to proceed with the other clauses which stood in his name upon the Paper?

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY, in rising to move the following new clause:—

Local authorities in counties in England.
(Alteration of the local authority for counties in England.)

"So much of the Second Schedule of 'The Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878,' as defines the local authorities in counties, except within the Metropolis, is hereby repealed, and, instead thereof, the persons appointed by this section shall be such local authority.

"(1.) The justices of the peace in every county shall meet and nominate not fewer than four, or more than fifteen, of their number to act on the county board for the purposes of this Act, and shall intimate to the lord lieutenant of the county and the chairman of quarter sessions the number and names of the persons so appointed.

"(2.) The clerk of the peace in each county shall call a meeting of the occupiers of agricultural subjects in the county valued in the valuation roll in force for the time at one hundred pounds and upwards. The meeting shall be called by advertisement in one or more newspapers circulating in the county for the same day as, or for a day not later than eight days after, the meeting of the justices. The advertisement shall specify the time and place of such meeting, and the clerk of the peace shall be clerk to such meeting. The meeting shall nominate from among such occupiers a number of persons equal to those nominated by the justice of the peace, and the meeting shall also name a convener, who shall intimate the names of the persons so nominated to the chairman of quarter sessions, and shall have power to call similar meetings by such advertisement when occasion shall require. In the event of such election not being intimated to the chairman of quarter sessions within fifteen days from the date of such meeting, it shall be lawful to the lord lieutenant to nominate from among such occupiers such number of persons, and intimate the same to the chairman of quarter sessions.

"(3.) A local authority may, if they think fit, determine that a certain number of their members, not exceeding one-third thereof, shall retire periodically, at intervals of not less than three years, the members so retiring being re-eligible; and the local authority may lay down such rules as they think fit to regulate the time and manner of such retirement.

"(4.) Vacancies from time to time happening by retirement, death, resignation, or otherwise, among the members of the local authority shall be filled up by the authority, and in the manner by and in which the members vacating office were respectively nominated.

"(5.) The persons nominated as in this section provided, and the lord lieutenant of the county, and the chairman of quarter sessions, for the time being shall constitute the local authority.

"(6.) As far as not otherwise provided by this Act, such local authority shall have all the powers conferred on the local authority by this Act, and shall have power to elect a chairman, specify a quorum, and make all regulations necessary for carrying the purposes of this Act into effect.

"(7.) The chairman of the local authority, and in default of him the chairman of quarter sessions, and in default of him any three members of the local authority, may at any time call a meeting of the local authority to be held at such time and place as he or they may fix, and the local authority may adjourn as they from time to time think fit,"

said, it was adapted from the constitution of the local authorities in Scotland, who had so successfully dealt with cattle disease. The same success had attended the action of the local authority in some of the counties in England; but there were some counties in which the same result had not been obtained, through the same energetic steps not having been taken. He believed the clauses he had put down in connection with this subject were adapted to the situation in England; and he was prepared to move them, in the hope that they would receive the support of those hon. Gentlemen who were supposed to represent the English farmers in that House. He begged to move the insertion of the clause.

Clause (Alteration of the local authority for counties in England),—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. DODSON said, he could not agree to the introduction of the clause into the Bill. The system described by the hon. Member (Mr. J. W. Barclay), although, no doubt, admirably adapted to the situation in Scotland, was not adapted to the circumstances of the English counties. Moreover, some of the powers proposed in the clause were already existent.

MR. HASTINGS said, he must enter his protest against this attempt to sweep away the local authorities in English counties. It seemed to be thought that there were no representatives of the tenant farmers on the present Local Board; but he (Mr. Hastings) was in a position to give that the most complete contradiction. He was himself Chairman of one Board, one-half of which was composed of tenant farmers; they were nominated by the Council of the Chamber of Agriculture, and were both interested in and acquainted with the breeding of stock. He knew the case was the same in Herefordshire, and, he believed, in Norfolk; and he thought his hon. Friend near him, who could speak with some authority on the point, would agree that the occupiers were in a majority, and that they were elected by the Board of Guardians throughout the country. He was, therefore, at a loss to understand what could be the meaning of the insinuation that the tenant farmers were entirely unrepresented. He gave every credit to the Scotch authorities for the admirable way in which they had administered the law, although he was bound to say that hon. Gentlemen from Scotland would do much better by attending to Scotch Business, than by endeavouring to administer English affairs.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, he wished to point out, in justice to the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), that the hon. Gentleman, in matters of this kind, knew as much or more of what were the practices in some English counties than the hon. Member who had just spoken. In many counties, especially in the North of England, Magistrates kept entirely in their own hands the administration of the Acts, much to the dissatisfaction of the farmers. It was in consequence of representations made to him by influential farmers, that his hon. Friend had been induced to place these Amendments on the Paper.

MR. DUCKHAM said, he thought it very desirable that a change should take place in the constitution of local authorities, a very small proportion of whom took any interest in agricultural affairs. In his opinion, the local authorities for boroughs should act, in this matter, in consonance with the county local authorities. In proof of the necessity for that assimilation, he would mention that, a short time ago, the local authority of his county refused to grant a licence for some cattle to be brought into the county from Lancashire. The person concerned then went to the Town Clerk of the City of Hereford, who, not knowing that the county authority had refused the application, gave him the licence, which was signed by the Mayor and another magistrate. The consequence was, that a lot of diseased calves were brought into the county, and about 90 animals became infected. That he considered to be a strong argument in favour of such a clause as that proposed by the hon. Member for Forfarshire.

Mr. SEXTON said, he had no interest in the question as between England and Scotland; but, as an Irish Member, he protested against the venomous attack made by the hon. Member for East Worcestershire (Mr. Hastings) upon the hon. Member who had moved the second reading of the clause before the Committee (Mr. J. W. Barclay). That hon. Member was condemned, because, being a Scotchman, he had brought forward an Amendment with the object of benefiting Englishmen—a strange comment upon the principle laid down to Members on that side of the House, that this was an United Kingdom, and that England, Scotland, and Ireland were mutually concerned with the welfare of the Three Kingdoms. The action of the hon. Member for Forfarshire had, in his opinion, been fully justified in the few remarks of the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. James Howard). It appeared to him that, in some counties in England, the affairs of the localities were conducted entirely by the magistrates, and that the farmers had no representation whatever; and he held that the control of the affairs of the farmers by a body of persons nominated by the Crown was a state of affairs grievous in itself, and which ought not to be allowed to continue. The hon. Member for Forfarshire had, as a Scotchman, in his opinion, as good a right to interfere in English affairs as Englishmen had to interfere in the affairs of Ireland; and if he went to a Division, he should be glad to vote with him.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he had been asked by a number of English farmers to bring the subject before the Committee, and, having done so, he begged to withdraw the clause.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY, in moving the insertion of the following clause:—

Joint Committees of local authorities.
(Local Authorities may unite.)

"Two or more local authorities may agree to appoint a joint committee or joint committees, and the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of 'The Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878,' shall have effect with respect to such joint committee or joint committees,"

said, he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to accept the clause. It would be found that a great many complaints were made with regard to conflicting orders and regulations of local authorities within a small area, and it was thought desirable that those regulations should be consolidated. There were, no doubt, difficulties in the way of consolidating local authorities in this Bill; but he thought that, if powers were given for local authorities to agree, it would be of great advantage. There were cases where two or three counties might combine and allow cattle within their combined area to be moved without any restriction whatever; and it was proposed by his clause, to allow the appointment of a joint committee, which could frame regulations for the combined district. He begged to move the insertion of the clause.

Clause (Local authorities may unite), —(*Mr. J. W. Barclay,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this Clause be read a second time."

Mr. DODSON said, he quite agreed with the hon. Member that, in many cases, it would be of great advantage if the regulations of the local authorities could be consolidated; but the question was a large one, and it would require much consideration before it could be dealt with. Under the circumstances, he was unable to accept the clause of his hon. Friend.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. J. W. BARCLAY moved the insertion of the following clause:—

(Additional power to Privy Council.)

"In addition to the powers conferred on the Privy Council by 'The Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878,' the Privy Council may make such orders as they think fit for prohibiting the conveyance of animals, by any vessel, to or from any port in the United Kingdom, for such time as they may consider expedient."

Clause (Additional power to Privy Council,)—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. DODSON said, he was prepared to accept the clause.

MR. PERCY WYNDHAM said, he could not help expressing surprise that the clause should be accepted by the Government; because he had distinctly understood that the operation of the Act would be limited to foreign cattle. He objected to the substitution of a hard-and-fast rule for those Orders in Council, under which they had the initiative power of stopping cattle coming from Ireland, when there was reason to believe they were in a diseased state. Without wishing to put any blame on the Privy Council, he was bound to say that they could not be got to work quick enough to answer the end desired, so far as his part of the country was concerned. When a district of Ireland was infected with disease some days elapsed before they heard of it, and further time was necessary to ascertain the truth, and then some weeks passed before an Order stopping the transit of cattle from Ireland could be put in force, by which time the whole of the North of England might be influenced by the disease. As early as last November the Privy Council, acting under very strong pressure, put upon them by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who had, no doubt, a strong pressure put upon him, issued a letter to the local authorities, the object of which was nothing else than to urge upon them to withdraw their restrictions. The letter was taken into consideration, the authorities in the County of Northumberland gave way, and accepted some cattle which had passed through places where there was disease, and three weeks afterwards they received a letter from the Privy Council to say that they had acted contrary to their instructions. The truth was that in the part of England which he had the honour to represent they were more desirous of keeping their cattle free from disease than they were to have Irish cattle brought in. At present they were working harmoniously with the Irish authorities. It was shown that the ports of Belfast, Londonderry, and Dublin were in a most satisfactory condition, and that every effort was made there to carry out the Act; but they found, notwithstanding that, unless they exercised their own supervision, they were not safe from disease. Under the circumstances, he was opposed to the clause of the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay).

MR. KENNY said, he failed to perceive the relevancy of the remarks of the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Percy Wyndham) to the clause before the Committee. As he (Mr. Kenny) understood the clause, it proposed to give power to the Privy Council to put certain ships in quarantine, the effect of which would be to prevent healthy cattle from abroad becoming infected with foot-and-mouth disease on board ship. It was well known that animals which, when embarked, were in a perfectly healthy condition, had been found to be diseased on disembarkation. There were strong reasons for this power being given to the Privy Council, the disease being of a very insidious character, and the process of infection being but imperfectly understood. It had been stated, at the Chicago Convention, that on two occasions foot-and-mouth disease had been imported into America by cattle which had contracted the disease on board ship. It was also said that cattle brought from Ireland, and landed at Bristol, were infected with foot-and-mouth disease; but there was evidence to prove that at the time these cattle left Ireland they were sound, so that it was obvious that bad, insanitary vessels were used for the conveyance of animals from Ireland. The Amendment in the name of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway County (Colonel Nolan) had for its object the complete and thorough disinfection of these vessels in order, in the first place, to save the Irish cattle raisers from the imputation of sending over diseased animals to England, and, at the same time, to save English farmers from the consequences of receiving infected cattle.

He failed to see that the objection of the hon. Member for West Cumberland (Mr. P. Wyndham) was a real objection to the clause; and he should like to see the clause of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway accepted in place of the one under notice, because it appeared to him (Mr. Kenny) to make the matter more plain. The clause in the name of the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) was not correctly worded, and he would point out the exception he took to it. In the first place, the hon. Member's clause said that the Privy Council might make such Orders as they thought fit for prohibiting the conveyance by any vessel, to or from any port in the United Kingdom, for such time as they might consider expedient. He (Mr. Kenny) thought the time should be defined, in such a manner, for instance, as was proposed by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway — namely, that the limit should be three months. The hon. Member for Forfarshire, moreover, did not make it clear that this clause referred more to animals than to vessels —there was a doubt as to whether its main application was to vessels or animals; therefore, it would be advisable to recast the clause, for the purpose of making it more clear. Then, as to the definition of the "Privy Council," he would like to know whether it would mean the Privy Council in Ireland, as well as in England, or only the English Privy Council? If the clause were rendered more clear in these respects, he should give it a very warm support.

Mr. DODSON said, that the hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. Kenny) correctly comprehended the clause, as he (Mr. Dodson) understood it. The clause would give power to the Privy Council which it did not at present possess, power to order a ship to suspend the conveyance of animals, in order to secure freedom from infection. Incidentally, this clause embraced all the ground covered by the clause of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan). It was in the power of the Privy Council to suspend the conveyance of animals by any vessel in any part of the United Kingdom. The clause would apply to the Irish Privy Council under the 5th section of the Bill, which rendered the measure applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to Ireland.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, there was one single word required in the clause to make its meaning absolutely clear. It should run, "prohibiting the conveyance of animals by any specified vessel." If that word "specified" were put in, it would have the effect of making clear the intention of the clause, and of preventing the possibility of any dispute as to the phraseology. He begged to move the insertion of the word "specified."

Amendment proposed, in line 3, after the word "any," to insert the word "specified."—(*Mr. R. H. Paget.*)

Question, "That the word 'specified' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Question, "That the Clause, as amended, be read a second time," put, and *agreed to.*

Baron HENRY DE WORMS, who had given Notice to move the insertion of the following Clause:—

(Act not to apply to Deptford Market.)

"This Act shall not apply to Deptford Cattle Market, or to the importation of cattle thereto,"

said, he did not intend to take up the time of the Committee for more than a few minutes; but he wished to say that when he put the Notice on the Paper the measure was essentially a prohibitive one. Now, however, owing to the modifications which had been introduced by the Government, the necessity for his moving the clause had been obviated. The constituency he represented was interested in the largest cattle market in the country, where every possible precaution was taken to prevent the importation and spread of cattle disease. Probably, hon. Members were not aware of the enormous extent of the importations into Deptford Market. From statistics with which he had been furnished, it appeared that from July, 1883, to December of the same year, 402,900 animals had been imported there; and of these the only animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease were eight sheep. From January to April, 1884, 246,000 animals had been imported, not one of which was infected with the disease; so that out of a total of 648,900 animals brought into Deptford from July, 1883, to April, 1884, only eight sheep had been affected with foot-and-mouth disease. He did not wish to give any further statistics on this subject, and only desired to point out that, so far as Deptford Market was concerned, everything that possibly could be done was done to prevent the spread of infection.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the hon. Member for Greenwich had shown a noble devotion to the interests of his constituents; but the Committee could not go all round the cattle markets of the United Kingdom. He hoped the hon. Member would not move his Amendment.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: I do not propose to move it.

Mr. KENNY said, he wished to move the second reading of a new clause as follows:—

(Cattle brought from Ireland.)

"On and after the passing of this Act, no local authority in Great Britain shall prohibit the landing, or stop in transit, healthy cattle brought from Ireland to Great Britain, unless such local authority shall have obtained from the Privy Council an order authorising them to do so."

The object with which he had put the clause on the Paper had been to elicit an expression of opinion from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, as representing the Agricultural Department, as to the manner in which local authorities had been dealing with cattle brought from Ireland. He did not propose to go into the matter at any great length; but he would point out that, under the Act of 1878, the Privy Council were supposed to be responsible for the Orders issued or made by the local authorities; and it was not until he had put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman in the House, that he had ascertained that the local authorities made these Orders in regard to cattle brought from Ireland. He thought it was entirely *ultra vires*, so far as the local authorities were concerned, that they should have excluded these cattle, or make Orders prohibiting the landing of cattle brought from Ireland, or in any way prevent fat cattle being brought across the Channel to the English markets. The Newcastle Market had been closed to Irish fat cattle for many months, though the Northumberland ports had been opened for some time to Irish store cattle. There was not the slightest chance of infection from Irish cattle, and yet they had been excluded to benefit the foreign cattle dealers, or Continental cattle raisers, who were sending animals to the English markets. Irish cattle were excluded not only to the benefit of these people, but to the detriment of the meat-consuming population of the great centres of England. The right hon. Gentleman had just admitted, to a certain extent, the grievance of which he complained, and had given a promise to deal with it by an Order in Council. He should like to know from the right hon. Gentleman whether such Order in Council had been prepared; and, if so, what were the terms of it, and how soon was it proposed to issue it? If he (Mr. Kenny) considered, when he heard the terms of the Order in Council, that they would meet the case, he would not press his Amendment.

Clause (Cattle brought from Ireland,)—(*Mr. Kenny,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, the local authorities in Scotland and, he presumed, also in England, would object emphatically to any curtailment of their power of excluding cattle from those places where disease existed. He would point out that the farmers of Scotland were as anxious to have store cattle from Ireland, as Irish farmers were to send them to Scotland; but they wished to have effectual methods of dealing with disease. It had been clearly proved that, through bringing cattle from Ireland to the Clyde, the landing places and the vessels had become so affected that, without any blame to the Irish dealers, great loss accrued to those who bought the Irish cattle. The Scotch authorities had been so anxious to get clear of disease that they had prohibited the importation for a time, and thereby put pressure on the authorities on the Clyde. They desired to have a clean route, and directly that was accomplished the restriction would be withdrawn. The interests of the Scotch and English local authorities and farmers were identical with those of the Irish local authorities and farmers; and they were prepared to admit their cattle as soon as they could do so with safety. The disease which had broken out amongst Irish cattle was a great loss to the dealers and importers; and, therefore, the policy which had been pursued, inconvenient as it was to farmers in England and Scotland as well as to farmers in Ireland, would prove beneficial to both parties.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he considered that the primary object his hon. Friend (Mr. Kenny) had in view in moving this clause was to bring about regularity in the proceedings of the local authorities. As the matter stood at present, the local authorities thought for themselves, and that brought about a great amount of irregularity. The rules were very stringent in some places, and lax in others; and the question was, whether it would not be desirable that there should be some central directing Body for collecting information from all quarters, and for making rules to apply to all places? If it were considered wise to do that, the object could be effected by accepting the new clause proposed by his hon. Friend. If the rules were to be stringent, let them be stringent everywhere.

Mr. DODSON said, that, in the first place, this new clause, from one point of view of the hon. Member (Mr. Kenny) himself, was unnecessary. No local authority had power to stop healthy animals in transit; and, in the next place, the clause, if adopted, would not secure that uniformity which it was the object of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) to bring about. It proposed that a local authority should not be able to stop cattle coming from Ireland, unless they had obtained power from the Privy Council to do so. Having, however, obtained that power, they could use it as they pleased. Under existing regulations, any local authority in Great Britain possessed power to exclude animals from the district of any other local authority in the United Kingdom. This was no exceptional power against Irish cattle, and he appealed to the Members of the Committee not to press the consideration of the clause.

Mr. KENNY said, his proposal referred in the main to Irish fat cattle more than store cattle; and his complaint was that the local authorities had power to prevent such cattle from being brought into English markets. Irish fat cattle had, for a long period, been excluded from the Glasgow and the Newcastle-on-Tyne Markets, although, owing to the recent action of the House, those markets might be opened now. His complaint was that, in some places where the local authority might be guided by a Veterinary Inspector, Irish fat cattle might be excluded by that one person. He wished to have an explanation from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster with regard to this Order in Council. It was an important matter, and it was not only important to the Irish cattle dealer, but to the population of England. He wished to know what were the terms of the Order?

Mr. DODSON said, he could not give the terms, because they were not yet drawn up; but what he had said was, that the Privy Council had it in contemplation to issue an Order so as to limit the power of local authorities to prohibit the introduction of animals into their districts from parts of the United Kingdom which were free from, or without a suspicion of, disease; but the matter had not yet gone further, and was, for the present, in abeyance.

Mr. KENNY said, that, at the same time, the right hon. Gentleman had promised that he would make an inquiry into some reported outbreak. He had not yet told them what was the real state of the facts.

Mr. DODSON said, there had been an alarm that animals infected with foot-and-mouth disease had been brought over to Bristol; but, on inquiry, it proved that the animals were sound.

Mr. KENNY said, that, under the circumstances, and according to the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman, the matter virtually amounted to this—that, in regard to every district which was free from foot-and-mouth disease, the local authorities would be prevented from prohibiting the importation; and, therefore, he (Mr. Kenny) did not see the necessity of persevering.

Mr. DODSON said, he should be very much obliged if the hon. Gentleman would not press the clause; but he could not accept the hon. Gentleman's interpretation of what he had just said.

Mr. CLARE READ hoped that, in the Order in Council which the right hon. Gentleman was contemplating, he would set forth not only the places from which the cattle were to come, but the line of transit over which they would have to pass.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD moved the insertion of the following new clause:—

(Duration of obligatory powers of Privy Council.)

"So much of this Act as makes it obligatory on the Privy Council to prohibit, in the circumstances in this Act mentioned, the landing of animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease, shall continue in force until the expiration of two years from the date of the passing of this Act, and no longer."

He said he would not, at that late hour of the night, occupy the attention of the Committee for many minutes. He might claim some indulgence for the position in which he and others stood in reference to this clause. It was born in the highest circles of nobility—it was proposed by Lord Carlingford in "another place;" and when it was turned out, the noble Lord delivered it to his Colleagues that it should be adopted by this House; but its unnatural parent, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, had cast it off, and it had fallen into low society below the Gangway. He would endeavour to state, in one sentence, why he thought the Bill should be passed only for a period of two years. There had been laid before the Committee by his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair) a scientific argument which was absolutely conclusive that this Bill should only be a temporary measure, even from the point of view of hon. Gentlemen opposite. Again, accepting their views, he (Mr. Arthur Arnold) would argue that the Bill should only be a temporary measure. Assuming the measure to be one of the utmost importance, he would ask those hon. Gentlemen whether they desired that there should be a permanent Statute placed among the laws of the country which related only to one disease which, in their opinion, a few years ago, was so unimportant that they considered that slaughtering at the port of landing was a quite sufficient defence against it? From his own point of view, and from the point of view of those whom he hoped to have the good fortune to meet in the Lobby, he would say that this Bill was perfectly useless, because it did not add one iota to the legal powers of the Privy Council, although it contained an invitation to them to use the powers they already possessed. It did not add one jot, or tittle, or atom to their powers in regard to the prevention of the spread of infectious disease. He thought it was very undesirable at any time to add a law to the Statute Book of which such a thing as that could be said, and for the reason he had already suggested—namely, because it had been thought important by Her Majesty's Government in the first instance, he would, he might say, on their behalf, propose that the Bill should only be passed for a period of two years.

Clause (Duration of obligatory powers of Privy Council,)—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold,*) —*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

COLONEL KINGSCOTE said, he would be as brief as he could; but he felt that it would be most unwise if the Committee were to put any such limitation on the duration of the Act as was now proposed; indeed, such a course would render nugatory all that the Bill proposed to do. He had fought for this Bill for two reasons; one being, to give cattle breeders in this country such protection as could be given to them. To tell him that the agricultural interest would put their cattle into breeding, if this Bill were only to be passed for a limited time, was absurd. They would do nothing of the kind; and for this reason alone, if for no other, he should oppose this. Again, how would foreign countries be induced to take steps to keep disease out of their own country, if they knew that this Bill was to last for only two years? He would not detain the Committee longer; but he should give his strongest opposition to this clause, for he felt sure that it would render nugatory all that the Bill would do if this or similar Amendments were passed.

MR. CHAPLIN said, that if the statement of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) were true, that this Bill was wholly superfluous and unnecessary, and did not add one tittle to the powers already possessed by the Privy Council, why was it that he and his Friends had offered so formidable an opposition to the measure? He

(Mr. Chaplin) certainly trusted that the Committee would not accept the clause which the hon. Gentleman had proposed; for he could not conceive anything more calculated to render absolutely nugatory all the prolonged discussions and efforts which they had made to bring the measure to a successful conclusion. The hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Kingscote) had pointed out, with great force, that one of the principal sources to which we had to look to supply any deficiency in the food of the people would be curtailed if this clause should be unfortunately inserted. If such a clause were passed, it would be impossible to expect those farmers who were breeders to embark the capital necessary for any increased production of cattle, if the security which was to be given to them was only to be continued for two years. An increased production must necessarily be a matter of years' duration. Then, in regard to the other source from which we were to look for an importation of dead meat, could we look with any hopeful prospect to that in the face of such a clause as the one now proposed? Was it not perfectly obvious that in order to create a dead meat trade on anything like a large and permanent basis, we must give foreign countries some assurance that there would be something of a permanent nature and character in this measure? How otherwise could we expect them to embark in the trade? Hon. Gentlemen had constantly told them that when the prohibition of live animals had been insisted on before there had been no corresponding increase in the dead meat trade. No doubt, that was perfectly true, for the very reason he had stated, that it was impossible to expect people to embark in such a trade when they were totally uncertain as to whether the importation of live animals, whether diseased or not, would be permitted again in the course of a few months. He would conclude, as he had begun, by again expressing an earnest hope that the Committee would not deprive the Bill of its main value by accepting the clause proposed by the hon. Member; for he believed, in the interest of the meat consumers, that nothing more disastrous could be passed by the Committee.

Mr. DODSON said, he hoped his hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur Arnold) would not think it necessary to put the Committee to the trouble of a Division. It was true, as had been stated by the hon. Gentleman, that the clause was in the Bill as it was originally introduced; but one of the Amendments made in the House of Lords was that this clause should not be retained. They had, however, now arrived at an arrangement whereby the 1st clause of the Bill had been, in great measure, restored to its original scope, although not in the form he had desired; and, under the circumstances, he thought it unnecessary to ask for the re-introduction of the clause now proposed. With regard to this clause, the more he considered it, the less consequence it appeared to him to possess. He did not attach to it the importance which either the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) or the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) attached to it. Nor did he attach to it the importance which the hon. Member for Salford appeared to do. In point of fact, the clause appeared to him to be really superfluous; because, if the 1st clause of the Bill, which was its essence, worked well, whatever might be the limit which Parliament imposed, the Act would be continued; whereas, on the other hand, if it did not work well, they might have a proposal to repeal it, not only at the end of two years, but at the end of one year, or even sooner. Therefore he thought it was not worth while to detain the Committee by any long argument; and he hoped the hon. Member for Salford would be satisfied by making his protest, and would not divide the Committee.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he was not going to detain the Committee at that late hour. If his hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur Arnold) went to a Division he should support him, and mainly upon this ground—that he believed it would be found almost impossible to keep up the restrictions in regard to this Bill, which would be the only excuse or ground upon which they ought to have such very stringent legislation with regard to foreign parts. He believed there would not be a feeling among the farmers themselves to keep up the restrictions. Under these circumstances, it was a fair and reasonable thing to make the Bill a temporary measure. He did not know that two years should be the exact time fixed; but it should be a temporary

Act. This was a point on which his hon. Friend, doubtless, felt strongly, and those who supported him felt strongly also.

MR. BROADHURST said, he would occupy the attention of the Committee for but a few moments. He was taken rather severely to task by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) the other day for something he had said during the discussion on this subject. He wished now to point out, in justification of some of the remarks which he then made, that the speeches which had just been delivered by the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) showed that he was entirely right in his contention. Those hon. Gentlemen, who were not within sight of their haven, had pointed out that unless this was made a permanent Act it would be impossible for cattle breeders in this country to commence and keep up large breeding establishments. If that were so, that was the best of all affirmative replies to the question between them and him. Those hon. Gentlemen had clearly pointed out by their arguments that they looked upon this Bill as an encouragement to what they would, like, he supposed, to call home industries. ["No, no!"] An hon. Member opposite dissented; but he had told them that if this Bill were only to last two years it would be impossible to develop home breeding in our own country, and that disease would come back to us. But this Bill would not keep out disease. The disease, according to all the best authorities, quoted by these hon. Gentlemen, was created in our own dirty farm yards. ["No, no!"] At any rate, there was no evidence of the importation of this disease; and, therefore, no necessity for the permanency of this proposed Act. He opposed that permanency on other grounds besides this. If he could have an assurance that the present Government would remain for ever in Office—a thing they would all desire—["No, no!"]—he meant that all patriotic men would desire, all well-wishers of their country—well, then he should have no objection whatever to the permanency of the law. But it was possible that there might be a change of Government; and he could not look upon the result, so far as this Bill was concerned, without the most profound concern. The bare possibility was enough to make him distrust the measure. If the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chaplin) were to be found taking his seat on the Treasury Bench, he (Mr. Broadhurst) would like to know what the interpretation of this Bill would be in his hands? He looked upon the Bill as a vicious piece of legislation; and, therefore, he hoped his hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur Arnold) would take a Division on the question, and that it would be, as it ought to be, a good Division.

MR. FINCH-HATTON said, he only rose in consequence of what had been said by the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), who had been very unfair to the hon. Gentleman who preceded him. It was perfectly evident that unless time was given for the development of cattle breeding at home, and the dead meat trade from abroad, a largely increased and cheaper supply of meat would be very difficult to obtain for the people of this country.

MR. HENEAGE said, that the adoption of this clause would be a most cruel injustice to the consumer as well as the tenant farmer. It was to future years that they must look to develop the cattle trade on a satisfactory footing. If the duration of the Bill was limited in the way proposed, it would only give an inducement for the butcher to keep up the price of meat, for he knew that he would only have to keep it up for two years in order to get up a cry against the Bill and succeed in repealing it. He only wished to say one other word. It was proposed that the Bill should be limited to two years; but, in the ordinary course of things, the end of two years would about coincide with the period of a General Election, and they might be for five or six months without a renewal of the Act.

MR. C. H. JAMES hoped the Committee would see its way to pass this clause. What was the position of things? The agriculturists declared that this Bill would not increase the price of meat; but the artizans of the country, some of whom sent him there, declared that it would increase the price. Well, if this Bill were only passed for a year, or two years, they would, at all events, have an opportunity of seeing which side was right, and it would be a most reasonable thing that that opportunity should be given. At the end of two years they would know which side was right. Supposing the price of meat went up 2*d*. per lb., no Government on earth could stand it. Parliament would have to repeal the Act at once. Was it not wise, then, to restrict the operation of the Act to two years? If it was then found to work well, it would be put into the Continuance Bill, and would be renewed without any great debate; whereas, if it did not work well, there would be another debate, and a very proper one too. He hoped the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) would take take a Division, so that they might know how this matter stood; and, if he did, he (Mr. C. H. James) would certainly vote with him.

Mr. C. H. WILSON said, there was one interest which had not been mentioned in the course of the debate, and that was the shipping interest. There had been an enormous number of steamers built to carry live cattle from America, and this legislation would seriously affect that trade. Hon. Gentlemen who represented the agricultural interest, and who talked of the depression of agriculture, should remember that such legislation would be the cause of considerable depression in the shipping interest. He (Mr. C. H. Wilson) was intimately acquainted with the shipping of this country, and especially that shipping engaged in the carriage of cattle. A great deal had been said about bringing dead meat in place of live cattle; but he might say that, largely as his ships had been engaged in carrying live cattle, they had not carried one single ton of dead meat, and his own opinion was that the importation of dead meat would not increase so largely as was expected. Indeed, if a check were put on the importation of cattle from the United States, it would place a check on the production of cattle in the United States, and this, in turn, would place a check on the importation of dead meat. If the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) went to a Division in this matter, he should certainly have pleasure in voting with him.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 44; Noes 108: Majority 64.—(Div. List, No. 83.)

Mr. C. H. James

After the numbers were announced,

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON: Sir Arthur Otway, I wish to state that I went into the wrong Lobby by mistake.

Mr. BROADHURST: I do not know whether I am in Order in doing so; but I wish to inform you, Sir, that there were two hon. Members in the Aye Lobby who came out after the Clerk had left the Lobby—Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Colonel Smith—and the Tellers agreed that they should be counted.

The CHAIRMAN: The numbers have been corrected accordingly.

Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

NATIONAL DEBT (CONVERSION OF STOCK) BILL.

Resolutions [May 1] *reported*, and *agreed to*: —Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Courtney.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 186.]

COINAGE BILL.

Resolution [May 1] *reported*, and *agreed to*: —Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Courtney.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 187.]

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Courtney*.)

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE ARRESTS AT TUBBERCURRY, CO. SLIGO.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. SEXTON said, that as he saw the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) in his place he should like to put a Question to him, before the House adjourned—a Question with reference to the kind of treatment which had been inflicted on 11 inhabitants of the county (Sligo) which he (Mr. Sexton) had the honour to represent. These men were arrested a long time; and, on Wednesday last, he called attention to the fact that they had been remanded several times after private examination in the gaol, and after no evidence had been produced. They had also been denied the visits of their solicitors and of their friends. When he drew attention to these facts, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at once undertook that the next examination of the men should be in open Court, that the Crown should bring forward evidence, and that the prisoners should be allowed to have proper facilities for preparing their defence. It now appeared, however, that the pledge which the right hon. Gentleman then gave him had been broken through the obstinacy of some official. There had been another examination; that examination was again private; no evidence was produced; and the prisoners charged were, on the *fiat* of the Crown Solicitor, remanded to Monday next. As to the undertaking given by the Government that the prisoners should be allowed to communicate with their solicitors, he (Mr. Sexton) had been informed, to-day, that they had only been allowed to communicate with them separately, one by one; and the highest legal authority could be cited for the contention that, as the charge against the prisoners was one of conspiracy, they could not prepare their defence properly unless they were allowed to confer with their solicitors all together. Furthermore, he had found that, when he (Mr. Sexton) telegraphed to the prison, detailing the fact that pledges had been given by the Government, and explaining what those pledges were, the telegram was only communicated to the particular prisoner to whom it was addressed, and not to the others, who were equally interested. He would put it to the House, was it not cruel to keep from the knowledge of those men the fact that their next examination was to be public, and that evidence would then be brought forward? He had no other desire than to promote the ends of justice, and to see that proper Constitutional practices were followed; and he would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland, whether he would not give an undertaking that he would communicate with the Attorney General for Ireland to-day, and with the Governor of the gaol in Sligo, informing the latter that the decisions of the Government in this House ought to be brought to the knowledge of all the prisoners concerned, and that all the prisoners should be enabled, together and at one time, to meet their legal representative in one place, so that they might have the opportunity properly to defend themselves against a charge of conspiracy, as that was the only effective manner in which they could possibly prepare their defence. He knew the disposition of the hon. and learned Gentleman himself; and he trusted that he would be able to use his influence, both in Dublin and in Sligo, so as to take some effective measures before the last day that might decide the fate of these men had passed.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that as to the prisoners not being allowed access to their solicitor together, the ordinary prison rules would not admit of the Governor giving that permission. But when the hon. Member communicated with the Government by letter he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) at once communicated with his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland, who informed him immediately that an application had been made to him for the necessary leave; and that he had referred to the authorities at Sligo informing them that unless there was some special reason against it—which neither his right hon. and learned Friend nor he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) anticipated—the men were to be allowed to see their solicitor together. He believed that arrangement would be carried out, and he would undertake to telegraph to the Governor of the gaol this morning.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

TRAMWAYS PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under "The Tramways Act, 1870," relating to Leicester Tramways (Extensions), Walsall and District Tramways, and Wigan Tramways, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and Mr. JOHN HOLMS.

TRAMWAYS PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 3) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under "The Tramways Act, 1870," relating to Barrow-in-Furness Tramways, South Birmingham Tramways, and North Birmingham Tramways, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and Mr. JOHN HOLMS.

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 5*th May*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, *appointed* and *nominated*.

Public Bills—*First Reading*—Marriages Legalisation * (76).

Committee — *Report* — Marriages Legalisation (Wood Green Congregational Church) * (66).

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENTS AND OFFICE OF THE GENTLEMAN USHER OF THE BLACK ROD.

APPOINTMENT AND NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Select Committee appointed : The Lords following were named of the Committee:

Ld. Chancellor.
Ld. President.
D. Richmond.
D. Saint Albans.
D. Bedford.
M. Lansdowne.
M. Salisbury.
M. Bath.
Ld. Steward.
E. Devon.
E. Tankerville.
E. Carnarvon.
E. Belmore.
E. Bradford.
E. Granville.
E. Kimberley.
E. Redesdale.
E. Lathom.
V. Hawarden.
V. Hardinge.
V. Eversley.
Ld. Chamberlain.
L. Colville of Culross.
L. Monson.
L. Colchester.
L. Ker.
L. Aveland.

The Earl of LONGFORD suggested that a portion of the "Royal Gallery" should be furnished as a writing room. The existing writing room adjoining the House was a mere passage. Interviews with Members of the House of Commons, or other persons on Public Business, must now be held in the corners of the Lobbies or Corridors. He hoped this Committee would take care that a convenient room should be found and properly furnished.

The Earl of CARNARVON said, he thought there was reason to complain of the insufficiency of accommodation, especially on crowded nights. It was clear that little or no use was now made of the adjoining Gallery; and he thought it was a subject worthy of the attention of the Committee of the Black Rod.

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees) said, that there was room in the Library, which was large enough for anyone, which could be used for the purposes mentioned.

The Earl of LONGFORD, in renewing his complaint, said, that the Library was too distant; a more convenient room was required.

The Earl of ROSEBERY said, that, as the subject of their wants was under discussion, he wished to call attention to the fact that there was a conspicuous absence of a Smoking Room in connection with the House. When the House was in a state of political excitement after the dinner hour, there was a sensible wandering of unattached Peers about the passages, asking where they could find a place to smoke. He did not know the question was coming up, or he would have prepared himself with statistics of those Members of the House who were, and were not, addicted to the fragrant vice. But whether Members of their Lordships' House were, or were not, addicted to that vice, they must feel it was most undesirable and undignified to be relegated to the hard benches of some stray Committee Room. He thought it would add much to the comfort and convenience of noble Lords if a Smoking Room could be provided, especially on nights when there were important debates.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.—QUESTION.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: My Lords, I want to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question which is always of great interest to many persons, and of which I have given the noble Earl private Notice; I wish to know, whether any intelligence has reached the Government from General Gordon within the last few hours?

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, I regret to say I must give an answer to the noble Marquess's Question in the negative.

LUNACY LAWS.—RESOLUTION.

The Earl of MILLTOWN, in rising to call attention to the observations made by Mr. Baron Huddleston in the case of "Weldon *v.* Winslow," and to move—

> "That in the opinion of this House the existing state of the Lunacy Laws is eminently unsatisfactory, and constitutes a serious danger to the liberty of the subject,"

said, he would call their Lordships' attention to a summary of the facts of this case published in *The Times*. He would abstain from commenting on the merits of a case which was still *sub judice;* but he might be permitted to quote the opinions of Judges on the present condition of our Lunacy Laws. The learned Judge he had referred to expressed his astonishment that a person could be confined in an asylum by anybody on the statement of anybody, provided certain formalities were gone through, and he also observed that it was positively shocking that such a state of things should exist. With regard to the matter itself, the Lunacy Laws of the country consisted chiefly of the Statutes 8 & 9 *Vict.*; c. 100, and 16 & 17 *Vict.*, c. 96; and it was those Statutes which prescribed the manner in which a person might be committed to an asylum. Lunatics were in the eye of the law divided into two classes—paupers and non-paupers. The former class did not merely include paupers in the strict sense of the term; but a constable, or relieving officer, or overseer of the poor might arrest anyone found wandering abroad, and bring him before the Justice of the Peace, and on the certificate of one medical man, who might be entirely ignorant in such matters, and the warrant of Justices, for whose competence also there was no guarantee, such a person might be incarcerated for life. Thus any one of their Lordships might be confined for life in that manner as a pauper lunatic. This was a great hardship. But, if the lunatic was found to possess means, he was transferred to a licensed house. In the case of a non-pauper the certificate of two medical men was required. There were in this country 68,000 pauper lunatics, and 7,000 non-pauper lunatics. The state of the law on this subject was, indeed, positively startling. Any person who could obtain certificates from any two out of the 20,000 medical practitioners on the register could consign any other person to incarceration in an asylum, an hospital, or a licensed house, or to an unlicensed house, where not more than one person was taken; while no private person could obtain the release of such incarcerated individual without the consent either of the person who brought the incarceration about, or of the Lunacy Commissioners. Moreover, it was impossible, unless after considerable difficulty had been overcome, to see the incarcerated persons, and no criminal prosecution could be instituted for breach of the Lunacy Laws except by the Commissioners in Lunacy. All that was necessary to procure the detention of any person as a pauper lunatic was the certificate of one medical man, who might have no knowledge whatever of the patient regarding whom he gave the certificate, beyond seeing him for a few minutes befor signing the certificate, and from his decision there was practically no appeal. Therefore, with regard to the 7,000 non-pauper lunatics, it was absolutely essential that there should be two medical certificates. Cases of the grossest cruelties being perpetrated upon unhappy patients might, and often did, occur, without the slightest possibility of their being heard of by the outside world; and even when they were known the police could not interfere, because the order of the Commissioners was a sufficient warrant for everything that was done in the matter. With respect to those immured in private asylums, kept simply for profit, the whole system had been described by the noble Earl below him (the Earl of Shaftesbury) as utterly abominable and indefensible. The safeguards against wrong-doing were insufficient, and the time had come when that "abominable and indefensible" state of things should no longer be permitted, and it certainly was one which ought not to exist in this age and country. There were 7,000 of these houses, of which 1,394 were for the reception of pauper lunatics. The owners were all under the strongest inducement both to obtain and retain patients. The only safeguards were those provided by the Commissioners in Lunacy, of whom there were 11; six being paid, and five unpaid. Practically, the former did most of the work of the Commissioners. He trusted their Lordships would say that the time had come when an end would be put to the present intolerable state of things, for no one could dispute the fact that it should no longer be permitted to continue; and that in procuring its abrogation a most damning blot would be removed from the Statute Book. He would conclude by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Moved to resolve, "That in the opinion of this House the existing state of the lunacy laws is eminently unsatisfactory, and constitutes a serious danger to the liberty of the subject."—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY said, their Lordships would at once perceive that his reply must be somewhat prolonged, so many were the details and charges made by the noble Earl who had just sat down (the Earl of Milltown). Had he (the Earl of Shaftesbury) not been on the Commission in Lunacy for more than 50 years, first as Acting Chairman, and since 1845 as Permanent Chairman, he would not have interposed; but he thought it necessary, and almost a point of duty, to explain the state of things and calm the public mind. The special case of Mrs. Weldon could not be then discussed, as the matter was still *sub judice.* The lady had moved for, and had obtained, a new trial; and nothing at present could be said on the question. He wished, however, to state that the affair had never come before the Commissioners—their jurisdiction did not begin until a patient had been lodged within the walls of some licensed house. Neither did he know anything of the case, except what he had gathered from the newspapers; but it certainly had struck him that, if the evidence had been no stronger on the certificate, had one been sent to their office, than that which appeared only in general rumour, he, at least, should have been disposed to set the lady at liberty. But the *obiter dictum* of Baron Huddleston might come under observation. It was as follows, and taken from *The Standard*, 19th March, 1884:—

"Now, I say distinctly, I wish I could treat this case apart from all technicality; but I must express my astonishment that such a state of things can exist, that an order can be made by anybody on the statement of anybody, and that two gentlemen, if they have only obtained a diploma, provided they examine a patient separately, and are not related to keepers of a lunatic asylum, and that on this form being gone through, any person can be committed to a lunatic asylum. It is somewhat startling—it is positively shocking—that if a pauper, or, as Mrs. Weldon put it, a crossing-sweeper, should sign an order, and another crossing-sweeper should make a statement, and that then two medical men, who had never had a day's practice in their lives, should for a small sum of money grant their certificates, a person may be lodged in a private lunatic asylum, and that this order and the statement, and these certificates, are a perfect answer to any action."

Now, he was certain that, if the learned Baron had known the law, or had read the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons printed in 1878, he would never have made such an observation. First, he spoke, after a very invidious fashion, of any two gentlemen who had obtained a diploma. His Lordship should have remembered that, by the amending Lunacy Act of 1862, the qualifications of those who were empowered to grant certificates were very stringent. It said that the term physician, surgeon, or apothecary, wherever used in the Lunacy Acts, should mean a person registered under the Medical Act of 1858; a person, therefore, of adequate professional fitness. He added, equally invidiously, that they might never have had a day's practice—possibly, though not probably—and, indeed, were practice in lunacy required as a qualification, we should not find one in 10,000 of the Medical Profession at present masters in the art. He closed by an assertion that these certificates were a perfect answer to any action. Where had the learned Baron found this law? Had he never heard of the case tried in the Courts of "Hall *v.* Semple," in which Mr. Hall, a liberated patient, prosecuted Dr. Semple for negligence in framing the certificate, and obtained damages to the amount of £150? There was a similar power against the person who signed an order of admission. Three years ago, the case of "Noel *v.* Williams" had been tried in Court. Mr. Noel, a discharged patient, sued his brother-in-law, Mr. Williams, who had signed the order; and though Mr. Williams obtained a verdict on every point, he had to bear the expenses of his defence, a sum which amounted to not less than £3,000. As to the order he (the Earl of Shaftesbury) admitted that it was a weak point; theoretically, it was, no doubt, imperfect, though practically it had worked without any evil results. The history might be stated from his own evidence given in 1877—

"With regard to the orders, I understood your Lordship to agree that it is in some respects undesirable that a person, a perfect stranger to a patient, should sign the order; do not you think that where there is a case, and no near relative is to be found to sign the order, it would be desirable that the order for admission should be signed by some public official? I believe I explained the reason of the state of the order to be this—In the year 1845, when we were framing the Bill, we were exceedingly puzzled as to what to do, so many cases had come before us of persons being suddenly seized in hotels, in lodging-houses, in mere apartments where there was nobody who knew whence they came or whither they were going; they were foreigners, Americans, medical students and law students, and all sorts and sizes of people, travellers only resting for a night, and we were obliged to leave it in that way that any person might sign the order for admission into any asylum. I have no doubt, but I do not recollect it, that we saw it was very imperfect, and that we intended to amend it, but we forgot it; and so little abuse arose upon it, and so very few bad cases came before us, that we totally forgot the matter."

Here, again, the learned Baron had put the case most invidiously. A crossing-sweeper, he said, might be called to sign an order of admission into a lunatic asylum. Well, but there were things so utterly improbable as to amount almost to impossibilities. The Queen might make a crossing-sweeper a Duke, and give him a seat in their Lordships' House; but did any of their Lordships fear such an issue? It was a weak point, no doubt, and required amendment; but in nearly 40 years there had been no complaint, and probably not one in 500 orders had been signed by any but some relative or friend. All this was before the Committees of 1859 and 1877, and they had not taken the formidable view of the learned Baron. They had accepted many of the propositions of the Commissioners, and had added some of their own, which were then waiting for enactment. And here he might add, in reply to the assertion of the noble Earl opposite, that the order could inflict perpetual confinement; that the Commissioners could, if they saw fit, set aside the order. But let their Lordships then consider the ominous announcement of the noble Earl, that the state of the Lunacy Laws constituted a serious danger to the liberty of the subject. The two Committees of 1859 and 1877 had come to no such conclusion; on the contrary, they had rejoiced in the many and vast improvements. How could they have feared for the liberty of the subject in the face of such a statement as that he had made before them? From 1859 to 1877 there had passed through the Office of the Commissioners 185,000 certificates. Of these, some six or seven had demanded the attention of the Select Committee of the House of Commons; but all, upon investigation, were found to be just and good. During the same interval there had been 90,000 liberations, of which 22,000 were from licensed houses. The Returns up to the present day were equally satisfactory, a sufficient refutation of the common assertion that persons thrust into private asylums would never get out. There were, he believed, fewer cases of mistake in placing patients under care and treatment than of miscarriages of justice in Courts of Law. The noble Earl ought, in candour, to have quoted that part of the Report in which the Select Committee had spoken of the vast and beneficial progress made in the treatment of lunacy. It was as follows:—

> "The Committee cannot avoid observing here, that the jealousy with which the treatment of lunatics is watched at the present day, and the comparatively trifling nature of the abuses alleged, present a remarkable contrast to the horrible cruelty with which asylums were too frequently conducted less than half a century ago, to the apathy with which the exposure of such atrocities by successive Committees of this House was received, both by Parliament and the country, and to the difficulty with which remedial enactments were carried through the Legislature, while society viewed with indifference the probability of sane people being, in many cases, confined as lunatics, acquiesced in the treatment of lunatics as if they were outside the pale of humanity, and would have scarcely considered a proposal to substitute for chains and ill-usage, the absence of restraint, the occupation and amusement, which may be said to be the universal characteristics of the system in this country at the present day."

And, again, they said—

> "Assuming that the strongest cases against the present system were brought before them, allegations of *mala fides* were not substantiated."

He could assure their Lordships, from long observation, dating back more than 50 years, that it would require much time, and much power of description, to set before them the state of degradation and suffering in which lunatics were found by the inquiry that commenced in 1828. Manacles and leg-locks were in universal use—many were chained to the wall, almost all in filth, disorder, and semi-starvation. He mentioned all this to show that great and good things had been done under the existing Lunacy Laws; and that some gratitude was due to God for having given the will and the power to raise them from such misery. Now, he did not mean to say that perfection had been reached—very far from it; but he urged their Lordships to proceed with care and caution, following experience, and the discoveries of science, and not preceding them by hasty legislation, which might throw them back to the condition of half-a-century ago. But while they were considering, and jealously guarding the liberty of the subject, they must also consider the value and necessity of early treatment of insanity. On one point there was, it might be asserted, a consensus of opinion among all medical men, and, indeed, laymen, who had studied the question. Quotations of evidence to that effect might be multiplied, almost without limit. Dr. Sutherland maintained that if cases were taken at the very commencement of the disorder, full 85 per cent might be cured. Dr. Conolly stated certainly not less than 50 per cent; but the whole might be summed up in a most valuable extract from the Report of Mr. Ley, the Medical Superintendent of the great County Asylum at Prestwich, in Lancashire—

> "The total number," said Mr. Ley, speaking of a particular year, "of curable cases in the 446 admissions was 209; 113 of these have been sent out recovered, and, in all probability, 70 more will be discharged during the current year. Eighty-nine per cent of the total recoveries occurred in those who were admitted while the attack was yet recent; only 11 per cent are from those who were allowed to remain without proper treatment for a long time after the malady had declared itself. The duration of residence in these recoveries varied from four weeks to twelve years, the average duration being much augmented by the recovery of some few who had resided in the asylum above a year."

This was his summing up, and this was the summing up of every medical man he knew.

> "These results," Mr. Ley continued, "prove what has so often been urged before, that insanity in its early stages is as curable a disease as any other in the catalogue of human disorders."

The evidence from America was abundant and equally decided. Though he would not add anything to the law to give facilities for the shutting up of persons under the charge of insanity, so fearful was he of the possibility of error, he would do nothing to diminish them. He spoke in the interest of the patient, for whom a cure thus became comparatively easy, and in the interest of the world at large also, who had a deep concern in the abatement of that terrible disorder. The impediments were grave and numerous already—the reluctance of parents and relatives to see, and then believe, the first symptoms of a disturbed intellect; the serious step of consulting a medical man on the point, even though he were the physician of the family; the fear lest anything should transpire, and the public be admitted in any way to the sad secret; all these feelings postponed the final decision, until by long continuance the affection had become almost hopelessly confirmed. If, then, that repugnance existed under the present system, what would it amount to were the magistrate called in or a jury summoned, who never allowed anyone to be mad, unless he had committed some overt act whereby the disorder was proved to be nearly inveterate? Here the pauper had a great advantage over the class above him. He was taken to the asylum in the first stage of his affliction, and hence the public asylums claimed the superiority in the number of cures. Certainly, the tables showed that it was so, though, perhaps, by reason of the very early discharge, there were many cases of relapse. Too long detention after cure had been urged against the licensed houses. In former days it might have been so, but by no means always with a bad motive. He did not believe that many such cases could occur in the present day. He did not deny the difficulty—he might say the perilous difficulty—in attempting to undertake early treatment of discerning between a transient eccentricity of habit, manner, or temper and the slight symptoms of incipient mental disturbance. An error on either side was deeply injurious. The error which led to the confinement of the patient might inflict, though the patient was speedily removed, the taint of supposed insanity; but the error which denied the necessity of it might inflict a greater harm, and fix on the patient the malady for ever. It demanded almost superhuman sagacity, and showed how necessary it was to be cautious, to avoid hasty legislation, and await the further developments of that important branch of science. He feared that all the proposed enactments that tended to increase publicity, and render impossible that amount of privacy that was naturally and justifiably demanded in these delicate matters, would tend to a vastly extended system of clandestine confinement. Single patients, as they were called, were persons living alone under restraint, and committed to the charge of a doctor, a clergyman, or an attendant. Where two or more, being lunatics, resided under the same roof, the law required that a licence should be taken out; where only one, a certificate. There was great difficulty in the discovery of such cases; many of them were put out on the false plea that they were nervous, not lunatic, patients, and, therefore, not subject to the law. Evidence of their existence reached them in a variety of ways; and on such evidence, if sufficient, an application was made to the Lord Chancellor for a power to visit the house. The Commissioners, in 1862, had visited 161 single patients; but, in 1884, they had visited 449, an increase in 20 years of 288. How many more there might be he could not say, so secret were they, and so scattered over the whole country. It had been asked in the House of Commons whether it were not true that many were sent abroad? On that point the Commissioners could give no information. Now, the state of these single patients demanded the utmost thought and attention. Care and inspection, it was true, had greatly mitigated their lot; but the peculiarity of the circumstances exposed them, on the slightest relaxation of vigilance, to a return of all the evils and oppressions of former days. The condition of these sufferers had, in former days, been most deplorable; their treatment might have varied according to the position and character of those who had charge of them; but, in the great bulk of the cases, it was, beyond doubt, fearfully oppressive. He had it on the personal testimony of those who had endured the solitary incarceration. One lady asserted that she was frequently strapped down on her bed for 24 hours, while her nurse went out on a junket; a gentleman had assured him that he had endured the same, and showed the scars on his legs made by the cords wherewith he was confined. If visited, these poor people had then but small relief; they had none to bear witness to their testimony; and every statement they made was attributed by the attendant to mental wandering. Now, then, these patients were singularly unhappy; for, in houses where many patients were received, any one patient had the supporting evidence of his fellows; for, though the testimony of a patient in respect of himself was oftentimes very questionable, the testimony of patients in respect of others was very good, and had oftentimes been received in Courts of Justice. He had said more than once, and he repeated it, that were anyone of his own family visited by that sad affliction, he would infinitely prefer to consign him or her to a licensed establishment than to the care and treatment of a single custodian. Their Lordships would easily perceive that the temptations, the payments being oftentimes very high, and the facilities for long detention and delay of cure, must, under such a system, be very great. The last point on which the noble Earl opposite had commented was on the principle, character, and condition of private asylums, or, as they were properly denominated, licensed houses. The noble Earl had quoted some strong passages given in evidence by him (the Earl of Shaftesbury) before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1859. Now, he did not vary, in principle, one hair's breadth from what he stated at that period; and the noble Earl would have done well to have given his explanatory evidence in 1877. It was as follows:—

> "Your Lordship said, in answer to the honourable Member for Mid Surrey last Thursday, Question 11,449, that it was a notion prevailing in many minds that the principle of profit in regard to the treatment and maintenance of lunatics in private asylums should be eliminated.—Yes; it should be, if possible, no doubt. If I recollect the Question put to me by the Right Honourable Chairman, it was as to the establishment of hospitals, and I answered that I thought it would be a good principle to make the hospital system the basis of the system for the reception of patients of all kinds, but that I should be very sorry to do anything that should go to the total prohibition of licensed houses; because that, though I believed the operation of the hospital system might probably tend very much to reduce the number of licensed houses, I had strong conviction that those that survived would be of the very highest character. It is absolutely necessary we should have some licensed houses, because many have a particular taste that way, and because there is a form of treatment there that you never could have in any public asylum. You say you are ready to admit it is a notion that prevails in the minds of a great many people, but the sooner that is eliminated the better?—Yes, no doubt. That idea has grown up from evidence given to the public mind, and not from personal knowledge?—Yes; and I judge of it from conversation, and from what I read, and what I hear. I know that that feeling does prevail in the public mind, and naturally enough. I do not blame the public for it; and, indeed, I very

much praise the public jealousy upon the subject. Perhaps your Lordship remembers the evidence you gave in 1859, in which you condemned the vicious principle of profit, as you called it, perhaps more strongly than anybody else?—Yes; I condemned it very strongly, and I condemn it nearly as strongly now; and, therefore, I want to put as great a limit upon it as I possibly can. Your Lordship has modified your views upon this subject?—Yes; to this extent—the licensed houses are in a far better condition than they were in every possible respect; but I have said, and I wish to repeat, that if we were to relax our vigilance the whole thing, in every form of establishment, would go back to its former level."

The Committee of 1878 had reported that the permitted continuance or discontinuance of licensed houses must be left to public opinion; and it was certainly remarkable that, though there were perpetual expressions of dislike and fear of such receptacles, no steps were ever taken, or even proposed, to provide substitutes. Since 1859, hospitals had not increased in number; two had been added; but that was only apparently so, those two having come into separate existence by disconnection from the asylums of Gloucester and Nottingham. Nevertheless, the feeling of the country would continue, he doubted not, to prevail in favour of the public principle, which, when established, would require, he could assure their Lordships, no small amount of care and supervision. In illustration of what he had said, he might put before their Lordships the present state of private and hospital accommodation. The licensed houses amounted, in all, to 97; 35 in the Metropolis, and 62 in the Provinces. The hospitals for lunatics proper were 13; for idiots, 2. The increase of licensed houses in the Metropolis since 1859 was 1; the decrease of provincial houses in same time, 15; but that might be accounted for by their greater size. The inmates in hospitals were 3,146; in licensed houses, 4,779; making a total of 7,925. Of that total, 1,398 were paupers, leaving thus, of paying patients, 6,527. He could not conclude without recalling their Lordships' attention to the vast, he might say the blessed, improvements, made in the custody and cure of the insane, an answer, in itself, to many reckless and ignorant charges. Let them only consider the present treatment of the pauper lunatic. They had often seen, no doubt, those palatial buildings, the public asylums, erected solely for the poor. Every mode of a physical or moral character was resorted to for the charge and cure of these unfortunate beings. Their diet, their apparel, their residential comforts, were of the best quality. Their amusements were not forgotten; and occupation, adapted to their line of life, was regarded as among the most remedial processes. The women were engaged in employments of all kinds suited to their sex, and agriculture was esteemed so beneficial to the men, that land to the extent of 200 or 300 acres was assigned to many of the provincial asylums. All was minutely and carefully visited by constituted authorities, as he would show by the statement which followed. It exhibited not the maximum, but the minimum, of the visitations—

Public Asylums, County and Borough.	Two or more of Committee of Visitors. Two Commissioners in Lunacy.	Once at least every two months. Once a year at least.
Hospital.	Members of Committee of Management. Two Commissioners.	Various—according to Regulations approved by Secretary of State—generally once a month. Once a year at least. Twice, of late years, by special Resolution of Board.
Private rovincial Licensed House.	Two Visitors at least, one to be Medical. } One Visitor. Two Commissioners.	Four times a year. Twice a year ("Single Visits"). Twice a year.
Metropolitan Licensed House.	Two Professional Commissioners. Any one Commissioner.	Four times a year. Twice a year.

All this had been effected by degrees, by the results of observation, by the

The Earl of Shaftesbury

applications of experience. The contrast between 1828 and 1884 was well nigh incredible. All they required was care and caution, and that legislation should follow, and not precede, the guidance of practical science. But the appeal for such caution was met by hasty and nervous agitation. They had reason on their side, but it was encountered by nothing but expressions of fear. While of all the maladies that afflicted mankind, none were so intricate and appalling as those which disturbed his reasoning faculties, there were none upon which the public at large were more prompt to give an opinion, and enforce a remedy. He could only again and again implore the deepest and most serious consideration on such a subject. They were now in a far better state of hope for progress in scientific knowledge. A large Association of intelligent and right-hearted men had come into existence, formed of the superintendents of the great asylums and others who gave their time and their minds to that important study. They had their conferences, their meetings, their periodicals, and interchange of thought and inquiry. The services of these gentlemen were priceless—every day added something to the stock of facts. and on facts alone could treatment advance. He trusted that by investigation and patience they would be able, by God's blessing, to arrive at some alleviation, if not a full remedy, for the most mysterious affliction that had been permitted to fall on the human race.

LORD COLERIDGE said, he had considerable reluctance in speaking on that occasion; but he would point out to their Lordships that the Resolution of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Milltown) was of a somewhat abstract character, as to which it generally happened that, in that House, as well as "elsewhere," any debates arising were likely to be in some sense debates in the air. Nevertheless, because he had had a good deal of experience of cases connected with the subject, both at the Bar and on the Bench, and very much also in consequence of the speech of the noble Earl who had just spoken (the Earl of Shaftesbury), he would say a very few words. The Resolution had reference not to the profoundly interesting question of lunacy itself, but simply to the practical admininstration of the laws affecting the detention of persons supposed to be lunatics. It was quite true that the system administered in this country owed its origin to the noble Earl who had last sat down, and it was difficult for anyone who had not arrived at the time of life arrived at by the noble Earl to adequately comprehend the enormous improvement made by the measures of 1845 and 1853 in the system, if system it could be called, which was in existence before that time. For that great improvement, he (Lord Coleridge) believed they were mainly indebted to the noble Earl opposite, and it formed one of the many claims to gratitude which the noble Earl possessed, as regarded his contemporaries, for his various philanthropic labours. But 1853 was more than 30 years ago; and it was, therefore, no discredit to the noble Earl to say that the experience of 30 years might have taught us that in that system there was a good deal to be amended. In many cases the system, though excellent on paper, broke down in practice. In the great majority of cases it was absolutely clear to the intelligence of any ordinary person who was moderately acquainted with the matter that the individuals confined were insane; and, in another large class of cases, it was equally clear that the persons whom it was proposed to confine were not insane. Of course, where lunatics in confinement were properly treated, they would expect to find that a system on paper should be on the whole as successful as the present system was; but there was a class of cases—those cases in which there was a divided mind as to whether a person should or should not be incarcerated—it was in these cases that the real difficulty arose; and then the system, though excellent on paper, broke down. If we could, as in France, deal with a man's property by means of a family council, there would be very little to be said; but in this country no such system existed. For the reason that here it was a question of personal liberty, it was extremely important that care should be taken that the system by which persons were incarcerated should be watched with the severest jealousy. While quite agreeing with the noble Earl that Judges were fallible men, he could not help thinking that, at least, they were not averse to teaching each other that such was the case. Anyway, his noble Friend must have misunderstood the judgment of the learned Baron, for what he (Lord Coleridge) understood the learned Judge to mean was, that the certificates of medical practitioners were only a protection against the keepers of the asylums, and not a protection against others against whom proceedings might be taken for having set the doctors in action. The learned Baron was too well versed in the practice of his Profession to lay down the certainly bad law that the certificates of doctors were a protection against others than the keepers of the asylums. He (Lord Coleridge) had himself known of ten or a dozen cases, at least, where the system had broken down in the sense of persons not having been confined who ought to have been incarcerated; of others who had been sent to lunatic asylums, with such a total disregard to the common forms even of decency, that it was with the greatest possible difficulty that juries had been prevented from giving verdicts which would have been wrong against those who set the law in motion. He recollected that, in a case that came before himself, it was shown that a person had been committed to a private lunatic asylum on certificates of medical men who were interested in the asylum, and that, although the man had been afterwards formally discharged under their certificates, he had been rearrested within 10 minutes afterwards on others. He had no doubt that in that case, however, the person confined was a fit subject for confinement. The jury who had tried the case were naturally indignant with a state of the law which allowed such proceedings. Then there was the question of private lunatic asylums; and he must say that his experience of these asylums was not a very happy one. He did not mean to say there were a good many amongst the keepers of private asylums, but he thought there were some in the Medical Profession, who, in all respects, were not the highest type of medical men; because it was, unfortunately, the case that medical men possessing the highest minds did not devote themselves to this particular class of disease, and, moreover, it was repugnant to such men to mix themselves up with a system which, after all was said and done, combined commerce and trade with their Profession. In his opinion, it should never be the interest of the keepers of private lunatic asylums to retard the cure of patients. It was, unfortunately, the fact, as had been shown by the statistics referred to by the noble Earl, that the percentage of cures effected in the county lunatic asylums was far larger than that which was effected in private lunatic asylums. In the former, it was clear that it was not the interest or object of anyone to retain a patient longer than was absolutely necessary, because the maintenance of such a patient was a matter of cost, and not of profit; but that was not the case with regard to private asylums. That was not, however, a matter to be decided hastily, but as a matter of principle. Still, his painful experience had convinced him that it was not safe or wise to hold out inducements to the keepers of private lunatic asylums to retain their patients as long as they could. It had been said in reference to this class of disease, that a medical man would have just as much reason to effect a cure speedily as in the case of any other class of disease; but it must be remembered that the inducement was not the same, because such cases were not likely to be talked about among the friends of the patient. The fact, also, that few cases of abuse had been made public said little, for relatives were averse to bringing such cases forward.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the subject was an interesting one, though in some respects of a painful character; and if he asked their Lordships not to agree with the Motion of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Milltown), it was not because he (the Lord Chancellor) thought that the Lunacy Laws were not capable of improvement or amendment, for such was not the opinion of the noble Earl at the head of the Lunacy Commission (the Earl of Shaftesbury), nor of those who had investigated the subject, but because he thought it would be very unwise, on a subject of so much importance and difficulty, to pass a Resolution which contained a wholesale condemnation of the existing state of the law, as being eminently unsatisfactory, together with some exaggeration with regard to the way in which the present law affected the liberty of the subject. He fully admitted that there were some things in their Lunacy Laws which were not as satisfactory as they might be; but he was sure their Lordships would be most anxious to preserve an equally balanced mind in dealing with a subject of such difficulty and importance, and not run the risk of defeating a salutary object, for the sake of obviating conceivable and possible, but, in his opinion, chiefly theoretical, dangers. It must be remembered, in the first place, that the Lunacy Laws were meant for lunatics, and not for sane people; and that they must be such as might be calculated to deal wisely and properly with the lamentable fact that there were, at all times, a large number of persons requiring treatment for mental diseases. When the Commissioners made their Report in 1878 there were over 66,000 lunatics, and he feared it was probable that, at the present time, that number had considerably increased. These unhappy persons must be dealt with, not only for their own sakes, but for the sake of the community at large; they must be taken care of for their own sakes, in order that they might be cured, and might not become the prey of designing persons; and for the sake of the community, that they might not, being at large, become dangerous to other persons as well as to themselves. In these circumstances, wise and proper laws, humanely administered, were necessary as safeguards by which the safety of lunatics and of the community at large could alone be secured. Dealing with the objections which had been urged, he considered, first, the too great facilities which were said to exist for placing persons not lunatics in confinement; and he thought that it was a very exaggerated view of the case, to say that anyone in the street might demand that another person, a perfect stranger to him, should be dealt with as a lunatic, and that, upon the certificate of any two medical men, with certain exceptions, this person might be confined in an asylum. He maintained that no more risks were run in this direction than were incurred in other directions every day. Looking to the result of every public investigation under the existing law which this matter had received, and especially to the last careful examination in 1878, he thought it was not too much to say that the proportion of cases in which there was any reason to suppose that grave abuses took place was infinitesimally small, in comparison with the cases in which the law had been properly administered. It had also been said, and no doubt there was some degree of truth in the assertion, that, under the existing system, there was a temptation to persons who had an interest in doing so to retain persons in private establishments for the care of lunatics. There might be some persons who wished to shut up their relatives without sufficient grounds for doing so, and such persons might be able to find two medical practitioners to assist them, by giving certificates of lunacy. These were, undoubtedly, points in the law requiring careful attention, and as to which every safeguard, which did not go too far in the opposite direction, ought to be adopted. It should be remembered that some of the cases which had been referred to by the Lord Chief Justice were absolute breaches of the law, and no system of law, however good, would prevent all persons from committing a breach of it. It was well worth while, however, to consider whether it was not possible to amend the present law, and so diminish the possibility of dangers and risks in the abuse or evasion of it at present existing, without throwing impediments in the way of a proper administration on the subject generally. The Commissioners, in their Report of 1878, showed the system in operation in Scotland of what were called emergency certificates, and suggested an amendment in the law in that direction; and, without binding himself to those suggestions in every detail, he might say that he agreed entirely with what was there said as to the extreme importance, while providing reasonable and proper safeguards against abuse, of placing no impediments in the way of as speedy a means as possible of dealing with the first symptoms of disease. The evidence on all sides proved the absolute necessity there was in promptly dealing with the first symptoms of derangement; and then came the question, whether it was not necessary to run some risks in order not to diminish the chances of cure to a large number of persons? But, in the meantime, it must not be forgotten by their Lordships that there were important, and generally very efficient, checks and safeguards under the present system—medical certificates and visitations, both by the Lunacy Commissioners and by Visitors appointed by the Court of Chancery, none of whom had any personal or pecuniary interest in the cases which they had to visit and inquire into. Careful Reports were made; and in any case to which special attention was called, these Reports were followed up by further inquiries, and the consequences to medical practitioners of any malpractices with regard to dealing with lunatics were very serious indeed. He thought everything that could possibly be done was done by the visits of the Commissioners and the Visitors. He frequently received letters from unfortunate patients, in which they stated their own views of their own cases; and he always desired, where the matter justified it, special Reports to be made by the Visitors in such cases; but he was bound to say that the letters themselves generally contained internal evidence of some unsoundness of mind; and, in some cases, where they contained no such evidence, further inquiry showed that, although the unfortunate persons were capable of acting and writing like sane persons, yet, at other times, they were not only of unsound mind, but positively dangerous. As to private asylums, he had not sufficient knowledge to enable him to controvert the terms in which his noble Friend the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Coleridge) had spoken of the owners of these houses; but, at the same time, he was unable to corroborate him, for it was within his knowledge that there were some, and not a few, of these establishments which were conducted by men of the highest character and of great professional attainments. He was sure the noble Lord must feel that the subject was one of the most difficult branches of the Lunacy Laws, and it was one which was carefully considered by the Committee of 1878. The Report showed that it was a subject upon which there existed the greatest diversity of opinion, and the decision at which the Committee arrived was that the matter had better be left to the spontaneous action of the public. Some thought that these private asylums should be immediately abolished; but others thought that they met an acknowledged want. The matter was very much debated, and a Bill by Mr. Dillwyn, of a very moderate character, was passed in the other House; but it failed to pass through their Lordships' House. Another Member of the House of Commons afterwards moved a Resolution that all lunatics should be brought under the care of the State, and that was rejected by a large majority. Everyone must desire that lunatics should be treated as well as possible, and made as comfortable as circumstances would permit. Those lunatics who had considerable property were entitled to have their comfort provided for as far as possible. They must be put into the care of some persons, whether they kept licensed houses or not, to whom the expenditure must be entrusted. The inquiry which had been held by the Committee showed that no serious abuses existed, and that great improvements had taken place of late years in the administration of these laws. These improvements were partly begun before, and they had certainly made great progress under the adminission of his noble Friend (the Earl of Shaftesbury) and his Colleagues on the Commission. He must say their Lordships owed to his noble Friend, as the Chairman of the Lunacy Commission, to his Colleagues, and to the Visitors also, their hearty thanks for their great and unceasing labours. In their humane and unquestionably disinterested administration they had the most effectual safeguards which could by any means be devised against the evils to which reference had been made. He would not dwell further on those safeguards; but the Committee of 1878 had recommended certain changes, amongst them greater checks against possible abuses of the Lunacy Laws; and he would undertake, if the Government were still in Office next year, either that himself, or one of his Colleagues, would present to Parliament a Bill, the object of which would be the consolidation of the existing law, with such improvements as were recommended by the Commission of 1878, together with any other changes and amendments in the law which might commend themselves, after due consideration, to the Government. In the meantime, he hoped, under the circumstances, the noble Earl would not divide the House on his Motion.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he hoped that, after the announcement just made by the noble and learned Earl upon the Woolsack, his noble Friend (the Earl of Milltown) would consider that the useful objects of his Motion had been attained, and would not press it to a Division. At the same time, he (the Marquess of Salisbury) felt that the debate to which the Motion had given rise was of a very valuable character, and he thought the existing Lunacy Laws would hardly survive the blow they had received from the speech of the noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Coleridge). Everyone must admit that the subject was one of extreme difficulty, and that they could not make suggestions in any one direction without seeing evils arise in other directions; but, at the same time, all who had listened would agree that the securities for the liberty of the subject under the Lunacy Laws were very much less than were granted in any other part of the Law of England. The noble and learned Earl upon the Woolsack said that they only made Lunacy Laws for lunatics; but the very gist of the complaint was that these laws were applied to sane people; and it was to avoid their being so applied, that their attention had been directed to the matter. There were, in these cases of illegal restraint, two classes of very obvious motives for abuses of the law. There were many people who, for the sake of property, which they wished to secure, had motives to get rid of relatives whom they might find inconvenient, and whose freedom they might desire to restrict. There were also domestic relations in which one of the parties might have very good reasons for desiring that the other party should no longer possess his or her freedom. Motives of that kind were familiar enough in fiction, and he was afraid they were not altogether strange to real life. On the other hand, there was a strong motive in the keeper of a private asylum to keep wealthy patients, who were showing a tendency to recover, on account of the rich harvest of profit which their maintenance in an asylum gave him. These were very strong and great influences. What facilities did the law give for their counteraction? As far as the initial stages of confining a lunatic were concerned, it seemed that the Law of England afforded absolutely no security for the liberty of the subject. Any person, no matter how deep an interest he might have in shutting you up, had a right to take any two doctors he could find, no matter how obscure, and get an order to shut you up. Who could say there was any security in the initial stages? The whole defence of the present system lay in the measures adopted at a later stage—in the inspection conducted by the Lunacy Commissioners, who had certainly acted with very great assiduity and success. He entirely agreed with the noble and learned Earl as to the great debt of gratitude they all owed to the noble Earl the Chairman of the Commission (the Earl of Shaftesbury) and those who worked with him—it was impossible to exaggerate the debt the country owed to them for having worked a very difficult and thorny part of the law in such a way that no real abuses had arisen; but he thought that the older guardians of English liberty would have been startled, if they had been told that the liberty of any free man was entirely dependent on the vigilance of a Department without any other security whatever. From the point of view of those who were concerned in maintaining freedom, the defect in the administration of these laws was in the utter absence of publicity. If the doctors and the men who signed the certificates had to go before magistrates, and, in open Court, to prove their case; or, if the inspection of the Commissioners was such a public inspection, that all who were concerned and might sympathize with the patient could be witnesses to what was done, there would undoubtedly be adequate security for that liberty which now entirely rested upon the high administrative and moral qualities shown by his noble Friend and his Colleagues. He hoped they might long continue to be at the service of the State; but, under these circumstances, no one would say that the state of the law was satisfactory when that was the sole defence for its present state, and the motive for abusing the law was sometimes so strong. It might, however, be said that if this publicity were insisted upon, the necessary result would be that the feelings of families would in many cases lead to clandestine imprisonments taking place. He considered that the noble Earl (the Earl of Milltown) had made out his case, and shown that the state of the law was not satisfactory. On the other hand, he thought the noble and learned Earl (the Lord Chancellor) had indicated the difficulties of dealing with this particular branch of the law. After his statement, and the promise that the law should be amended, he thought it would be a great mistake to go to Division on the Motion.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, that he hoped the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack would see his way to increasing the number of Chancery Visitors, and of extending their inspection beyond the Chancery lunatics. The emulation between them and the Commissioners' Visitors would be a good thing for the lunatics. It had been said that evening, that insanity could be more easily cured in its initial stage; that was true, but it was also true that the despair caused to the inmates of asylums, on finding themselves hopelessly locked up, often aggravated their disorder, and would increase a slight derangement into raving madness.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, that, in view of the proposal of the Government to introduce legislation at a future date, he would withdraw his Motion. His object had been more than gained by the very interesting discussion that had taken place, and by the promise he had obtained from the Government. He was still of opinion, however, that the arguments advanced in favour of his Motion had not been answered, and that, in fact, they were unanswerable.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

THE WESTERN PACIFIC—DEPORTATION OF FRENCH RECIDIVISTS.

POSTPONEMENT OF MOTION.

EARL GRANVILLE, in reference to a Motion on the Paper of the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery), who proposed to call attention to the proposed deportation of recidivists from France to the Western Pacific; and to move for Papers, said, he had already spoken to his noble Friend on the subject of the Motion of which he had given Notice. It was a subject of great importance; but he had urged on his noble Friend that, on the whole, it would be desirable that its discussion should be postponed.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he had little difficulty whatever in acceding to the request of his noble Friend to postpone his Motion for a time. At the same time, he wished to observe that there was nothing in the Motion, or in what he intended to say, that could, in any way, interfere with the negotiations which he understood were in progress, or wound the just susceptibilities of any neighbouring Power. He only agreed to postpone his Motion, because he thought the course suggested by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was the one best calculated to gain the object they all had at heart; and he did so more heartily, because he believed an early opportunity would occur when the subject could be fully and fairly discussed, and without prejudice, and when the feeling of the House might be elicited as to a proposition which could not fail to have the greatest effects.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had not given the House the reasons which induced him to request his noble Friend to postpone the Motion. He hoped there was a substantial consideration for taking that course, and that it meant the very serious consideration of the subject by the Government, with a view of arriving at some definite and satisfactory understanding. He was aware that negotiations of an important character with the French Government were going on with the view of overcoming difficulties; and so long as those negotiations held out a reasonable promise of a successful issue, he should be sorry to offer any opposition. It was impossible to overrate the importance of the question—a question which, from a variety of reasons, ran the chance of not being fully appreciated in England. He trusted Her Majesty's Government were not blind to the extreme depth of feeling which existed upon the subject in Australia. If the postponement led to a regular understanding, he should not, in any degree, regret it; but, on the other hand, he hoped it was clearly understood that the matter was being entertained with a view to its settlement. He would be glad to know to what day the Motion was to be postponed?

EARL GRANVILLE said, the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) seemed to think he had a monopoly of the knowledge of the importance of the subject. That was not so. The Government very well knew, and were agreed, that it was one of the most important subjects with regard to the Colonies; and it was for that reason that Her Majesty's Government thought, in dealing with it, they ought to be as prudent as possible. On this account he desired that it should be postponed in order that Papers might be completed. The noble Earl had asked some time ago about the diplomatic Correspondence. As a matter of fact, the Papers were not complete. He had been promised an answer from the French Government, which had not yet been received. He had been looking the matter up; and he might mention that he found that, up to the 31st of March, he had, through Lord Lyons, made no fewer than eight representations to the French Government.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON again asked to what date the Motion was postponed?

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: To Monday fortnight.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—VOTE OF THANKS TO OFFICERS AND MEN OF H.M. SEA AND LAND FORCES.

OBSERVATIONS. QUESTION.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD: There have been some unfavourable rumours about the intention of the Government in regard to the Vote of Thanks to the Army in the Soudan; but it is generally advisable to assume that those with whom we have the honour to act are likely to act in a just and generous spirit whenever the Army and Navy are concerned. Considering the deep admiration and respect we all entertain for the gallant services of the Army and Navy, it would be presumptuous on my part to allude to the campaign which has just passed—a campaign which has brought out the conspicuous gallantry of our troops. I will, therefore, content myself with asking Her Majesty's Government, If they can state when they propose moving a Vote of Thanks to the officers and men of Her Majesty's Sea and Land Forces who had taken so distinguished a part in the recent campaign near Suakin?

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, that it had always been understood that the noble Viscount (Viscount Enfield) was a firm supporter of Her Majesty's Ministers; and he (Lord Stanley of Alderley) was at a loss to understand why he put this Question, which might be embarrassing to them. The noble Viscount seemed to make no distinction between hostilities carried on in defence of the safety or honour of the country, and these at Suakin, for which there was no justification or reason. Did the noble Viscount ask for a Vote of Thanks for Admiral Hewett for his Proclamation, which had brought so much discredit on the country? He (Lord Stanley of Alderley) felt bound to say that Admiral Hewett had shown all the frankness of the Naval Profession in withdrawing this Proclamation, and in undoing the mischief he had done, as far as that was possible. No reason had been given for these hostilities. He would not do the Government the injustice to suppose that they were for show-off, and to prove that our troops, with all the resources of civilization, could beat men armed with rudimentary weapons, such as swords and spears. It was not to open the road to Berber, since, after these victories, the Government had refused to send on any Cavalry to Berber. It must have been to seize upon Osman Digna. Osman Digna had written a remarkable letter, which showed that he had much knowledge of the internal state of England, and of the fact that a leading portion of the Government had adopted and supported an Atheist openly professing Atheism on all occasions. He would quote the judgment of Milton on similar hostilities. Milton speaks of the Syrian King—

> "Who, to surprise one man, assassin-like, had
> levied war, War unproclaimed."

He would always object to Votes of Thanks for hostilities that were piratical.

THE EARL OF MORLEY: In reply to the noble Lord opposite (Lord Stanley of Alderley), I confess I do not see what bearing his remarks have upon the conduct of the troops. In respect to the Question put by my noble Friend behind me (Viscount Enfield), I have to say that Her Majesty's Government have most carefully inquired into and considered the precedents bearing on the point. The decision, whether the Thanks of Parliament should be given, or not, to troops engaged in military operations, does not appear to have depended entirely either on the success of the campaign, or on the severity of the fighting which has occurred. I can assure your Lordships that Her Majesty's Government, and, I am sure, Parliament also, most entirely appreciate the ability displayed by both General Graham and

Admiral Hewett in the conduct of the recent operations, and also the great courage and conspicuous gallantry displayed by the troops themselves, and also the sailors who co-operated with them under circumstances which were quite sufficient to try the steadiness and gallantry of any troops. Parliament will also thoroughly appreciate the success which has attended both the ability of the Commanders and the gallantry of the troops. It will be a subject of great regret if the answer I am about to give were to imply any doubt or hesitation on that point; but the Government feel that to move a Vote of Thanks to those engaged in an undertaking which cannot be considered an independent operation, but rather as an incident in the Occupation of Egypt, would give an extension to the practice of voting Thanks which the Government do not think desirable. I may add that the question of the rewards to be conferred on the officers and men engaged is still under the consideration of the military authorities, and the result will shortly be announced.

MARRIAGES LEGALIZATION BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to remove doubts as to the effect of certain irregularities on the validity of marriages—Was *presented* by The Lord Chancellor; read 1ª. (No. 76.)

House adjourned at half past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 5th May, 1884.

MINUTES—Supply—*considered in Committee*—Army Estimates.

Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Bandon Waterworks) * [188]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Unions of North Dublin, &c) * [189]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) (Districts of Dorking and Hendon, &c.) * [190]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9) (Parishes of Ashen, &c.) * [191]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 10) (Parishes of Charley, &c.) * [192].

First Reading—Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [193]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) * [194].

Second Reading—Redistribution of Seats [131] [House counted out].

Considered as amended — Contagious Diseases (Animals) * [120].

Third Reading—Fisheries (Ireland) * [27], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Hyde Park Corner Improvements [136].

MOTIONS.

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LOCAL - GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (BANDON WATERWORKS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Waterworks in the town of Bandon, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland and Mr. Trevelyan.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 188.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland, under "The Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883," relating to the Unions of North Dublin, Kells, Kilmallock, Mitchelstown, Rathdrum, Tralee, Trim, and Tulla, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland and Mr. Trevelyan.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 189.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. George Russell, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board, relating to the Local Government Districts of Dorking and Hendon, the Rural Sanitary District of the Kingston Union, the Local Government District of Malvern, the Borough of Portsmouth, the City of Truro, and the Local Government Districts of Wimbledon and Ystradyfodwg, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. George Russell and Sir Charles Dilke.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 190.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (POOR LAW) (NO. 9) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. George Russell, Bill to confirm certain Orders of the Local Government Board, under the provisions of "The Divided Parishes and Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876," as amended and extended by "The Poor Law Act, 1879," relating to the Parishes of Ashen, Birdbrook, Brockdish, Haverhill, Hundon, Little Wratting, Ovington, Peasenhall, Sibton, Steeple Bumpstead, Stoke-by-Clare, Stratton-Long-Saint-Mary, Sturmer, Thorpe Abbotts, Tilbury-juxta-Clare, Wacton Magna, Whixoe, and Withersfield, and to the Townships of Emswell-with-Kelleythorpe, Eskdaleside, Great Driffield, Little Driffield, and Ugglebarnby, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. George Russell and Sir Charles Dilke.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 191.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (POOR LAW) (NO. 10) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. George Russell, Bill to confirm certain Orders of the Local Government Board, under the provisions of "The Divided Parishes and Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876," as amended and extended by "The Poor Law Act, 1879," and "The Divided Parishes and Poor Law Amendment Act, 1882," relating to the Parishes of Charley (two), Eddlesborough, Helmdon, Ivinghoe, Little Gaddesden, Markfield, Marston Saint Lawrence (two), Middleton Cheney, Newtown Linford, Slapton, Syresham, Thenford, and Whitfield, to the Townships of Marnham and South Clifton, and to the Hamlet of Astwell-with-Falcutt, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. George Russell and Sir Charles Dilke.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 192.]

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

LONDON, BRIGHTON, AND SOUTH COAST RAILWAY BILL.

RESOLUTION.

Sir ARTHUR OTWAY: The London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company have introduced a Bill into Parliament which has been referred to me in the usual manner as Chairman of Ways and Means, owing to the fact of its being unopposed. I have, however, thought it undesirable, in consequence of having been a Director for many years of that Railway Company, that the Bill should be adjudicated upon by me. I have, therefore, requested the Chairman of the Committee on Standing Orders to take my place, and he has consented to do so. I, therefore, beg to move that the Chairman of the Committee of Standing Orders be appointed Chairman of the said Committee on that Bill.

Ordered, That the Chairman of the Committee of Standing Orders be appointed Chairman of the Committee on the said Bill.

NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S MISSION—THE VOTE OF CENSURE (SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH).

Sir WILFRID LAWSON gave Notice that he will move the following Amendment to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach):—

"That this House, while regretting that General Gordon has not yet succeeded in bringing to a successful conclusion the mission which he patriotically undertook, declines to censure Her Majesty's Government for not takiug steps which would involve Military operations in connection with a mission which was distinctly and avowedly of a pacific nature."

QUESTIONS.

HARBOURS OF REFUGE—CONVICT LABOUR.

Mr. MARJORIBANKS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he can now state what place on the East Coast of Scotland has been selected for the construction of a harbour of refuge by means of convict labour; and, whether, and, if so, when, the Report of, and Minutes of Evidence taken by, the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Convict Labour, which visited the East Coast of Scotland last autumn, will be presented to the House?

Mr. HIBBERT: In reply to my hon. Friend, I have to state that no place has yet been selected, the Report of the Sub-Committee not yet having been laid before the Home Secretary. My right hon. and learned Friend, however, hopes to have that Report laid before him in the course of a few days, and to be in a position to place it on the Table of the House.

ARMY ACT, 1881—FRAUDULENT ENLISTMENT.

Mr. HOPWOOD asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any action has been taken in consequence of the amendment of Section 32 of "The Army Act, 1881," by which the power of a court martial to sentence to penal servitude for the offence of fraudulently enlisting after previous discharge with disgrace from any part of Her Majesty's forces was taken away; and, whether he has been able to advise the remission or reconsideration of the 150 or more sentences of penal servitude passed in 1882, 1883, and 1884?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, the amendment of the Act had been promulgated to the officers in command, and this would prevent further penalties of penal servitude being passed for this offence. As regarded the men now undergoing sentences of penal servitude, their cases would be considered when they had served two years. He might mention that two years' hard labour was considered a more severe punishment than a similar term of penal servitude.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND)—PETER M'KNIGHT, A CONVICT LUNATIC.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Peter M'Knight was convicted of manslaughter at Belfast Summer Assizes in 1877, and sentenced to five years' penal servitude; whether he was discharged at the end of about four years, but taken prisoner in Liverpool on 21st June 1881, and lodged in a lunatic asylum at Whittingham, Preston; if so, what were the grounds for his being sent to the asylum; and, what are the reasons for his present detention?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he had inquired into the matter, and had received a Report from the medical officer that the man was quite unfit to be at large.

ARMY (INDIA)—RE-ORGANIZATION.

Mr. E. STANHOPE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Correspondence between the India Office and the Government of India, on the subject of the proposed changes in the Indian Army system, is approaching completion; and, if so, when he will be able to lay it upon the Table?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: The Correspondence in question is now practically complete; and if the hon. Member will move for it, there will be no objection to presenting it. I may suggest, with regard to the Report of the Commission and the Appendices, which are exceedingly voluminous, that it will be sufficient to place them in the Library without distributing copies.

INDIA—THE KIRWEE PRIZE MONEY.

Sir JOHN HAY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the sum of £276,000, and other sums, realised as proceeds of the moveable property of the Ex-Princes of Kirwee, and retained by the Indian Government, have been entered in the Returns presented to Parliament in 1876, in partial compliance with the Order of the House dated 23rd July 1874, which called for a Return of all the moveable property taken from those Chiefs; and, whether, and when, the Secretary of State proposes to complete the defective Return, so as to thoroughly fulfil the Order of Parliament?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: The Papers presented to Parliament in 1876, in compliance with the Order of the House of July 23, 1874, gave a complete Return of the amount of all moveable property of enemies or insurgents in the territories of Oude or Kirwee, or of the proceeds thereof, which passed into the possession of the authorities in India since the outbreak of the War in 1857. The promissory notes representing the sum referred to by the right hon. and gallant Member never at any time passed into the possession of Government. They are, therefore, not included in the Return. Where any such notes were captured, as at Lucknow, they are shown in the Return. As, therefore, the Return was prepared in strict accordance with the Orders of the House, there is no ground for supplementing it. I may add that full information concerning these promissory notes was submitted to the House in an earlier Return, No. 298, dated July 5, 1869.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND) — INTERFERENCE OF THE POLICE AT CASTLESHANE.

Mr. SEXTON (for Mr. Healy) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that, on Mr. Francis M'Kenna, of Annagap, county Monaghan, complaining to the Inspector General of Constabulary that he had been threatened by the police sergeant at Castleshane that, if he interfered in public meetings or took part in politics, he would have his gun licence revoked, he received the following reply:—

> "Dublin Castle, 4th April, 1884.
>
> "Francis M'Kenna is informed, with reference to his letter of the 31st ult., that, if he considers the sergeant exceeded his duty in the matter referred to, he should bring the case before the Magistrates at Petty Sessions.
>
> "(Signed) R. F. N. Fanning,
>
> "Deputy Inspector General."

Do the Government approve of this method of dealing with such a charge; is it the fact that no inquiry whatever was made to discover whether it was correct, or not; will he ascertain from Mr. Fanning under what Statute the "Magistrates at Petty Sessions" have power to deal with such a complaint; is he aware that Mr. M'Kenna's statement can be corroborated by four witnesses, in whose presence the threat was made; and, do the Government propose to deal with the case?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is the fact that Francis M'Kenna made to the Inspector General the complaint mentioned in the Question, and that he received the reply referred to. Before the letter had been written, inquiry had been made into the matter, with the result that the Inspector General was informed that the complaint of Mr. M'Kenna was not well-founded, and the police sergeant denies having made any such statement as is imputed to him. The Statute referred to by Mr. Fanning is the 6 & 7 *Will.* IV. c. 13. I am not aware that Mr. M'Kenna's statement can be corroborated by four witnesses, and the letter of Mr. M'Kenna treats the communication from the constable as a private one. The Government do not intend to take any further action.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882 — COMPENSATION FOR MALICIOUS BURNING — THE GRAND JURY OF FERMANAGH.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that the Fermanagh Grand Jury ignored the Bill sent up against a man named Beatty, whom the magistrates had returned for trial on a charge of having set fire to his house on December the 10th; that his landlord is now seeking compensation from the same grand jury for malicious injury to the house, and that, while the grand jurors would not allow the case to come before a court for investigation, they will now proceed to assess damages over a particular area; and, if he can say how this area will be arrived at?

MR. TREVELYAN: Beatty was committed for trial on a charge of burning a house of which he was formerly tenant, but the Grand Jury ignored the Bill. The landlord is not seeking compensation for the malicious burning, the person who is seeking it is the person who succeeded Beatty under certain letters of administration. This case will come on before the Presentment Sessions on the 24th of the month, and it will not come before the Grand Jury unless the Sessions decide the burning was malicious. It is impossible in that event to say what will be the area on which the tax will be fixed; but the Grand Jury will, of course, consider the whole case when it comes before them.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—MOUNTJOY PRISON—WARDERS.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that in filling up the vacancy for chief warder in Mountjoy Prison recently three principal warders were passed over, and an ordinary warder, their junior in the service, appointed; is it the fact that the latter is a Protestant, and that the three men passed over were Catholics; can he explain what were the superior qualifications possessed by the man who got the post, and in what the others were deficient; and, is it the case that in the Irish Convict Service Catholic principal warders are refused the supply of fuel and light for their houses, afforded to Protestants holding the same situations?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the man who was promoted was considered by the Prisons Board as the most suitably experienced. He was a Protestant, and was one of the men passed over. The appointment of a Protestant was considered desirable. The object was to equalize the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics in the higher grades, the Deputy Governor and senior chief warder being Catholics. As regards the last paragraph, no difference was made between Protestant and Roman Catholic warders in respect of fuel and light. The ground for that suggestion might be found in the fact that one of the principal warders who had been transferred to another position was entitled by the terms of his promotion to fire and light.

MR. O'BRIEN: I invite the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the fact that of the 41 warders discharged from Spike Island 39 are Roman Catholics; and I would ask how he can explain that, whereas in every position open to fair competition Catholics are at least as well able to hold their own in every position where appointments is by favour or under official management, Protestants predominate almost invariably?

[No reply was given.]

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE 4TH LINCOLNSHIRE MILITIA.

MR. ROUNDELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the fact that, on the 18th of April, Private Slater, of the 4th Lincolnshire Battalion of Militia, having spit whilst on parade, was ordered by the Adjutant, Captain Hodson, to fall out of the ranks; that thereupon the Adjutant ordered him an extra half-hour's drill with a stone in his mouth; that, in conseqnence of the refusal of Private Slater to submit to such an order, he was ordered by the Adjutant to be handcuffed, and was locked up for the night in a cell; that, on the following morning (Saturday, the 19th instant), Private Slater was brought before the Adjutant and charged with having refused to drill for half an hour with a stone in his mouth; that, in consequence, he was sentenced by the Adjutant to forty-eight hours in the cells with hard labour, which consisted of breaking stones for road-mending; and that this sentence was accordingly carried out; and, if the above is substantially accurate, whether the proceedings of the Adjutant are in accordance with the Regulations of the Queen?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: As a matter of fact, the man was not sentenced to drill with a stone in his mouth; but he was threatened with that punishment. The punishment actually inflicted was for gross insubordination in the ranks. The adjutant was wrong in threatening a punishment which is not authorized by the Regulations, and he would be reprimanded.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. CHARLES KELLY, Q.C., COUNTY COURT JUDGE FOR CLARE.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If Mr. Charles Kelly, Q.C., County Court Judge for Clare, is in the habit of adjourning cases for hearing from one division to another merely to suit his own convenience, and to the serious dissatisfaction of the public; if, in the case of a farmer named Michael Fitzpatrick, who sought to attach the salary of a process server named Griffin for the amount of a decree obtained against him (Griffin) at a former quarter sessions, the case was adjourned from Ennistymon to Ennis and back again without the slightest necessity for such a course; if it is possible to ascertain the number of similar instances in which litigants have been put to great expense in trivial cases by the action of Mr. Kelly; and, whether steps may not be taken to remedy the state of facts complained of?

MR. TREVELYAN: County Court Judges are not responsible to the Executive Government for the manner in which they exercise their judicial functions; but I thought it right, as this Question was put on the Notice Paper, that its terms should be submitted to the Judge named, for any observations that he might desire to offer with regard to it. He writes as follows:—

> "Sir, although in strictness I ought not to make any statement to the Government with respect to the discharge of my judicial functions, I have no hesitation in saying that the imputations contained in the Parliamentary Notice enclosed in your letter are absolutely and entirely groundless. In justice to me I trust that this answer will be read in the House."

CRIME (IRELAND)—FIRING AT THE PERSON—CASE OF THE BROTHERS DELAHUNTY.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If certain information has been conveyed to the Irish Government concerning the conviction of two brothers name Delahunty, who were sentenced, at the Cork Winter Assizes of 1882, to penal servitude for life, for the alleged crime of firing into the house of a person named Donnellan, near Feakle, county Clare; if the chief witness for the Crown (Slattery) has since made a dying declaration, in which it is set forth that these men have been wrongfully convicted, and prays for their release; if he will give the full terms of the said declaration, and if the case of the Delahuntys has been, or is under, the consideration of the Irish Government; and, if he can state either the result of such consideration, or the probable date at which it will be made known?

MR. TREVELYAN: The evidence against the Delahuntys was comple and conclusive. The man Slattery, referred to in the Question, was not the chief witness for the Crown, and was not a witness in the case at all, nor is it a fact that he made a declaration that the Delahuntys were wrongfully convicted. What he stated in the declaration was that a witness was instigated by him to swear he saw the shot fired; and he further alleges that the police constable asked him to get a person to swear that he heard the shot fired. The evidence of Martin was unimportant; and the case was complete without him. The Government believe that no reliance is to be placed on Slattery's declaration, and do not, therefore, intend to interfere with the course of the law. As regards the declaration itself, I will furnish the hon. Member with a copy of it if he so desires; but I do not consider it necessary to lay it on the Table of the House.

Mr. KENNY: I would wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, if this declaration does not also contain a statement to the effect that the case was concocted by a police constable, named Halloran, and a Resident Magistrate, Mr. Burke, who has since been dismissed?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member will, perhaps, give Notice of the Question.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SEC. 18—EXTRA POLICE, CO. LONGFORD.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, On what grounds the Irish Executive have given notice of their intention to send a police hut and an extra police force for the protection of Mr. John M'Guire, of Loran, in the county of Longford; and, whether any outrages whatever have been committed in the district which justify its subjection to this increase of taxation?

Mr. TREVELYAN: John M'Guire has been subjected to great annoyance and "Boycotting"—a bad feeling against him having been caused amongst some persons in the district in consequence, it is thought, of his father-in-law having taken an evicted farm. The police believed M'Guire to be in great danger, and two men were placed in his house for his protection. They are not chargeable to the district. The Government have not given any such notice as is stated in the Question of an intention to send a police hut and extra police to the district. But inquiry has been made as to whether a suitable site for a hut could be had, in the event of its being considered necessary to erect one.

COURT OF BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND)—THE CHIEF CLERK IN INSOLVENCY.

Dr. LYONS (for Mr. Fay) asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the fact that the first clerk in insolvency at the Court of Bankruptcy has performed in Ireland the duties of chief clerk in insolvency since the death of that official in 1881 without having received any remuneration for such additional work?

Mr. COURTNEY: The statement is correct; but the duties in question are almost nominal. The clerk is adequately paid for all his duties.

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES (IRELAND)—THE PROFESSOR OF ANATOMY (QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK).

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that the Professor of Anatomy in the Queen's College, Cork, has, for the past two or three sessions, introduced a new rule, whereby he engages two students simultaneously in dissecting each part; whether this professor is making a profit of over £100 a-year out of the subjects supplied to the Cork Medical School, which is not included in the Return of class fees presented to Parliament; whether this course is legal, and will be permitted to continue; is it a fact that, when the new rule was first introduced, a requisition, signed by a large number of students (including graduates) of every religious denomination, was presented to the President of the College, asking him to permit a meeting to be convened within the College, to discuss the matter privately; did he refuse to do so, and threaten a member of the deputation who waited on him that, if the matter were brought before Parliament, he would be held responsible; and, will the Royal Commission be empowered to inquire into the above matters; and, if not, what steps will he take to investigate the complaints of the students?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Professor of Anatomy informs me that he has made no such rule; but that occasionally, as a matter of extreme necessity, the plan mentioned has been resorted to. The entire amount of the fees paid by students for attending at the Anatomical School is expended in connection with the support of the school, no portion whatever being retained by the Professor for his own use. These fees are not class fees, and, therefore, are not included in any Return of class fees. I have already stated, in reply to a former Question, that the reference to the Commission would include this subject. With regard to an alleged refusal on the part of the President to comply with a requisition, I have to point out that if the students have any matter of that kind to complain of, the College statutes provide them with a remedy by application to the Visitors.

MR. O'BRIEN: Is there any official supervision over the administration of those fees?

MR. TREVELYAN: There is the supervision of the authorities of the College. I have already said the subject is going before the Commission.

POST OFFICE—TELEPHONE EXCHANGES.

MR. GORST (for Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF) asked the Postmaster General, The number of telephone exchange wires now in use at Post Office Telephone Exchanges in the United Kingdom; the number of private telephone wires rented from the Post Office; the cost thereof respectively; the revenue derived therefrom respectively; and, the revenue which would be derivable therefrom respectively if erected and maintained by private companies at their own cost under Post Office licences, calculated at the average rate for royalties now charged by the Department to private companies.

MR. FAWCETT: The Post Office, on the 31st of March last, had 783 subscribers to its systems of telephone exchanges for rentals, amounting to £16,983 per annum. As it would take much time to ascertain the number of private wires rented from the Post Office which are worked by telegraph and telephone apparatus respectively, I am sorry I am not able to answer the hon. Member's second Question. If the telephone exchange lines of the department were provided by the Private Telephone Companies at the same rentals, the royalty payable would be £1,698 per annum. No royalty is payable to the Post Office in respect of private wires—that is, wires used for private messages, as defined by the Act of 1869, erected and maintained by persons outside the Department. So far, therefore, as this business might be done by private individuals, no revenue would be received by the Post Office.

DR. CAMERON asked the Postmaster General, The amount of royalties received by the Post Office last year from Telephone Companies for licences to such Companies to use their own instruments, at their own expense, for exchange and other purposes; the original rate of percentage for such royalties; whether the Department has recently increased the per-centage in the case of new or extended licences; and, whether in recent cases it has also sought to impose a minimum actual royalty, irrespective of reductions in the charges of the Companies to the public?

MR. FAWCETT: The amount of royalties received by the Post Office in the year ended 31st December last from Telephone Companies for licences to carry on business which has been legally decided to be telegraphic was £15,556. The original rate of percentage was 10 per cent, increased in a few cases of extension of radius. In reply to my hon. Friend's last Question, I may say that in new licences the percentage is no greater; but a minimum royalty of £1 is payable.

MR. GRAY: Would the right hon. Gentleman say why an extra charge is made in a licence for an extra radii?

MR. FAWCETT: Because it is doing more business.

MR. GRAY: Then the more business is done, the higher the percentage you pay.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS—STATEMENT OF COST.

MR. DALRYMPLE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he would consider the desirableness of adopting a custom, which is said to prevail in the Colony of Victoria, of giving on the first page of every Paper printed for Parliamentary use a statement of its cost, "expense of preparing this Paper, so much," "expense of printing, so much," so that not only honourable Members who are gluttons in respect of "Returns," but their constitutents also, may know what is the cost to the Country of the Returns moved by Members?

MR. COURTNEY: I fully sympathize with the hon. Member's desire to check the growth of the costs of

Parliamentary printing in respect of Returns; but I am afraid that the adoption of the custom said to prevail in Victoria would avail little. In 1875, on the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), a Return was presented giving the figures for that year and the sale of those Papers, showing also what cost each Member had entailed on the country; but no appreciable effect was produced; there has been an increase rather than a diminution of cost. The point shall, however, be brought under the attention of the Committee now engaged in considering the public expenditure in stationery and printing.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—WICKLOW CO.—APPOINTMENT OF MR. MARTIN LANGTON.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that a Memorial has been presented to the Earl of Meath, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Wicklow, signed by forty-five of the principal Roman Catholic inhabitants of Bray, including the Very Rev. Walter Lee, D.D., P.P., V.G., Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Dublin, and the local Roman Catholic Clergy, recommending the name of Mr. Martin Langton as a fit and proper person to be appointed to the Commission of the Peace for the county; whether it was stated to Lord Meath, as a ground for the appointment, that—

> "Mr. Langton has taken a deep and active part in the cause of temperance. . . . he is a grand juror at the quarter sessions, and has acted frequently on special juries during the last twelve years;"

whether, notwithstanding these qualifications, and the strength and character of the recommendations, Lord Meath replied—

> "I do not consider him in any way suited to the discharge of the duties;"

whether he is aware that, out of the 104 magistrates for Wicklow, only five are Roman Catholics, and these not all residents in the county, and that there is no Catholic magistrate in Bray Petty Sessions district; and, whether, under these circumstances, he will bring the matter under the consideration of the Lord Chancellor with a view to Mr. Langton's appointment?

MR. TREVELYAN: I believe that the statements in the Question are substantially accurate. With regard to the last paragraph, I may say that I understand that a Memorial embodying these statements is at present before the Lord Chancellor.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SUMMONSES AT NEWTOWNBARRY.

MR. SMALL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the cases under the Prevention of Crime Act, against Peter Kehoe and James Kennedy, brought on at Newtownbarry, county Wexford, on the 23rd February last, the summonses were issued at the instance of the head constable without his having received any authority from his superior officers; whether the head constable afterwards went to the defendants and asked them to give back the copies of the summonses, informing them that the cases would not be heard; whether, notwithstanding this, the cases were called, and the district inspector then asked them to be adjourned so that he might prosecute; and, whether the Constabulary at Newtownbarry are in the habit of issuing summonses under the Prevention of Crime Act without authority, and whether any steps will be taken to prevent them doing so?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that although the head constable had not actually been ordered to serve the summonses in these cases, he had been instructed to have them ready for hearing at the Prevention of Crime Act Court on the 23rd of February. It was expected that the authority would be received previous to the holding of the Court; but when it was found that it could not be issued until after that date, the defendants were informed that their cases would not be proceeded with on the 23rd. This was done by direction of the District Inspector, and in order to save the defendants from being put to the inconvenience of attending the Court. They attended nevertheless, and the cases were called formally, merely for the purpose of adjourning them—the Constabulary paying costs. The cases were prosecuted on a later date. It is not the case that the Constabulary at Newtownbarry are in the habit of issuing summonses without authority.

METROPOLITAN ASYLUMS BOARD—THE HOMERTON SMALL-POX HOSPITAL.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he is aware that the Medical Officer of Health for Hackney has reported that the re-opening of the Homerton Hospital of the Metropolitan Asylums Board for small-pox patients is causing a spread of that disease in its vicinity; whether he is aware that the Diseases Prevention (Metropolis) Bill (by the alteration in the existing Law effected by Clauses 1 and 2) took away from the public the legal protection they hitherto possessed against the Asylums Board, or other similar authorities, so conducting their hospitals as to cause disease to spread therefrom; and, if so, if he could explain why no intimation was given to Parliament of a proceeding so seriously effecting the rights, and even the lives, of the public; whether, in any authority given by the Local Government Board to the Asylum Board for using their hospitals for small-pox or fever patients, he will stipulate that such user must be contingent on their being able to prevent disease spreading therefrom; and, whether, in the event of any application being made by Government to Parliament for an extension of the Diseases Prevention (Metropolis) Act beyond the 1st September next, he will undertake that there shall be no general power asked for which will deprive the public of the legal protection they previously had against hospitals proved to be so conducted as to spread disease?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The Local Government Board have no information as to the Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Hackney beyond that which has appeared in the public Press; but they learn from the Chairman of the Managers of the Metropolitan Asylums Board that that Report will be the subject of inquiry by the Managers. I may, however, say that the Managers are making special efforts to prevent any possible risk of the spread of small-pox from the hospital, not only by largely reducing the number of patients in the building, but by clearing adjacent properties, which have been purchased by the Managers for the purpose of securing a free space around the hospital. As regards the Act of last Session, Clause 1 merely gives the short title of the Act. As to Clause 2, it was not intended by that enactment to take away from the public any legal protection which they previously possessed against the Asylums Managers or any other Local Authority carrying on a hospital in such a manner as to cause the spread of disease; neither is it considered by the Board that such is the effect of the clause. The clause, in effect, provides that if the Diseases Prevention Act is put in force, and the Managers of the Asylum district are called upon to exercise powers as a Local Authority under that Act, they may utilize the buildings, &c., which they have provided for small-pox and fever cases for patients suffering from the epidemic disease which has led to the Statute being put in force. The Diseases Prevention Act never has been brought into operation in consequence of an epidemic either of fever or small-pox; and the Board have never contemplated its being put in force except in the case of an outbreak of cholera. The Board have always endeavoured to secure such arrangements in connection with the fever and small-pox hospitals of the Asylums Board as would prevent disease spreading therefrom; and they are fully satisfied that the Managers desire to take all due precautionary measures against such a result. The Board, for the reasons mentioned, do not consider that an extension of the Act will take away from the public any protection which they previously possessed.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE GOLD COINAGE.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he has any Estimate to show what is the yearly loss from abrasion or wear and tear of the coined gold in circulation?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): The most trustworthy recent Estimate of the loss from the wear and tear of the gold coins in circulation is that each sovereign and half-sovereign loses more than four hundredths of a grain of its weight every year, the half-sovereign losing twice as much proportionately as the whole sovereign. It follows that to make good the yearly deficiency of the metal in the present standard of gold coinage, if, as is estimated, that consists of £90,000,000 in sovereigns and £20,000,000 in half-sovereigns, the cost would approach £50,000 a-year, exclusive of the cost of re-coinage, and this amount would be increased by an increased circulation. The noble Lord will find some interesting particulars in the Joint Report of Mr. Graham, late Master of the Mint, and of Colonel Smith, the Master of the Calcutta Mint, laid before Parliament in 1869.

EGYPT—ENGAGEMENTS OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

MR. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the engagements earnestly to support the Government of the Khedive, which were made by the late Government on 19th September 1879 and by the present Government on 3rd March 1881 respectively, ought not to have been communicated to the Sultan of Turkey as the Suzerain; and, whether either of them was so communicated; and, if so, at what date?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Neither of these engagements were communicated to the Sultan. His Majesty was, however, aware of the position of England and France in regard to Tewfik Pasha, inasmuch as it was at their request that he issued the Firman to His Highness in August, 1879. The Papers upon the subject were laid before Parliament in 1880 (Egypt, No. 1).

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—VOTE OF THANKS TO THE OFFICERS AND MEN OF H.M. SEA AND LAND FORCES.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he could now state if it is proposed to move a Vote of Thanks to Admiral Hewett and General Graham, and Officers and Men under their command, for the recent operations on the Red Sea littoral; and, what rewards, if any, are to be given to these Officers?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Her Majesty's Government have very carefully considered the precedents bearing upon this question. The decision of whether or not the Thanks of Parliament should be given to troops engaged in military operations does not appear to have depended entirely on either the success of the campaign or on the severity of the fighting which occurred. Her Majesty's Government, and, I am sure, Parliament also, most entirely appreciate the ability which has been displayed by General Graham and Admiral Hewett in the conduct of these operations, and also the courage and high military qualities which have been exhibited by the officers and men under their command, as well as the success which they achieved. It would be a subject of very great regret to the Government if the answer I have to give to the Question of the hon. Member should be supposed for a moment to imply any doubt whatever on our part on that point; but it appears to us that to move a formal Vote of Thanks for that expedition, which cannot be considered as an independent operation, but rather as an incident in the military occupation of Egypt, would be to give an extension to the practice beyond former precedents, which we should not consider desirable. In answer to the last part of the Question, with regard to the rewards to be conferred on the officers and men in connection with the expedition, the subject is still under consideration, and the decision of the Government will shortly be announced.

MR. ONSLOW asked whether the Government did not look upon the recent campaign in the Soudan as a separate transaction in no way connected with the operations undertaken by Lord Wolseley at the time of Tel-el-Kebir?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: That Question appears to raise a matter of argument.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

MR. A. H. BROWN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it is true that the African International Association has recently concluded Treaties with the Native Chiefs in the Valley of the Congo and Keislu containing clauses excluding all traders except their own from those regions? He also wished to ask whether there was any truth in the report that negotiations were in progress whereby the French were to recognize the flag of the African International Association, and were to have the first offer to trade in the event of the present owners being willing to dispose of the same?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes, Sir. The Treaties will be laid before Parliament. The second Question relates to an important matter, and I would ask the hon. Member to give Notice.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—CATHOLIC CHAPLAIN FOR MILITIAMEN AT CARRICKFERGUS.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that over 200 Roman Catholic militiamen, quartered at Carrickfergus, are without a chaplain; and, whether he is prepared to furnish sufficient funds to have the deficiency remedied?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I can only repeat the answer I gave on the 21st of April—that it is not in my power to increase the allowance laid down by Regulation. That allowance is found to be adequate in other similar cases.

INLAND REVENUE—THE LEGACY DUTY.

Mr. PERCY WYNDHAM asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the recent Act, which abolished Legacy Duty at one pound per cent., applies to legacies derived from Indian investments; and, if not, why this distinction has been enforced?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): The short answer to the hon. Member's Question would be that Legacy Duty at 1 per cent is only abolished by the Customs and Inland Revenue Act (44 *Vict.*, c. 12) in cases where the estates are already subject to Probate Duty. Indian investments technically known as *bona notabilia* are liable to Probate Duty, and consequently exempt from 1 per cent Legacy Duty. Indian investments not liable to Probate Duty are liable to Legacy Duty if the deceased died domiciled in this country.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—DISQUALIFICATION OF LICENSED PUBLICANS (MR. MANGAN, HIGH SHERIFF OF DROGHEDA).

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What steps the Government have taken in the case of Mr. Mangan, High Sheriff of Drogheda, who holds a retail beer and spirit licence contrary to the Statute?

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Alderman Mangan, High Sheriff of Drogheda, whose tenure of the office of sheriff has been assailed because he is the holder of a retail licence, was also lately called to account as to the composition of the Grand Jury panel, which proved, in the result, to be unimpeachable; whether an unsuccessful attempt has been made to induce the Government to cause the removal of the assizes from the town of which Alderman Mangan is sheriff; whether a gentleman, Mr. Edward M'Donough, who held the office of High Sheriff of Drogheda in a recent year, was, during the year of his shrievalty, the holder of a retail licence for the sale of liquor to be consumed on the premises, and Mr. Nicholas Leech, T.C., High Sheriff of Drogheda in 1880, was, during the year of his shrievalty, the holder of two retail licences for the sale of liquor to be consumed on the premises; whether other cases have not likewise occurred in recent years, in which gentlemen holding the office of High Sheriff have not also held such licences; whether the Lord Lieutenant, in ratifying the nomination (by the Corporation of Drogheda) of Alderman Mangan to the office of High Sheriff, was not aware that Alderman Mangan was, at the time, the holder of the licence; whether the Statute of William the Fourth, referring to this matter, has become inoperative through disuse; and, whether the precedents cited are to be followed, or whether Alderman Mangan is to be treated in an exceptional manner?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Government have not yet communicated with Mr. Mangan. I have been in consultation with the authorities in Dublin on the subject. I think the commission will go to Mr. Mangan to-morrow. The hon. Member for Sligo is aware that the constitution of the Grand Jury panel was the subject of a recent Question in this House, and the result should also be in his recollection. The hon. Member is also aware that the attention of the Government has been drawn to the suggestions which have, from time to time, been made as to the removal of the Assizes from the town of Drogheda, and that the Government have been advised that the Assizes could not be abolished without legislation. It is the case that the gentlemen named by the hon. Member were licensed publicans when appointed to the office of High Sheriff, and continued to carry on their trade; and it is not unlikely that there have been other instances of the kind; but the case of Mr. Mangan is the first in which attention has been drawn to the manner in which the Statute of *Will.* IV. affects such cases. The holding of a licence is not a disqualification for the office of Sheriff, and it is for the consideration of any person seeking the office whether he will accept it with the condition annexed by law of giving up acting under his licence. I am advised that the Act is not inoperative through disuse. I have already said, in reply to the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), that the Government are considering the terms in which they will communicate with Mr. Mangan. He has been placed in this difficulty—that the attention of the Government was not called to it before his appointment.

MR. SEXTON: If this practically obsolete Statute is put into force against Mr. Mangan, I shall call the Government to account.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I shall ask the Solicitor General for Ireland tomorrow, Whether all licences in Ireland, and, indeed, in the United Kingdom, are not granted under this Act of *Will.* IV.?

TURKEY—THE EUROPEAN PROVINCES —CHRISTIANS IN MACEDONIA.

MR. BRYCE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true, as reported from Macedonia to *The Manchester Guardian*, that the Turkish authorities in Macedonia are again resorting to wholesale arrest and transportation of the more wealthy and respectable members of the Christian community; whether it is the fact that, during the last twelve months, a considerable number of innocent persons have been arrested in Macedonia by the Turks, and sent to prisons in Asia Minor; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have remonstrated, or will remonstrate, with the Porte against such proceedings, and again press upon its attention the 23rd Article of the Treaty of Berlin?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Information from a private source to the above effect has been received, and was forwarded to Lord Dufferin in the ordinary course. The internal condition of the Ottoman Empire in Europe has not been the subject of any very recent communications.

MR. BRYCE: Is there any objection on the part of the Foreign Office to address an inquiry to Mr. Blunt, Her Majesty's Consul at Salonica?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Lord Dufferin will, no doubt, make the necessary inquiries.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: May I ask if similar inquiries have been made by other Governments as to whether similar proceedings were not perpetrated by Her Majesty's Government in Ireland?

[No reply.]

SCOTLAND—AGRICULTURAL TENANTS IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS —NOTICES TO QUIT.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been called to the issue of notices of removal being served upon tenants in the Highlands and Islands, whose holdings are yearly tenancies; if such notices have been served upon the old practice of forty days since the 1st of January 1884, in contravention of the following Clause in the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1883:—Clause 21, sub-section (*b*)—

> "In the case of leases from year to year, or for any period less than three years, not less than six months before the termination of the lease;"

and if such notices of forty days are now legal?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I understand it is the fact that since 1st January, 1884, certain notices of removal have been served upon tenants in the Highlands and Islands, who hold as yearly tenants upon 40 days' warning prior to Whit Sunday. It is not usual, in answer to Questions in this House, to give legal opinions in regard to matters in difference between private persons; but as the point raised in the Question is of general interest, I have no objection to state my view with respect to it. In the case of a yearly lease which expires at Whit Sunday next, I do not think that a 40 days' notice is in contravention of Clause 28, sub-section 6, of the Agricultural Holdings Act, 1883. That Act only came into force on January 1, 1884, so that the six months' notice required by it in the case of yearly leases could not possibly be given between January 1 and Whit Sunday, and the Act is not declared to be retrospective. It therefore appears to me that until the Act has been at least six months in operation, so as to make a six months' notice under it possible, the former law as to notice must remain in force. Any other construction would involve the startling result that the Act would constitute a statutory and compulsory renewal for a year, against landlords and tenants alike, of all leases expiring at Whit Sunday next—a thing which was certainly never intended, and was not even suggested, when the Bill was before Parliament.

Mr. MACFARLANE: With reference to the answer of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, I wish to ask this further Question—If his attention has been called to the wording of the clause, as quoted in my Question, requiring six months' notice, not after the passing of the Act, but before the termination of the lease? Is there anything in this Act passed in August last year which would prevent a landlord from giving six months' notice last October? This Act is merely to prevent eviction, and not to prevent giving notice. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman does not answer the Question, I will put it on the Paper.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): I have answered it already. I am familiar with the Act irrespective of the Question; and I have already stated that, in my judgment, the Act is in no degree retrospective.

Mr. MACFARLANE: Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman say it would have been unlawful to have given notice in October last?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): That would not have been, in my judgment, a notice under the statute at all, because the statute had not come into operation.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE GOLD COINAGE—MELTING FOR MANUFACTURING PURPOSES.

Mr. PULESTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, in view of the extensive practice said to be adopted by jewellers of melting gold coin for manufacturing purposes, the effect of the issue of half-sovereigns below their nominal value will be to increase the use of sovereigns for the melting pots, and for which the new issues will be specially eligible; and, whether the only practical check on this practice of melting new coin is found in the brittleness which occasionally characterises Minted sovereigns; and, if so, whether the use of brittle copper as an alloy, or some similar method of counteracting the "toughness" of sovereigns alloyed with pure silver or copper could not be adopted, with a view to the discontinuance of such melting?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): With respect to the first Question of the hon. Gentleman, we have no statistics of the comparative melting down by jewellers of sovereigns and half-sovereigns. But as to the second Question, I have consulted the Deputy Master of the Mint, who tells me that brittle bars are occasionally met with in coinage operations; but they give rise to great inconvenience. The deliberate production of such brittle metal would be to place obstacles in the way of the Mint just as much as in that of the jewellers, besides adding to the inconvenience of the public.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE YEOMANRY.

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT asked the Secretary of State for War, If he would explain why the distance which entitles members of the Yeomanry Cavalry to an extra day's pay for the days of joining for and returning from permanent duty has been altered from twenty miles to thirty miles, as per Memorandum from the War Office of April 4th 1884; why the promised allowance of 3*s.* 6*d.* per diem for two troop drills has been stopped; and, whether he is aware that both the above alterations have given great dissatisfaction to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Force?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Hitherto the Yeomanry Regulations have not fixed a limit of distance for the grant of marching money. As it was found that in some cases two days were charged for coming up to drill or going down from it when the distance was only 21 miles, it was considered right to fix the allowance at one day for any distance under 30 miles, and at two days for any greater distance. I am afraid that I must postpone any full answer to the other point in the hon. Member's Question until we come to the discussion of the Estimates. I do not think, however, that the allowance referred to has ever been actually promised, although it was undoubtedly intended that it should be given. When reference was made to the matter we were under the impression that there would be a considerable saving on the Yeomanry Vote. That Vote is now under my consideration, and I shall be anxious, if possible, to give the allowance referred to in the Question.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS — THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO."

MR. STOREY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can explain how it is that the crew of the *Nisero*, being in a state of destitution on the 31st March, the *Pegasus* did not sail with food until the 1st May; and, whether, since the men have now been captives nearly six months, and negotiations ineffective, the Government will take steps to secure their release by force?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: As stated in a previous answer, a letter to Mr. Maxwell, dated the 10th of March, from the chief officer, Mr. Crichton, gave a list of the provisions received by the crew, and stated that they were all well in health. There was no reason, therefore, to apprehend that they would be short of provisions on the 31st of March. This announcement reached the Foreign Office on April 26. Telegraphic instructions were immediately sent to the Acting Governor of the Straits Settlements to make every effort to convey provisions to the crew, and the *Pegasus* left on the 1st of May with supplies for three months. It will be seen, therefore, that there has been no delay. As regards the second Question, Her Majesty's Government are waiting the reply of the Netherlands Government to their offer of mediation.

MR. STOREY asked the noble Lord whether, as the men were in want of food on the 31st of March, and the news did not reach the Foreign Office until the 26th of April, there had not been neglect on the part of some official?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not understand that there has been any charge of neglect against any officer there; but I shall be glad to give any further information desired if my hon. Friend will ask me on Notice. My impression is that, considering the difficulty of communication in these parts, there has been no neglect of duty whatever.

MALTA — CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION—MILITARY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will lay upon the Table any correspondence relating to the change in the Civil duties of the Governor and Colonial Secretary at Malta, including any instructions to the new Governor upon this subject? He also asked whether, when Sir Lintorn Simmons was appointed, he had notice of the change that was to be made in his duties?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, the Correspondence was prepared, and would shortly be laid upon the Table. As to the other Question of the hon. Member, the appointment of Governor of Malta was made by the Commander-in-Chief; but his (Mr. Evelyn Ashley's) impression was that Sir Lintorn Simmons was not informed of the changes.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE —OUTBREAK AT FINCHLEY.

MR. CAUSTON asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether information has reached him of the outbreak of cattle disease on a farm near Finchley, to or from which no cattle have been removed for upwards of six weeks; and, if so, whether he can account for the outbreak?

MR. DODSON: The only case of foot-and-mouth disease near Finchley of which we have knowledge is one at Hendon, reported to us on the 26th of April, where six animals were found diseased. The Inspector of the Local Authority believed the introduction of the disease was due to animals recently bought. We ought to have received before now a further Report from the Inspector; but, not having done so, we have telegraphed to him to supply one.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—THE TELEGRAMS.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can inform the House which is the telegram described by Sir Evelyn Baring, in his telegraphic Despatch to Lord Granville of the 18th April, as the only one of his telegrams to General Gordon which, up to that date, he believes to have reached him; and, especially, whether it was the telegram which Sir Evelyn Baring, in his Despatch of 13th March, says he had sent, telling him to hold on to Khartoum, and on no account to proceed to the Bahr Gazelle and Equatorial provinces, or the telegram which, on 29th March, Sir Evelyn Baring says he has sent, conveying Lord Granville's instructions, leaving him full discretion to remain at Khartoum, if he thinks it necessary, or to retire by the Southern or any other route which may be found available; and, whether the Government have any reason to believe that any telegrams sent from Cairo since 18th April have reached General Gordon?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I shall best reply to my right hon. Friend's Question by reading the following letter, which I have received from Sir Evelyn Baring:—

> "Dear Lord Edmond,—The telegram which has been received by General Gordon is not either of those to which Mr. Forster alludes. It was a short cipher telegram, which, if I remember rightly, ran somewhat as follows:—'Osman Digna's followers have been dispersed. There is no intention of sending troops from Suakin to Berber.' Allusion is made to this telegram in General Gordon's telegram of April 8 (which will be in the hands of Members to-day). It will be observed that General Gordon complains of the telegram as 'meagre,' and so it is, considered by itself. But it was only one of several telegrams, none of which, except this one, General Gordon received. In those telegrams I gave General Gordon news from Suakin, and I explained to him at length the views of Her Majesty's Government. The short telegram was only a repetition of what I had said before at greater length. I sent home all the telegrams I received from General Gordon; but there must be several which I sent to him, and which I did not think necessary to send home. They could, if necessary, easily be procured from Cairo; but they would not add anything to the existing information, as they either contain news, or are a repetition of telegrams I received from Lord Granville.—Yours truly, E. Baring. May 5, 1884."

In reply to my right hon. Friend's second Question, I may add that Her Majesty's Government have no information that any telegrams have reached General Gordon since April 18.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Would my noble Friend say after what date Sir Evelyn Baring believes that no telegrams reached General Gordon, saving that he mentioned? Perhaps I may be in Order in saying that my object in asking is to know in what position General Gordon in all probability feels himself to be now that he is isolated?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not think that Sir Evelyn Baring intended by this letter to do anything except to show that, in his opinion, it is not possible to state an exact date, and that it was a mere matter of opinion. All the information that bears upon that subject is before the House in the Blue Book which has been presented.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I understand that in the letter of Sir Evelyn Baring he says that he believes that on the 18th of April only one of his telegrams had reached General Gordon. I do not quite gather from the noble Lord which of those telegrams it was.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The passage I read is this—

> "It was a short cipher telegram, which, if I remember rightly, ran somewhat as follows:—'Osman Digna's followers have been dispersed. There is no intention of sending troops from Suakin to Berber.'"

Sir Evelyn Baring does not add the exact date.

Mr. GIBSON: Does he add any date at all?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No. The words are—"If I remember rightly," and the purport of the telegram is given by Sir Evelyn Baring from memory.

Mr. GIBSON: Can the noble Lord give the House any clue at all as to the date?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: If the right hon. and learned Gentleman will compare the telegrams before the House, as no doubt he will, he will see the dates within which these telegrams were sent to General Gordon; and this telegram, no doubt, came within those dates.

POST OFFICE—GOVERNMENT SAVINGS BANKS—RATE OF INTEREST.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has come to any agreement with the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the source from which the cost of management of the Government Savings Banks branches will be defrayed after the rate of interest on Consols shall have been reduced to the same rate as that allowed to depositors?

MR. FAWCETT: The hon. Gentleman's Question appears to assume that Two-and-a-Half per Cent Stock will be at par, and that all Post Office Savings Bank moneys will be invested in Government Stocks. This is not the case, and I, therefore, think that the Question is premature.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—FATE OF THE CAPTIVES AT SINKAT.

MR. A. ROSS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, after the receipt of General Sir Gerald Graham's telegraphic despatch to the Secretary of State for War, dated 25th March 1884, stating that 150 women of Sinkat were alive in the mountains, any instructions have been sent to Consul Baker to attempt, through the mediation of the friendly tribes, either by ransom or otherwise, to obtain the release of these unfortunate women?

MR. LABOUCHERE asked whether the noble Lord had received any information that these women desired to be released?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: It has not been thought necessary to repeat the instructions conveyed in the telegram to General Graham of the 10th of March (Egypt, No. 12, page 157). The authorities at Suakin will, no doubt, use every endeavour to procure the release of the captives.

STATE OF IRELAND—MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE AT KILROSENTY, CO. WATERFORD.

MR. R. POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the police insist upon attending the meetings of the Kilrosenty Branch of the National League, in the county of Waterford; that they refused to withdraw when requested to do so, stating they were acting under the orders of Sub-Inspector Huggin; and, whether such orders have been given; and, if so, do the Government approve of them?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that a sergeant attended the meeting of this branch held on the 27th of last month. Some of the persons present wished him to leave; but upon this being put to the meeting only about eight out of 50 expressed an affirmative opinion; and as the owner of the house was not amongst those who asked the sergeant to go, he remained. He had no orders from his District Inspector to refuse to withdraw, nor did he say that he had. This case occurred before the issue of the recent instructions on the subject, of which I have already informed the House.

MR. SEXTON: Are those instructions now in the hands of the police?

MR. TREVELYAN: Yes, Sir.

BURIAL ACTS—PAROCHIAL BURIAL PLACES.

MR. RICHARD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in fulfilment of his promise at the close of last Session, the Government have considered the best mode of removing the practical difficulties experienced by burial authorities in providing new parochial burial places, under the existing Burial Acts; and, whether they will shortly introduce a measure for that purpose?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: In concert with my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Denbighshire (Mr. Osborne Morgan), I have considered this matter carefully, and have endeavoured to frame a measure. It is not the case, as the Question seems to imply, that I promised to introduce a Bill. I do not think I gave any pledge of that character. But if we are able to do so we shall be very glad; but my hon. Friend knows the difficulties we have to contend with in the matter.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—JURIES —JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. William J. Doherty, C.E., of Clonturk House, Drumcondra, Dublin, a justice of the peace for the county of Donegal and a special juror for Dublin, has represented to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland that he was summoned to serve as a juror in the Barbavilla conspiracy case, but, on answering to his name in Court, was ordered by the Crown to stand aside; and, what reply, if any, the Lord Chancellor has made, and what view he takes of the course pursued by counsel for the Crown in the case in question, in peremptorily challenging a justice of the peace who had been summoned to serve as a juror?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It is the fact that Mr. Doherty has made the representations mentioned to the Lord Chancellor, by letter dated the 25th of April last, and the Lord Chancellor sent a reply thereto on the 3rd instant, stating that he has no power whatever to interfere with the right of peremptorily directing a juror to stand aside, which is vested in the Crown; and that the circumstance that a juror so ordered to stand aside holding Her Majesty's Commission of the Peace makes no difference either in the power or duty of the Lord Chancellor.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)— TENANTS' IMPROVEMENTS— "GEORGE M'CORD *v.* SIR RICHARD WALLACE."

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to certain resolutions adopted at a meeting held on the 29th ult. by the Wallace (Lisburn) Tenants' Defence Association, in which resolutions the Association offer to produce credible witnesses who will, on oath, prove all the facts put forward in the Question recently addressed to him in reference to the case of George M'Cord, tenant, Sir Richard Wallace, landlord, and declare that the judicial rent, where land is held under the Ulster custom, should be arrived at by ascertaining separately the commercial value of the holding, and the value of the tenant's improvements, and his occupation right, and deducting the latter from the former, and that reasons for the decisions should be embodied in the findings; and urge upon the Government the necessity of watching lest the Land Act of 1881 should be rendered inoperative through the action of the Land Commission; whether he will state the source of the information by reason of which he referred to the former question as inaccurate and misleading, and will specify the particulars to which his statement especially referred; and, whether the Government will consider the suggestion and appeal submitted to them, as above, in the third and fourth resolutions adopted by the Tenants' Association?

Mr. TREVELYAN: These resolutions have been communicated to us; but the Government cannot interfere with the judicial decisions of the Land Commission in the course suggested by the hon. Member, nor can they take any legislative action. I did not intend to say, in answer to a former Question, that "the Question of the hon. Member was inaccurate and misleading." My recollection was that I had received information from another quarter protesting against it as "inaccurate and misleading;" and that this showed the inconvenience, and perhaps the injustice, which might result from hon. Members giving an *ex parte* view in a judicial matter in the shape of a Question.

Mr. SEXTON: On a future occasion I shall use the facilities of the debate to endeavour to extract from the right hon. Gentleman the particulars which he declines to give.

Mr. TREVELYAN: What particulars?

Mr. SEXTON: The particulars which rendered my Question "inaccurate and misleading."

Mr. TREVELYAN: I did not say it was inaccurate and misleading. I said the hon. Member gave a statement of a case which was the subject of a Civil Bill suit in a Question in the House of Commons. I said I had received a communication from another party complaining that this statement was inaccurate and misleading; and I argued from that that it was inconvenient to state the subject of Civil Bill suits in Questions in the House of Commons.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman be good enough to say who was the other party?

MR. TREVELYAN: No, Sir. I am not in the least bound to say it.

METROPOLIS — IMPROVEMENTS AT HYDE PARK CORNER — THE ARCH ON CONSTITUTION HILL.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether his attention has been called to the erection of an elongated zinc chimney pot on the arch at the top of Constitution Hill; and, whether he has received any Petition from the Royal Academicians, protesting against its position there as a violation of every principle of propriety and of every canon of proportion?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: This chimney-pot was placed on the top of the Arch 40 years ago for the convenience of the police living in the place; and since that time, as far as I know, no one has thought it worth while to take up the time of the House by calling attention to it.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER said, the right hon. Gentleman had not answered that part of the Question as to whether he had received a Petition from Royal Academicians on the subject?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I did not regard it as a serious Question.

MADRAS—MYSORE GOLD MINES—CONCESSIONS TO BRITISH OFFICIALS.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Madras Officials have up to date only paid the Mysore State £5,000 for the block of twenty square miles of gold mining land conceded them; and, whether certain speculators were prepared at the same time to pay one million sterling for the rights conceded to these officials; and, if so, whether pecuniary compensation will be made to the Rajah of Mysore, who was at the moment a minor and ward of the British Government?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The Papers presented last year contain all the information we have respecting the amount paid to the Mysore State by the Kolar *concessionaires.* As is clearly shown on page 4 of those Papers, and as I explained to the hon. Gentleman on the 9th of April last year, the sum of 5,500 rupees was paid for one square mile only—not 20 square miles, as stated in his Question. I am entirely ignorant of the amount which certain speculators may have been prepared to pay.

RAILWAY COMMISSIONERS—CONTINUATION OF POWERS—LEGISLATION.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE asked the President of the Board of Trade, When he intends to introduce the Bill for continuing the powers of the Railway Commissioners?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am afraid I cannot give a positive reply to this Question. The House will agree with me that it is inexpedient, in view of the pressure upon the time of the Government, to introduce any further Bills, if they are likely, as this one is likely, to provoke any considerable discussion. Under these circumstances, I have endeavoured to secure something like an agreement among the parties chiefly concerned upon the principle of the Bill, and I am still hopeful that I shall succeed; in which case the Bill will very shortly be introduced.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—RELIEF THROUGH ABYSSINIA.

MR. STAVELEY HILL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether our relations with King Johannes are such as to admit of an expedition for the relief of General Gordon being despatched from Abyssinia to Khartoum down the Blue Nile?

MR. GLADSTONE: In answer to this Question I have to say that our relations with Abyssinia are quite satisfactory; and I do not think it would be desirable to say anything beyond that.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—GENERAL GORDON'S MISSION — THE VOTE OF CENSURE (SIR M. HICKS-BEACH).

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister what facilities he can afford me for bringing under the consideration of the House the Motion of which I have given Notice with respect to General Gordon?

MR. GLADSTONE: In consequence of the verbal Notice given by the right hon. Gentleman on Friday, in conjunction with my Colleagues I have considered the matter. We are desirous—I will not enter into any remarks on the Motion now—but we are desirous to give the right hon. Gentleman the earliest open day. The arrangements for to-day and Thursday having been made, the earliest open day will be Monday next. I may say that, looking to the limited scope of the Motion, confined as it is to the conduct of the Government in regard to the mission of General Gordon, we trust the debate will be brought to a close on that evening. Should it not be brought to a close on the same day, we could, although very reluctantly, place Tuesday morning at the disposal of the right hon. Gentleman for the purpose of continuing the debate. It would be for him to consider whether he should make any arrangements for the Tuesday evening. I may add that that is the maximum of time that can possibly be given up by the Government to the Motion.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I think it will be generally agreed that the House ought to have before it, before the debate, which, I understand, is to be commenced on Monday, all the information that Her Majesty's Government can possibly give in regard to the telegrams that have passed between General Gordon and Sir Evelyn Baring. I understood the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in answer to a Question on Friday, to divide these telegrams into three classes. The telegram of April 18 from General Gordon, and the reply of Sir Evelyn Baring, and certain other telegrams in regard to the alleged intention of General Gordon to visit the Mahdi, the noble Lord said would be laid on the Table to-day. And he said there were other telegrams since the 25th of March from Sir Evelyn Baring which would be laid in due course. There was a third series which he said it would be injurious to the public interests to lay. I should like to ask whether he will not arrange that all telegrams which can be published consistently with the public interests shall be laid on the Table at once? If the presentation of telegrams from Sir Evelyn Baring since the 25th of March be postponed until they be published in due course, we shall not see them for two months to come. I think the House will be anxious to have them before the debate next Monday.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I quite agree with the right hon. Gentleman that it is desirable that the House should have these telegrams before the debate. When my noble Friend used the expression "in due course," he did not mean to say that their publication would be postponed for two months and reserved for another Blue Book. They will be laid on the Table during the present week, or at the earliest moment after.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON: I beg to give Notice that when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire brings forward his Motion I shall move, as an Amendment—

> "That this House continues to place confidence in the general conduct of Business by Her Majesty's Government."

THE EGYPTIAN PAPERS—NO. 12, 1884.

Mr. CHAPLIN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in reference to the Despatch numbered 86, and dated Cairo, 14th February, 1884, in the Egyptian Papers, No. 12, 1884, Whether the statement which it contains, viz.—

> "Examination of archives shows that some telegrams passed between Sir Edward Malet and General Hicks besides those sent home; but they do not appear to add materially to the information in your Lordship's possession,"

is substantially correct?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes; the statement is substantially correct. The Blue Book contains the despatches and telegrams in question, and at page 182 the views of Her Majesty's Government thereupon.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £57,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Divine Service, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

Colonel COLTHURST wished to call attention to the inadequate arrangements for providing Roman Catholic priests on board the troopships proceeding annually to India between the months of September and April, some of which troopships brought home invalids. An arrangement had been entered into by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War that a Roman Catholic priest should accompany every detachment of troops exceeding 300 in number. The arrangement, however, had not been found to work satisfactorily. It was manifest that a vessel leaving this country with 300 Roman Catholics on board might come back from India without any invalids at all; whereas another vessel leaving the country with only 50 or 100 might have to bring home invalids. He wished, therefore, to place before the noble Marquess, whose anxiety to settle the question he felt bound to bear testimony to, two alternative suggestions. One was, that the number of Roman Catholic chaplains should be increased by two or three, which would enable the service to be duly performed. If the noble Marquess did not think that it would be possible to increase the number of commissioned chaplains by two or three, he would ask him to consent to a priest going out on each voyage. And for this reason—it would be much easier for the ecclesiastical authorities to provide a priest for each voyage between September and April, than only when the number of Roman Catholic soldiers sent out amounted to 300, because, with the utmost goodwill on the part of the authorities at the Horse Guards, it was impossible to make up the details until within a week or 10 days of the time the vessel started; and it was then frequently found impossible to provide, even with the best intentions, the services of a clergyman at a few days' notice. He would ask the noble Marquess to give a definite answer now, because the Army Estimates had come on much sooner than was expected, and the noble Marquess had not received the Notices which those interested in this question intended to give him. All he asked the noble Marquess to do now was to admit the necessity of changing the present arrangements, and to promise to consider the two suggestions he had ventured to make.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that, before the noble Marquess answered the question of his hon. and gallant Friend, he wished to put another question to him. When the Army Estimates were last taken, and the noble Marquess made his Statement, he distinctly stated that the House should have before Whitsuntide an opportunity of discussing it. It would now appear that the noble Marquess wished to take the Votes one after another without previously taking a discussion upon the Statement which he had made. He ventured to say that that would be a most inconvenient course as far as the Committee were concerned. They had certainly a right to expect, after what the noble Marquess had stated—in point of fact, after the distinct pledge and promise he had given—that the earliest opportunity for criticizing the noble Marquess's Statement would be afforded. If they were to proceed with the Votes in regular order, this general discussion could not be taken until they reached Vote 8, and there was no certainty as to when that Vote would be reached. He understood the object of the promise of the noble Marquess to be that, at the commencement of a Sitting like this, an opportunity should be given for going carefully into the consideration of the present state of the Army.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he was very sorry if there had been any misunderstanding upon the subject. He did not remember that any promise was made, except that an opportunity for discussion would be given before Whitsuntide; and he did not remember promising that the discussion should be given either upon Vote 8 or upon any other Vote. In fact, when the question was put to him the other day by an hon. Member, he had stated that he thought the most convenient course would be to proceed as usual, and take the Votes in their regular order. If, however, it was desired, as he thought it probably might be the case, to raise a general discussion on the state of the Army upon the recruiting question, it might be taken upon Vote 8 referred to by the hon. and gallant Member as the most convenient opportunity for doing so. If there was a desire on the part of the Committee to take that course, he would be quite ready to postpone Vote 8, in order that it might be taken as the first Vote on the next occasion the Army Estimates were reached. If necessary, the Army Estimates might be taken again shortly after Whitsuntide, and Vote 8 taken first.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that in answer to what the noble

Marquess had just stated, he fancied that his right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley) did make a statement of his wish to discuss the state of the Army, and asked when they were to have the Army Estimates gone into again. His right hon. and gallant Friend moved to report Progress, so that they might have some statement from the noble Marquess; because it was fully admitted that, a general Statement having been made by the noble Marquess, it was most inconvenient that the Committee should not have an opportunity of discussing it. He thought they were entitled to have the question discussed at the earliest possible period that night, and that it would be most objectionable to follow the course which was taken last year, and put it off until a late period of the Session, when they might have again to sit into Sunday and consider the Army Estimates at a period when it was altogether impossible to discuss the grave questions raised in them. The noble Marquess must be aware that the House had always treated these Army questions in a fair and impartial spirit, and had not converted them into Party questions. Certainly they had a right to have the question of the condition of the Army fairly raised; and he thought that it would be better to take Vote 8 at once, rather than to adopt the other alternative of getting as much money as was possible that night, and then put off the discussion of Vote 8 until a late and inconvenient period of the Session.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, that what occurred when the Army Estimates were introduced might be impressed upon the memory of the noble Marquess if he were to read what took place upon that occasion, and especially the remarks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL rose to Order. He wished to know if the hon. and gallant Member would be in Order in reading extracts from a past debate in the present Session?

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, the statement he was about to refer to formed part of the same debate now before the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: I understand that the hon. and gallant Member is about to refer to a promise made by the Government, and he will be in Order in doing so.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, the promise made was this—the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he hoped the question of Army organization would be discussed on the second Vote, as it had been in previous years. The noble Marquess followed, and said, with great clearness, that the first Vote was merely to be granted to the Government as a Vote on Account, and that the general discussion would be postponed until another occasion. The noble Marquess added that last Session, at all events, the House had nothing to complain of, but had a full opportunity for discussing the Estimates. He (Sir Alexander Gordon) thought that statement clearly showed that it was the intention of the noble Marquess to have the general discussion taken on the next occasion.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER said, he thought it was very desirable, if possible, to get on quickly with the Army Estimates that night, in order to reach the discussion upon the general organization of the Army, which, as it had been fairly put before the Committee by the noble Marquess, might be taken on Vote 8. The consideration of Vote 4 would probably take some time, seeing that it had reference to the Medical Department. Votes 3 and 4 would not require much discussion. They would pass then to Vote 5, which was for Militia Pay and Allowances; Vote 6 was for the Yeomanry Cavalry, and Vote 7 was the Volunteer Vote, upon which there was likely to be some discussion. If the noble Marquess would give an undertaking that he would go on with the Votes in their regular order until a certain hour, and then proceed with the discussion on Vote 8, he (Sir Henry Fletcher) thought that side of the House would be quite satisfied. It was most desirable that the discussion should take place that night, and that it should not be deferred until the month of July or August. He put this as a suggestion that unless the Vote were postponed until a very late hour of the night a general discussion should be taken upon it.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he should have no objection to arrange, as far as it was in his power, that Vote 8, dealing with the Army Reserve, should come on that night at a reasonable hour. He did not think, as far as he could see, that there was any intervening Vote which was likely to occupy much time in discussion. The first Vote was that for Divine Service, which was now under consideration; the next had reference to Martial Law; and the third bore upon the Medical Service. He did not think that these Votes would take up much time; and he was quite willing, as far as he was concerned, to postpone the Militia, the Yeomanry, and the Volunteer Votes in order to take Vote 8, dealing with the Army Reserve at an hour that would enable a general discussion to be raised. No doubt there were hon. Gentlemen present who were interested in the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteer discussions; and he would appeal to them, if they had come down prepared to take the discussion of those Votes that night, to assist him in postponing the consideration of them until the next occasion when the Army Estimates were reached.

EARL PERCY confessed that he was placed in a position of difficulty. It was certainly understood, as had been mentioned by the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), that they were to have a general discussion on the Estimates that evening on some Vote which would enable it to be reached; but when he asked the noble Marquess privately what course he proposed to take, because he had been under the impression that a sort of undertaking had been given, the noble Marquess told him he intended to take the Votes *seriatim*. He should like to propose to the noble Marquess that he might take the Militia and Volunteer Votes, and omit the Medical Vote. He did not know that there were any hon. Members who were anxious to have the Medical Vote that evening; and he certainly thought the course he suggested —namely, of taking the Militia and Volunteer Votes, would be most conducive to the general convenience of the Committee.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he did not think the Medical Vote was likely to occupy a long time in discussion. He hoped the Committee would agree to the suggestion he had made. He thought it would be better for the Committee to accept that proposal, and thus avoid any further misunderstanding on the subject.

EARL PERCY asked whether the noble Marquess could name an hour at which he would take Vote 8?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he did not think it would be possible to postpone a Vote when they were in the middle of the discussion of it.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER said, he was of opinion that if the noble Marquess could not agree with the proposal of the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) it would be much better to go on with the Votes in their regular order. It would be most objectionable to follow the course which was taken last year. He had no doubt the noble Marquess intended to bring on the Army Estimates again soon after Whitsuntide if he could; but it was a matter in which the noble Marquess had no power whatever. He would remind the noble Marquess of what occurred last year. The Army Estimates were not brought on for discussion until Saturday the 18th of August. The House met on that day at 12 o'clock. The Army Estimates were not reached until a late hour, and they were not finished at 2 o'clock on Sunday morning. The result was that in the end, on his (Major General Alexander's) proposal, Supply was granted to Her Majesty without any adequate discussion of the Votes whatever, on the understanding that a discussion should be taken on the Report. Under these circumstances, he strongly deprecated any similar course being pursued on the present occasion. He hoped, if the noble Marquess could not agree to the proposal of the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex, that they would be allowed to take the Votes in their regular order.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON remarked, that there were other discussions last year upon the Army Estimates than that which was referred to by the hon. and gallant Member for Ayrshire (Major General Alexander). Full opportunity for discussion was given at an early period of the Session.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER said, that 19 Votes were passed on Saturday night and Sunday morning.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that certainly upon some of the Votes a full opportunity for a general discussion was given at a reasonable period of the Session. He understood that the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) would be satisfied to take the general discussion that evening after reasonable progress had been made with the Votes in their regular order.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL said, he should like to ask the opinion of the Chair as to how far a general discussion of the Army Estimates could be raised on a single Vote—Vote 8—after previous Votes had been passed? Would hon. Members be permitted to discuss the whole subject of Army organization upon that Vote? It certainly seemed to him that, after the Committee had voted the money required for the Militia and Volunteers, it would be open to any hon. Member to rise to Order, and question the propriety of discussing those branches of the Service on any subsequent Vote. He thought there ought to be no misunderstanding upon that point.

Colonel STANLEY said, that reference had been made to what he had said the other night. He quite agreed with what had been stated by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Ayrshire (Major General Alexander), that there would be a certain amount of inconvenience in postponing the consideration of important questions for an indefinite period. He also agreed with the remarks of the hon. Member for Wigtonshire (Sir Herbert Maxwell), that it would be inconvenient to raise a discussion upon questions relating to particular Services after the Votes for those Services had been passed. It was in consequence of that feeling that he had moved to report Progress on the last occasion; and he did so as a protest against the doctrine that having once passed a certain stage they could go back exactly to the same position they were in before. They could only, after a certain amount of inconvenience, discuss all the general questions connected with the organization and state of the Army upon the Vote for the Reserves; but he would point out that the Reserve Vote did contain in itself a reference to almost every subject connected with the state of the Army. Of course, the other Votes could be dealt with within due limits. He, therefore, thought that the proposal of the noble Marquess was a fair one—namely, that they should go forward with the Votes in their regular order until they reached the Militia Vote, and then go on with Vote 8. Of course, it would be impossible to please everyone; but, in taking the Votes consecutively up to a certain point, there would be a certain amount of give-and-take on the part of the Government which he regarded as satisfactory.

The CHAIRMAN: In answer to the question put to me by the hon. Baronet the Member for Wigtonshire (Sir Herbert Maxwell), I think that Vote 10 would have been the Vote upon which the general question could have been most legitimately raised. But the Committee will bear in mind that the general question was raised last year upon Vote 8; and I am not prepared to say that it was not open to the Committee to take that course. I, therefore, fortified by the custom that has prevailed, do not think that on the present occasion hon. Members would be precluded on Vote 8 from entering into a general discussion.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, his experience induced him to believe that there was nothing which led to so much loss of time as a departure from well-recognized rules. These understandings and multiplied understandings, generally ending in a misunderstanding, occupied a considerable portion of the time of the House in every Session; and he was very much disposed to urge on the Committee the desirability of going on with the Votes in the order in which they appeared in the Estimates. If the Committee decided upon taking them in the order in which they appeared, and wished to select one for a general discussion, it seemed to him that they ought to select Vote 16, which referred to the payment of the salaries and miscellaneous charges in the War Office; and upon that Vote for the Office of the Secretary of State for War every question of policy connected with the Army might be legitimately raised. He wished to ask the Chairman if he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) would be in Order in moving the reduction of a certain sum by which he had wished to reduce the Estimates on the last occasion? It would be in the recollection of the Committee that, practically, the first Vote in the Army Estimates was passed without the Committee having any option in the matter. He was told upon that occasion, both by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the noble Marquess, that, whatever he might have to say, that Vote must be passed, and the consequence was that the discussion was greatly curtailed. He had wished to move the reduction of the Vote by some thousands of pounds on account of an item which seemed to him to be absolutely unnecessary—he alluded to the item for the Riding Establishment at Woolwich. The noble Marquess said that his attention had not been called to the matter, and that he was not in a position to offer any opinion upon it. He promised, however, to look into the subject. He (Mr. A. O'Connor) wanted to know whether the noble Marquess had found time since to inquire into the advisability of continuing that Establishment?

The CHAIRMAN: I must point out that that is not a question of Order. There is no Question now before the Committee in regard to the Riding Establishment at Woolwich.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had only been desirous of eliciting that answer from the Chairman, because it enabled him now to adduce a direct illustration of the unsatisfactory manner in which the Estimates were discussed. The noble Marquess suggested that he should move the reduction upon Vote 2, which had reference to the provision for Divine Service. [The Marquess of Hartington dissented.] The noble Marquess shook his head; but he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) only wished to point out the utter incongruity of moving the reduction of a Vote for the Riding Establishment at Woolwich on a Vote which was to cover the provision for Divine Service. He wished, further, to point out that it would be futile to discuss that question upon Vote 8; and it therefore appeared to him, from the way in which the Votes were to be taken, that it would be altogether precluded from raising that question, because the Effective Vote had already been passed, and they were now on the Vote for Divine Service; and it was irregular to raise a discussion upon any branch of the Service covered by a Vote already agreed to. Under these circumstances, he hoped the Government would resolve not to have any more of these understandings and departures from their well-recognized rules; and he would urge the desirability of going through the Votes in a regular and straightforward manner.

Mr. RYLANDS appealed to the Committee that it would be a great saving of time, and also a most convenient course, if they adopted the suggestion of the hon. Gentleman, and carried out the views of the noble Marquess, by proceeding with the Votes in their regular order. After they had gone through several Votes they would be in a position to ascertain whether sufficient time was left for a general discussion or not; and an arrangement might then be made, if it was necessary, for having the general discussion upon some future occasion. His own impression was, that the best course would be to go on steadily with the Votes, on the understanding that the general discussion would take place at an early period, either on Vote 8, as suggested by the Government, or on Vote 10, as suggested by the Chairman.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL wished to point out that the Committee were wasting valuable time in a desultory discussion. They had already wasted 20 minutes. The noble Marquess had shown his readiness to meet the views of the Committee; and he thought the proposal which the noble Marquess had made found favour on both sides of the House. If they would take that course they would prevent not only a further waste of public time, but also a waste of public money. If they at once proceeded to Business, and went on with the Votes, they would probably reach Vote 8 in sufficient time to have the general discussion.

Mr. CAUSTON said, he was anxious to proceed to Business; but he thought there ought to be an understanding that hon. Members who wished to raise a discussion on Vote 1 should have an opportunity of doing so. Under the present regulations the Staff clerks considered that they were suffering under a grievance, and he had undertaken to bring their case before the House. He had been under the impression that upon Vote 1 they would have had a general discussion upon all Army matters; and before they proceeded to Business that evening he hoped there would be a definite promise from the noble Marquess that hon. Members would have a full opportunity of bringing the grievances they complained of, in connection with the Army, under the consideration of the Committee.

Earl PERCY said, he would make a suggestion, which he thought would meet the wishes of the Committee, or, at any rate, of hon. Members sitting on that side of the House, who were anxious to take the Militia Vote that night. He would suggest—and he hoped it would meet the views of the noble Marquess—that they should proceed with Votes 2, 3, and 4, and if they were concluded before 9 o'clock that they should then take Vote 5; but if they were not concluded before 9 o'clock, that then they should omit the other Votes and go on with Vote 8.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, he had come there for the purpose of considering every Army matter, including the Militia; and he, therefore, thought they ought to go straight forward with the Votes after they had taken the discussion which it was promised they should have upon Vote 2. That was, undoubtedly, the impression produced by the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer when the Army Estimates were introduced. Now, looking at Vote 1, he found that the general Staff of the Army in 1872 cost the country £83,000 odd. It now cost the country £173,000, or double the amount within 11 years. He wished to have that matter fully explained to the Committee; and it was certainly impossible to obtain the explanation he desired upon the Vote for Divine Service, or upon any Vote except Vote 1. If he were to attempt to raise it on any other Vote, he would inevitably find himself stopped by the Chairman, and he would only be placed in a ridiculous position. If the Government could not show him a reason for the large increase in certain items, then, he contended, the Vote ought to be reduced; but to raise the important questions he wished to raise on any Vote except Vote 1 would necessarily, as he had stated, place him in a ridiculous position.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL remarked, that, in accordance with the ruling of the Chair, as to the propriety of raising the discussion upon the whole organization of the Army upon Vote 8, he wanted to know, on the same principle, why it could not be raised upon any other Vote—2, 3, or 4, for instance; and, if so, why not take it at once?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he had simply proposed to follow the course which had been taken on other occasions—namely, to dispose of the Vote for Divine Service, and similar Votes of minor importance, in order to raise the general question more properly upon Vote 8. He believed that all the questions affecting Army organization bearing upon the condition of the Army could be legitimately raised on Vote 8. There were, however, a certain number of minor questions referred to in the previous Votes which he did not suppose could be properly brought forward on Vote 8; but they might all of them be conveniently dealt with on the Vote for the administration of the Army. He thought there were very few questions of administration which the Committee would not be able to deal with upon that Vote. He would, therefore, adhere to the suggestion he had made in the first instance.

The CHAIRMAN: Perhaps the Committee will allow me to call their attention to what has occurred. A promise has been made that the general discussion should take place on Vote 8, which has to come on upon a future occasion. Under those circumstances, I do not think I should be acting unfairly to the Committee if I now say that the time has arrived for stopping the discussion, which is certainly not strictly in Order. As has been pointed out, Votes 8 and 10 are Votes which embrace the general policy of the organization and administration of the Army, and almost every question connected with the state of the Army can be raised upon them. The Question now before the Committee is Vote 2—

> "That a sum, not exceeding £57,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Divine Service, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

After what has been stated by the noble Marquess, I will again point out to the Committee that upon Vote 8 or Vote 10 it will be possible to enter into any question relating to the administration of the Army; but it will not be regular to enter into a discussion of any of the items included in Vote 1, and already passed. The conversation which has been proceeding for some time past has certainly not been directed to the Question before the Committee.

Dr. FARQUHARSON wished to point out that last year no proper opportunity was afforded for discussing the Medical Vote, on which Vote many important questions had now to be decided—questions affecting the entire organization of the Army Medical Department. If they were now going to enter upon Vote 8, that important question would be still further delayed.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: No; we propose to take it in its order.

Dr. FARQUHARSON said, he was glad to hear that announcement, and he hoped Her Majesty's Government would adhere to it.

The CHAIRMAN: I have already pointed out to the Committee that the Question before the Committee is Vote 2, and I am not quite sure that the discussion which has taken place is not altogether irregular. I must now call upon hon. Members to confine themselves to the Vote for Divine Service in connection with the Army, which is the Question now before the Committee.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he thought the most regular course would be to proceed at once with Vote 2. He would, therefore, move the reduction of the Vote of which he had given Notice—namely, that it be reduced by the sum of £4,103, made up as follows:—On account of troops stationed at Halifax, £838; ditto, in Jamaica, £509; ditto, in Windward and Leeward Islands, £642; ditto, in Cape Colony and Natal, £1,515; ditto, in Ceylon, £599.

Mr. CAUSTON rose to Order. His hon. Friend was, no doubt, anxious to proceed with the Business of the Committee; but he (Mr. Causton) wished clearly to understand what the arrangement that had been made was. Was it to be understood that after certain Votes had been passed the general discussion which had been alluded to would be allowed to take place?

The CHAIRMAN: May I ask what is the point of Order raised by the hon. Member?

Mr. CAUSTON: I think before the Amendment is moved to the Vote by my hon. Friend there should be a clear understanding with the noble Marquess.

The CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of Order, and I must call upon the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy to proceed.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, it seemed to him that his hon. Friend was wholly out of Order; and if he desired to raise any question in reference to the Staff clerks he should have raised it on Vote 1. He (Sir George Campbell) took the opportunity, on Vote 2, which related to the Colonies, of raising the question of the tyranny exercised by the Colonies over the Mother Country in regard to fiscal matters. What had happened was this. We had really surrendered all our powers over the greater Colonies; and, whereas it was formerly said we tyrannized over the Colonies, the Colonies now tyrannized over us in the matter of military expenditure. Our Colonies paid nothing whatever for their naval protection, which was the great protection we gave to our Possessions beyond the seas. And as regards military expenditure, what we found was this—that wherever the British Colonists prevailed, and not dark races, the Colony paid nothing at all, or very little indeed. It seemed to him to be very hard that we should employ our Army and Navy in protecting the Colonies without the Colonies contributing one farthing to the expense incurred. At the present moment, almost the entire charge of several of these was paid by the taxpayers of this country without the smallest contribution from the Colonies. Why should we have a great Naval Station at Halifax, except that Canada was supposed to be a British Possession? No doubt, the military force stationed there was a small one; but its presence involved a certain risk. Why should the country bear the whole cost of the defence of the Island of Jamaica, or of the Windward or Leeward Islands? No one could say that those Possessions were of any great advantage to this country. Again, we retained the nucleus of a garrison at Cape Town, and a considerable force at Natal, and the consequence was that we were involved in nearly all the wars with the Natives. It was in that way that we found ourselves mixed up with the Transkei War, and we were obliged to send troops there at very great expense. Natal was the worst case of all. That Colony was strongly in favour of war, and the Colonists were continually urging upon us to make war on their behalf. We had, therefore, found it necessary to maintain a considerable military force in the Colony, which had cost us £250,000 per annum in quiet times, besides other expenses. But what was the contribution of the Colony towards our military expenditure? With a Revenue which amounted to £800,000 a-year, and which was constantly growing at our expense, the contribution of the Colony towards our military expenditure amounted to the paltry sum of £4,000, or not one-half per cent of the Revenue. Ceylon was the last Colony he would refer to. That was differently situated. There was a tax upon the food of the Natives there, and the Colony had hitherto paid the whole expense of the troops stationed there. The Colony was not very prosperous at this moment; but it was practically protected by the Indian Army in its immediate neighbourhood, and it required but a very small force in the Colony itself for its protection. Yet it was treated very differently from India. India had always been obliged to pay the uttermost farthing of its own military expense. In the case of Ceylon, having regard to the fact that it was not very prosperous at this moment, Her Majesty's Government had consented to remit about £20,000 of the charge which had hitherto been paid by Ceylon. The result was, that whereas in India one-third of the effective Revenue of the Empire was spent in its defence, and the Natives were charged at the rate of one rupee per head, in Ceylon only one-tenth of the Revenue was paid for defence, and the population only paid one-third of a rupee per head, or one-third of the amount that fell upon the poor Natives of India. And Her Majesty's Government were now remitting a portion of that payment. It was quite evident that Her Majesty's Government, in these arrangements, were not dealing equally with India and the Colonies. The present Vote was for Divine Service, and he confessed that he had not intended to go into that question beyond the general considerations he had mentioned; but, in regard to the Colony of Ceylon, there was one point touching the question of Divine Service to which he should like to allude. Bishops were generally good men, but some of those sent to the Colonies were "apt to play pranks before high Heaven," of which Her Majesty's Government did not approve; and, no doubt, although they had not always the courage or opportunity of doing so, Her Majesty's Government would like to bring about a change of arrangements. At one time the Colonial Office certainly did bring the Bishop of Ceylon to his bearings. He had abused his franking privileges, and they were taken away from him. Yet, he (Sir George Campbell) found, in the present year, while the Colony of Ceylon was not able to pay the chaplains furnished for Divine Service for the troops and came to this country for payment, they had repaid to the Bishop the equivalent of the sum we had taken away from him by the withdrawal of his privilege of franking. In moving the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £4,103, he desired only to express in general terms to the House the opinion that Her Majesty's Government should take care in future that more equal justice was done between the Colonies and the taxpayers of the Mother Country. Having said so much, he hoped it would not be necessary for him to intrude upon the Committee again that evening.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member move the reduction of the Vote?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Yes; by the sum of £4,103.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £53,397, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Divine Service, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY desired to say a few words in reference to the Motion which had been made by his hon. Friend. It had struck him, in listening to the speech, that the sting of it was in the tail. His hon. Friend was concerned less because the Colonies were paying too little than be cause India was paying too much. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) did not intend to enter into the question whether India was paying too much or not; his business would be to address himself, as shortly as he could, to the remarks in regard to the payment by the Colonies. First of all, he would remind his hon. Friend, in reference to the large self-governed Colonies, that the Government of this country would not like, and would not think it right, even if it were possible, to obtain contributions from their Legislatures towards the cost of the Imperial troops that were stationed within their borders for Imperial purposes; because, if that were done, the Colonies would claim the right to employ those troops, and might interfere and try to influence our policy. Therefore, as far as the self-governed Colonies were concerned, it was not right to call upon them to contribute towards the payment of the Imperial troops. In the next place, when the hon. Member talked about contributing towards the defence of the United Empire, to a large extent Canada and the Cape, as also the Australias, did contribute already. They voted large sums of money for their own defence in maintaining local troops. He would run briefly through the instances which had been put down by his hon. Friend in his indictment. The first case was that of Halifax. Halifax was an Imperial station for our Navy; and, although the hon. Member seemed to think that Canada was in a position to defend herself, he would remind the hon. Member that the Naval Station at Halifax was useful for more than local defence, and that it was used for many other purposes beyond that of a mere local station. Therefore, there was no reason why we should expect a contribution in respect of it from the Colony. It was necessary that we should deal with each Colony by itself; and, in the first instance, we must consider its history before we laid down any rule as to what contributions we ought to expect, because existing arrangements were, in some instances, explained by historical transactions. No doubt, there were some cases in which certain Colonies might be called upon to contribute more than they did. That he did not deny. But let them look at the history of Jamaica and the Windward Islands. He did not deny that the terms upon which the Imperial troops were maintained in those Colonies were a very liberal arrangement for the Colonies themselves. We contributed not only to the defence of those Colonies, but towards their civil establishments. That practice ought not to be continued. We paid the entire cost of the military establishments out there, and other things of that kind. It was impossible to say, at this moment, what change ought to be brought about; but he would remind the hon. Member that the arrangement with Jamaica dated from the time of the emancipation of the slaves. Although changing circumstances might justify the revision of the arrangement in some cases, we could not break through the pledge which had been given on special grounds. An immense deal had been done, of late years, in the way of reducing our Colonial military expenditure, and there was no reason why something further should not be done. With regard to the Cape Colony, he would simply say this — that the Imperial forces now maintained in that Colony were entirely for Imperial purposes, and it was only a very few years ago that the barracks occupied by Imperial troops for Imperial purposes were handed over to the local Government. As for Natal, he was of opinion that in that case a larger contribution ought to be paid. He fully admitted that; but, at the same time, he would point out to his hon. Friend and the Committee that we had given Natal representative institutions, and we could not in a high-handed manner force the Colony to vote more money for our troops. Of course, it might be said that we had the remedy in our own hands, and that we could withdraw our troops; but as long as the Zulu border presented such dangers and difficulties, we could not hold a pistol to the head of Natal, and say—"If you do not do what we think you ought to do our troops shall be withdrawn." The financial arrangement under which Imperial troops were employed there was entered into in 1860 — a good many years ago. The hon. Member said that Natal ought to contribute more. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) was of the same opinion; but he did not think it was to be done in the offhand way pointed out. He came, lastly, to the Colony of Ceylon. Up to the present time that Colony had paid every farthing of the expenditure for Imperial purposes, and we had recognized their present position by not asking them this year to continue to pay upon the same scale. His hon. Friend quite agreed that Ceylon had hitherto paid its full share; and he did not know why his hon. Friend should have dragged Ceylon in, except in reference to India, with which he (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) had nothing whatever to do. He thought he might say that, with the exception of Natal, there was a good answer in every case.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL said, he had no desire to impede the progress of Business; but, on the contrary, he was anxious that it should be proceeded with as fast as possible. Nevertheless, he had risen to move that the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again. The Chairman had already reproved the preliminary conversation which the Committee indulged in before entering into the present Vote, on the ground that it was irregular. He (Sir Herbert Maxwell) was sorry that it had been thought necessary to do so; because, at the time the conversation was stopped, the Committee were left in a state of absurd mist and uncertainty as to the order of Business that evening. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had undoubtedly showed great anxiety to meet the views of all sides of the House; and this Motion to report Progress was made in order to give the noble Marquess an opportunity of explaining to the Committee, decidedly and clearly, what Votes were to be taken that night, and in what order.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked if the noble Marquess would explain, at the same time, how the questions connected with the Army Pay Department and the continuation of the Riding Establishment at Woolwich stood?

Colonel WALROND said, there was a very important Vote—Vote 7—which he hoped would be taken that evening. Last year it was not taken until the middle of August, at a period of the year which was much too late to allow many officers to be present. He hoped that Vote 7 would be taken that night, and that it would be taken in the order in which it stood in the Estimates.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER said, he hoped the Committee would be able to agree with the suggestion of the noble Marquess, and would go straight on with the Votes. ["No, no!"] He had understood the noble Marquess to say that the best course would be to go on regularly with the Votes. Vote 7, which had been alluded to by his hon. and gallant Friend, was a very important one, and it would be highly unsatisfactory to have it delayed as it was last year.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, the explanation the hon. and gallant Member had attributed to him was not the explanation he had himself given. The suggestion he had made, and which he understood to be generally accepted, was that the Militia and Volunteer Votes should be postponed until after they had disposed of Vote 8, and that the general discussion should be brought on upon Vote 8. If there were any objection to that course, it would be better, he thought, to go straight on with the Votes, and, if necessary, to postpone Vote 8 until a future period. He did not know whether it would be in Order to refer to the question which had been put to him by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) as to the Riding School at Woolwich, to which reference was made in Vote 1. That was a question that had not yet been fully considered; it was still under consideration. With regard to the question of the Army Pay Department, that was a matter which the hon. Gentleman might raise on the Vote for the administration of the War Office.

Viscount LEWISHAM said, he had certainly understood the noble Marquess to state that he intended to take the Votes in the order in which they stood. He should like to know if it was really intended to pursue that course? He had come down for the purpose of considering Vote 7; but if it was not to be taken that night, he should certainly go home to dinner.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that his object had not been to detain the Committee, or to prevent them from going on with the consideration of the Votes. All he desired was that they should have a reasonable time for the discussion of the great question of Army Organization. He did not make any objection to the statement which the noble Marquess had made. He was perfectly satisfied with it; and all he desired was that the Committee should have some reasonable time for the discussion of Vote 8.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL said, that, with the leave of the House, he would withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he would also ask leave to withdraw his Motion. He only wished to say that he thought his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies had misunderstood his object. His object had certainly not been to protest against India being required to pay the whole of the Imperial expenditure in connection with that country. He did not think that one Possession should be differently treated from any other Possession; and he certainly did not see why Ceylon, being practically a part of India, should not pay her fair proportion of the expenditure in the same way as the inhabitants of India did. So far as Natal was concerned, if the giving of representative institutions to a small minority of the population of a Colony—much less than one-tenth — was to have the effect of allowing them to tyrannize over the Mother Country, and refuse to pay their fair share of the military expenditure which Her Majesty's Government thought they ought to pay, he certainly thought this country ought to object in future to confer representative institutions upon such Colonies. So far as Halifax was concerned, he hoped we should soon be able to withdraw from it altogether. He begged to withdraw the Motion he had made for the reduction of the Vote.

Mr. RYLANDS wished to say a word before the Amendment was withdrawn. He thought his hon. Friend had taken a most singular course. He had, upon a small Vote, availed himself of the opportunity of raising a most important question; a question which he (Mr. Rylands) had intended to raise, if he could have obtained an opportunity, on Vote 1; a question not merely confined to the payment of £4,000 for the clergy connected with another Establishment in the Colonies, but an expenditure of more than £2,000,000 a-year on account of Colonial Services generally. The manner in which the question had been introduced by his hon. Friend might induce people out-of-doors to suppose that it was one of small moment; whereas it was really one of very great moment. He ventured to submit to the Government that when they came into power in 1880 the policy which they then laid down was one based upon the principle of economy. He had understood that they intended, as far as possible, to keep down the expenditure for Colonial Services, especially in regard to the employment of Imperial troops. We were now paying an enormous sum for military establishments in the Colonies. The total this year amounted to £1,750,000, and that was by no means the full extent of our expenditure. This sum of £1,750,000 only appeared under certain heads; but there were very heavy items not included in the expenditure given in the Return which he held in his hand. For instance, there was nothing included in regard to the Non-Effective Services. The Committee were fully aware that the Estimates were materially swelled in consequence of the services rendered by our Army in defence of our Colonies.

The CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member that he is altogether exceeding the limits of this Vote by going into questions of our Colonial policy generally. The Question before the Committee is the Vote for Divine Service, and the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) has proposed to withdraw an Amendment he has moved for the diminution of that Vote. The present Question is that the Amendment, by leave, be withdrawn.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he had understood, from the manner in which the question had been raised by his hon. Friend, and also from the reply of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the Chairman would have allowed a little latitude in raising the question of Imperial contributions in aid of Colonial expenditure. At the same time, there were other Votes upon which this principle might be introduced again. It would have been most properly discussed under Vote 1; and he had thought that it might be for the convenience of the Committee if the matter were discussed now. Still, at the same time, he was bound to say that it ought to be discussed on grounds much wider than the mere payment of £4,000 to the chaplains, and he should be glad if some opportunity could be afforded to the Committee for dealing more generally with this expenditure.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, he would suggest to the hon. Member that if he brought forward this question on Vote 13, where there was a considerable charge for expenditure on fortifications and on other matters connected with the Colonies, he would, no doubt, be perfectly in Order.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR rose to Order. He wished to know whether it would be competent to hon. Members to discuss at a future time upon another Vote details of items in a previous Votes?

THE CHAIRMAN said, it would be his duty to decide questions of Order of the kind proposed by the hon. Member when they arose.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £53,397, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Divine Service, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he desired to reply to the question put to him by the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Cork (Colonel Colthurst) with regard to the employment of Roman Catholic chaplains on board transports carrying troops between this country and India. The hon. and gallant Gentleman would be aware that efforts had been made to satisfy reasonable demands in this matter. Two years ago, an arrangement was entered into between the War Office, the Admiralty, and the India Office, that in all cases in which more than 300 Roman Catholic soldiers were on board a transport a Roman Catholic priest should be employed at a remuneration to be settled between the parties. That was the endeavour they wished to see carried out; but he was bound to say that the arrangement had not been found to give full satisfaction. In the first place, it was not very frequently the case that so large a number of Roman Catholics as 300 were embarked in one transport; and, in the next place, although the matter was conducted with the assistance of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark, it was not always possible to secure the services of priests. All he could say was that he would enter further into communication on this subject with the India Office, with whom it more particularly rested, because it was upon them that the expense would chiefly fall. He believed the hon. and gallant Member would see that what they had already done had been in the direction of meeting the wishes of Roman Catholics on this subject. If the Departments could see their way, improvements should be suggested. The suggestion had been made that Roman Catholic priests should be placed on the establishment for the purpose; but that would involve considerable expense, nor was that the only difficulty. He would, however, communicate with the Admiralty and India Office on the subject, and he should be glad if they would meet the object of his hon. and gallant Friend.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, he desired to do full justice to the efforts of the noble Marquess; but he wished to point out that it would be impossible, under the present system, to insure what was asked for—namely, that Roman Catholic invalids coming from India should have the ministration of priests of their Church. He saw that six vessels from India had brought home Roman Catholic invalids; and it would have been necessary in that case that at least on six voyages priests should have been sent. If the Bishop of Southwark knew that he had to supply priests on every occasion, he would, no doubt, be able to do so. He attached no blame to the War Office in this matter, and was quite satisfied to leave it in the hands of the noble Marquess, with the hope that he would be able to carry out the suggestion that at least on the return voyages the services of Roman Catholic priests might be available for invalids.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. BIGGAR said, he rose to call attention to what Irish Members looked upon as a grievance—namely, the absence of suitable provision for supplying religious ministration to the Militia at Carrickfergus. It seemed to him that the War Office treated the members of the Roman Catholic Church in that district in the most improper manner. Carrickfergus was a town of 10,000 inhabitants, only a limited proportion of whom were Roman Catholics. There was only one priest there, who had to officiate at two services on Sunday, and also to attend at the chapels in the adjacent rural districts for the same purpose. There was, therefore, no Roman Catholic ministration for the men who were locked up in barracks on Sundays to keep them out of mischief. He was disposed to think that even from the point of view of expediency that Roman Catholic chaplains should be attached to each Militia regiment when in training. The Government would say they gave 12*s.* a-week to provide a chaplain for the regiment at Carrickfergus, the calculation being that the chaplain who performed the service, and who came from some distance, should get one day's pay at a rate nearly as low as the pay of a fourth-class chaplain, which was 10*s.* 6*d.* a-day. There were not sufficient priests at Carrickfergus to meet the demands of the district; and how the noble Marquess could ask priests to come there from the South of Ireland for one day a-week at the lowest rate paid to any priest in the Service, he was at a loss to understand. Priests could, of course, be obtained if they were properly remunerated. The condition of things at Carrickfergus was different from that in other districts of Ireland. As he had already said, there should be a special chaplain for each Militia regiment, an arrangement which would be good from the point of view of economy, because the Militia, who were generally enlisted from the most disreputable class in the country, would be more under restraint, and behave themselves better than they did at present. He did not know what answer the noble Marquess would make to this; but certainly, taking all conditions into account, a more mean mode of saving money could not be imagined than the present arrangement. In order to give Irish Members an opportunity of expressing their views upon this subject, he would move the reduction of the Vote.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £57,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Divine Service, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, that in the case referred to by the hon. Member for Cavan, the War Office had acted strictly in accordance with the Regulations; he might say that perhaps they had gone somewhat beyond them. The hon. Member said it would be proper to give a larger rate of remuneration to the priest at Carrickfergus; but he must be aware that that could not be done without extending the remuneration in ordinary cases. They had no power to alter the Regulations to meet a particular case. The usual rate of payment was one guinea where the number of men was 200, and 10*s.* 6*d.* where it was under 200.

Mr. SEXTON said, he hoped that some modifications of the Regulations would take place. The noble Marquess thought this case of Carrickfergus was not exceptional; but he wished to impress upon him that it was really unique. The peculiarity of the case as regarded Carrickfergus was that the parish church was so small that it would only hold 230 persons, and the consequence was that the soldiers of the Line and the civil population filled it to the doors; there was no room for the Militia, and the Roman Catholic priest had to perform Divine Service at a country church miles away. It was sad to think that a priest should be expected to perform the duties of his office for a sum of money weekly, which, in a period of three months, would amount to only £10. He was sure there must be at the War Office an account for Sundries, as there was in other Departments, out of which a fitting remuneration could be given to a priest for the performance of Divine Service for the Militia at Carrickfergus; and he could not believe that it was out of the power of the noble Marquess to meet the necessities of the case. He thought the noble Marquess might say he would consider how the difficulty in his way might be overcome. It was impossible for the local priest to perform the service, because he had to attend elsewhere. The money provided by the Government was insufficient for the purpose intended; and all he and his hon. Friends asked was that the clergyman who should come from another place might be indemnified. He was bound to say that the beggarly treatment which the War Office extended to the Militia in the matter of Divine Service very ill accorded with the remarks of the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Colthurst), to the effect that the noble Marquess was attentive to the requirements of Roman Catholics. This paltry and beggarly method of treating men in the Service of the Queen tended neither to the credit of the Department over which the noble Marquess presided nor to the welfare of the Militia.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, the noble Marquess appeared to think that, if he made any exceptional arrangement with regard to the chaplain at Carrickfergus, it would oblige him to make similar arrangements in the case of other chaplains. But he was unable to see the cogency of that proposition. The case of Carrickfergus was in this matter peculiar and exceptional; and all that he and his hon. Friends asked of the noble Marquess was that the special circumstances should be taken into consideration within a short space of time by the War Office, and if they called for special treatment, that, without insisting upon an alteration of the Regulations, some remedy should be found for the admitted evils in this case. These services in Ireland were by no means amply provided for; the scale of allowances was extremely moderate; and here was an instance in which the Catholic community of the place were obliged to trust to the ministration of one priest. The Government of the country choosing to increase the population during a period of two months by sending 200 or 300 Militiamen into the district, he could not understand why Her Majesty's Government thought it right to reply upon this question to Irish Members in the way they had, for they sought for no general alteration, they wanted nothing more than that which would indemnify the parish priest for the expenses if he provided this ministration; and because they asked under the circumstances described they were told that their request could not be granted, because it would render necessary similar alterations elsewhere. He trusted, however, that some words might come from the Treasury Bench which would assure them that the matter should be taken into consideration.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he would submit one consideration to the noble Marquess that might have escaped him. He presumed the noble Marquess was aware that it was incumbent upon all Roman Catholics to attend the celebration of Mass on Sundays. If by enlistment into a Militia regiment a man debarred himself from performing his religious duties, he was, by that very enlistment, committing an offence; and it was the duty of everyone who knew that enlistment in a Militia regiment involved the failure of attending Mass on Sunday to tell the recruit that he ought not so to enlist. That was the duty, not only of the parish priest, but of every man acquainted with the individual. Under those circumstances, it appeared to him that the noble Marquess, by meeting this question with a simple *non possumus*, was throwing a very important difficulty in the way of recruiting for the Militia regiment at Carrickfergus.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he did not know whether the circumstances detailed by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had been brought to the notice of the War Office. He believed they had; but he would undertake to look into the matter again. If he could find in the case any circumstances which could be regarded as exceptional, and if it were not necessary to make any alteration in the Regulations, he would see what could be done. However, he believed the subject had been under consideration more than once.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he thought the noble Marquess should say something more definite on this subject. As had been pointed out by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), the church at Carrickfergus would only contain the local population and the soldiers permanently located in the town. The noble Marquess entirely ignored the fact that there were other duties which devolved on a priest besides the duty of performing Divine Service on Sunday. A priest should be always at hand in case of sickness. He appealed to the noble Marquess to give a more explicit promise than he had given, such as that, he believed, on the merits of this case, something should be done. He thought the noble Marquess might state so much as his own personal opinion. There were other places in Ireland where the same difficulty presented itself, but in a less degree; and he knew of no place where it was felt so much as at Carrickfergus. There was a Roman Catholic population in Armagh; but in Carrickfergus there was no Roman Catholic population, and if the priest there was unable to spare time to perform the service he could not afford to employ a curate for the work. His contention was, that if a priest came from a distance he should be paid so much as would compensate him, not extravagantly, but reasonably, for his time and expense in ministering to the Militia at Carrickfergus.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I have said I would look into the matter again, and that if it were possible the case should be met, if it could be done without alteration of the Regulations.

Mr. W. REDMOND said, unless some definite promise were given, he believed the answer of the noble Marquess would be taken by the people of Ireland, and particularly by those chiefly interested in the matter, as most unsatisfactory. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had stated certain exceptional circumstances in connection with the religious services at Carrickfergus, and the noble Marquess merely said he would make further inquiries with regard to the case in Ireland. It seemed to him that this way of treating the Representatives of Ireland in this House was anything but satisfactory, and highly calculated to inspire the people with discontent. The hon. Member for Sligo had stated, from his own knowledge, that there were exceptional circumstances surrounding this case which rendered it absolutely necessary that the clergyman going to Carrickfergus to perform Divine Service for the soldiers should be remunerated in an exceptional manner; and instead of taking the statements of the hon. Member as final and correct, they only had it from the noble Marquess that further inquiries should be made. Now, if the noble Marquess made further inquiries in Ireland, he hoped he would not inquire of the officials at the Castle in Dublin, who did not possess the confidence of the people. He thought it only reasonable for Irish Members to expect that their representations should be taken as correct by the occupants of the Treasury Bench. He did not think it was at all fair, or calculated to promote harmony of feeling in that House, that the representations of the Members for Ireland on matters like this should be disregarded; that they should be told that they were not sufficient, and that the noble Marquess would make inquiries of the officials at Dublin Castle. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had pointed out clearly, not only that the allowance made by Her Majesty's Government for the purpose of Divine Service on Sundays was insufficient, but that it was likewise insufficient for the other duties which a Roman Catholic minister had to perform. Where there was a large number of men, it was only reasonable to expect that the ministration of the priest who went on Sunday to say Mass at Carrickfergus would be required in other cases, and on other days. Would the noble Marquess say that the priest should be remunerated for those services? At present they had only an undertaking that the priest should be remunerated for going on Sunday to say Mass. As the case stood at present, only a paltry allowance was given, and the other great services of the priest were ignored. Unless some definite promise on this point were given, it would be regarded throughout Ireland as most unsatisfactory.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, it was, perhaps, hardly fair to expect the noble Marquess to go further than he felt himself at liberty to go at that moment. The noble Marquess had said that the remarks of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had thrown new light upon this question, and that he was prepared to reconsider it. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) should not be disposed to press the noble Marquess any further; but he would ask whether he would consent to postpone the Report of the Vote until the War Office decision had been arrived at and communicated to Irish Members? If so, he would be willing to assent to the withdrawal of the Motion for the reduction of the Vote.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he should be glad to agree to the suggestion of the hon. Member who had just sat down, if it were in his power to do so. He was, however, afraid the matter was one which would take some time. The Vote was, as the hon. Member observed, a small one; but the official communications on the subject would pass through several hands. He would see if the Report of the Vote could be postponed; and, if not, he would answer the question on some other occasion.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he thought the chaplin might be remunerated by a yearly salary, instead of being paid so much for performing one service. In the hope that the noble Marquess would be able before the Report to give a satisfactory answer to his appeal, he would ask leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £36,800, Administration of Military Law.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he had last year asked a Question with regard to the condition of the Army in respect of crime and courts martial, and he should be glad of any further information which the Judge Advocate General could give the Committee upon that subject.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, that, as he had anticipated last year, the year 1883 had shown an improvement in respect of Crime in the Army as compared with 1882. He was happy to say that the preliminary Return which had just been published fully bore out that expectation. The Return, as he had said, was but preliminary, and related only to the Home Army; the other Return would not be published for two months. He thought the proper course would be to compare the crimes stated in that Return with the crimes in the Home Army during the year 1882, and in so comparing them it would be found that there had been a distinct improvement during the year 1883. He should mention that the number of troops constituting the Home Army in 1883 was less than in 1882. In round nnmbers, there were in 1882, 90,000 men; whereas in 1883 the Home Army consisted of 86,000 men. Making allowance for the diminution of numbers, he was able to say that the year 1883 compared favourably with 1882; and with the permission of the Committee he would give some figures relating to those two years. In 1882 the number of courts martial in the Home Army was 8,472; in 1883 it was 7,526. The sentences passed in the Home Army were in 1882, 8,382, as against 7,392 in 1883. With regard to offences, he found that in 1882 there were 12,144; but in 1883 they only amounted to 10,703; while under every one of the 13 heads under which crimes in the Army were classed, except two, there was a diminution. There was a very remarkable diminution of crimes relating to enlistment, those in 1882 numbering 883, while in 1883 there were only 602. Another satisfactory decrease appeared in the number of offences arising out of drunkenness; the number of charges of drunkenness on duty which in 1882 numbered 982, was in 1883, 733. He might add that the number of men in the Home Army fined for drunkenness was at the rate of 150 per 1,000 in 1882, and it was satisfactory to observe that the rate had fallen in 1883 to 102 per 1,000. Notwithstanding that this Return was confined to the Home Army, he believed he should not be wrong in stating that as regards the Army abroad the same improvement would be found to have taken place. In Egypt the conduct of the Army had been especially good; during this year the number of courts martial held there was 90, there being only one general and 89 district courts martial.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, that the Returns quoted by the Judge Advocate General showed an undoubted decrease in the number of crimes, so far as the Forces at home were concerned; but he must express his regret that, although those Returns were tolerably full, they were not made a little fuller. He thought those very interesting figures which the right hon. and learned Gentleman had given the Committee, both as to last year and the present, might have been put into two columns in the Returns, because there was this disadvantage in the way they were presented—that although they could see very well what had happened in 1883, they could not see what had happened in 1882. They had, therefore, no means of comparing the two years with each other, and of seeing if there had been any improvement last year, or otherwise. He suggested that, when the Returns were brought up again, the figures relating to the previous year and the present year should be given in two columns.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN): The noble Lord will find that is done in the Returns of 1882.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, that was, no doubt, the case in one sense; but it would be much more convenient, and of greater use, if it were given on the same page, as was the case with the ordinary Estimates, in which one could see at a glance any increase or decrease of the items. He did not doubt the accuracy of the statement of the Judge Advocate General with regard to the conduct of the Army, and the decrease in the number of courts martial; but he observed a large item under the term Miscellaneous. In the Cavalry and Line, for instance, the total number of courts martial was 685; 239, or more than one-third of these, being returned for miscellaneous offences alone. What those miscellaneous offences were was not stated; and, therefore, he thought it would be of great advantage to the

Committee that some information should be forthcoming on that point. He believed that a Member of the Committee last year drew attention to the same fact. The view he took was that as so much information was given in the Returns, the Committee might as well have a little more; and he quite agreed with his hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Sir George Balfour) that it was a good thing to give the Judge Advocate General an opportunity of making a further explanation. It was always satisfactory to hear anything good of the state of the Army; but, of course, it was much more so at the present time. When they had Forces abroad, as was the case now in Egypt, and when little expeditions were being sent into the interior of Africa, it would be well if there were some means of knowing how the men had conducted themselves under those circumstances. He did not understand from the Judge Advocate General, who stated that this Return applied only to the Home Service, that the men were really quartered in the United Kingdom. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman had a private Return, he should very much like it to be made public.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN): It is only a partial Return.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Quite so. He was only suggesting that, having so many troops just now in Egypt, and having sent little expeditions into the Soudan, it would be for the benefit of the Army itself, and for the convenience of the House, if a separate Return was given of the number of courts martial and crimes connected with the Expeditionary Forces, from which they might arrive at a conclusion, which he doubted not would be satisfactory, as to the way in which the men had conducted themselves. He asked this especially, because, during the last three years, as the Committee would be aware, changes had been made in the character of punishments in the Army. Corporal punishment had been abolished, and they knew that the late Secretary of State for War—the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers)—had created, or rather recommended, other punishments. He recollected the right hon. Gentleman mentioning a number of punishments which were not exactly approved either on that side of the House or the other—such as tying the men to trees, throwing pails of water over them, and so forth. There was nothing to show whether men had been sentenced to those punishments, either by commanding officers or by courts martial; and, therefore, it was desirable to know how far they had tended to the reduction or prevention of crime. Of course, they had been informed that the punishments were experimental; but if it were proved on trial that they were such as could not be inflicted in a practical way, he thought it would be well to admit the fact at once, so as to save further time, and let the House know the position in which they stood. Hon. Gentlemen on the Benches around him had always said that corporal punishment was a disagreeable necessity; and, at the same time, they believed there was nothing between it and the punishment of death. Of course, if it were proved that corporal punishment could be done away with altogether, without detriment to the discipline of the Army, he thought it was certainly a matter worth stating, and none would be more rejoiced at it than Gentlemen on those Benches. At the same time, they ought to have some statistics to show how far the punishment substituted had succeeded, or otherwise. With these few remarks he would conclude, as he began, by expressing his satisfaction at hearing that the state of the Army at home was so good; and he trusted that on another occasion they should be allowed to know a little more as to the state of the Army abroad.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he thought the Committee and the country would be satisfied with the information obtained from the Judge Advocate General with regard to the diminution in the number of courts martial and in the crimes and punishments in the Home Army. The minor courts martial might appear to be numerous; but hon. Members would be aware that the offences tried by such courts martial were not of great importance. The general courts martial were of more importance; and he thought that a Return showing more fully the number abroad would be exceedingly valuable to the officers of the Army. On the whole, he regarded the explanations as satisfactory.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER said, he had just one remark to make with reference to an article in *The Times* on the subject of courts martial. The article, commenting on the number of courts martial in the Infantry, said it was very hard that good regiments should be confounded with bad; and it was added that this would always be the case, because Her Majesty's Government refused to grant the Returns of the number of courts martial for each regiment. Now, he hoped Her Majesty's Government would continue to refuse such a Return, because he was sure it would be injurious and pernicious to the best interests of the Service. The effect of it would be to induce commanding officers to settle themselves questions that ought to be brought under the cognizance of courts martial. Those who, so to speak, were behind the scenes well knew that there were many ways of doing this; by taking crimes out of one category and placing them in another. Take the crime of insubordination, for instance. A commanding officer and his adjutant would lay their heads together, and, not wishing a court martial for insubordination to appear in the Return, they would agree to try the accused for using improper language instead of threatening language; the matter would then be settled by the commanding officer, who would sentence the individual to seven days' cell. That was an improper way of dealing with offences of the kind; but it was one which would be resorted to if the Returns, suggested in the article in *The Times*, were given by Her Majesty's Government. No doubt, courts martial were, to a certain extent, a criterion of the state of a regiment; but that was a matter to be settled by a confidential official Report, and not by the general public. He said that the Return would have the effect of deterring officers from doing their duty, and he trusted that Her Majesty's Government would resolutely refuse it.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON assured the Committee that even the Returns which were now furnished, and which only went to the Horse Guards, were a great inducement to commanding officers to enter under one head crimes that ought to be placed under another. He had frequently drawn the attention of commanding officers to this. These were purely confidential Returns, which ought to go to the Commander-in-Chief, or to the Secretary of State for War alone, and he hoped the Government would not agree to furnish them.

Major General Alexander

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he had a question to ask with regard to the reduction to a lower grade of non-commissioned officers. Would the Judge Advocate General state how that matter stood as compared with last year? The number of reductions seemed to be very large; and he would like to know what were the crimes committed by the men who had been reduced? He did not coincide with all that had been said by his hon. and gallant Friend, but would not go further into that matter then. He simply asked his right hon. and learned Friend to give some information on the subject he had referred to. Then there was another point to which he had called attention on a former occasion. It related to the question of pensions in the case of non-commissioned officers who were reduced. He asked whether a non-commissioned officer, who had always done his duty and worked well for a number of years, and was then reduced for a small offence, would be allowed to remain on to complete his time, though reduced to the ranks, so as to earn a pension? Because it seemed to him a very hard thing that a man should, under the circumstances, lose his pension after having served almost all his time. He commended this matter to the noble Marquess as one deserving his serious attention.

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said, he would take a note of the various suggestions made by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Eustace Cecil). With regard to the statement of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Major General Alexander), he did not find, as a general rule, that crimes in the Army were leniently dealt with by commanding officers. The hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had remarked that the number of reductions in 1883 was very considerable; but he would point out that the reduction was not always to the ranks—it was generally from the grade of colour sergeant to that of sergeant or lance corporal. The number of reductions, however, had fallen off considerably; they amounted in 1883 to 1,183; and in 1882 to 1,290, the improvement being 12 per cent. With regard to corporal punishment, he could, of course, only state the results since its abolition, and those from the figures he had laid before the Committee were satisfactory.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, the reply of the Judge Advocate General only confirmed the statement that commanding officers were sometimes induced to deal with crimes in the Army in the manner described. The essence of the contention was that the crimes did not come forward under their correct headings, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman could not, therefore, be cognizant of their real character; he had no possible means of judging. The only persons acquainted with the facts were the officers on the Staff. The Judge Advocate General must take the cases as they came before him.

The JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. Osborne Morgan): I beg pardon; I see the whole of the evidence. I read it in all cases of court martial, to ascertain whether the crime charged against the individual is adapted to the actual offence committed.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, the Judge Advocate General expressed exactly what he had intended to convey. There were a vast number of men who were never brought to trial at all. The right hon. and learned Gentleman spoke of courts martial. The cases he (Sir Alexander Gordon) referred to were kept back from trial, in order that they might be excluded from the Return of the more serious offences.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £303,000, Medical Establishment and Services.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY said, that he must apologize, as a civilian, for trespassing on the attention of the House in regard to a military subject; but he might say in excuse that he had had the working of the Medical Service in the field forced upon his notice on one or two occasions, and he had done all that lay in his power to promote inquiry into that subject, so far as it was connected with the Egyptian Campaign. He thought it a matter for regret that they had not had a discussion on the Report of Lord Morley's Committee last year, when the circumstances were fresh in mind. For his own part, he had done everything he could to obtain it, having tried throughout last Session, though in vain, to bring forward a Motion on the subject, while the discussion on the Vote itself was put off until a ridiculously late time in the Session—a Saturday Sitting at the latter end of August. He was glad that so early an opportunity of discussing the question had presented itself this year; and he wished now to refer to a few facts connected with the inquiry into the working of the Army Hospital Service; and, in the second place, to call attention to the inefficiency and non-economy of the present Unification or Departmental system, under which the medical officers of the Army were at present appointed. He did not think there could be any difference of opinion at all as to the general value of the inquiry which took place last year; and he was sure that, whenever another campaign was forced upon the country, the sick and wounded would owe no small debt of gratitude to the Committee over which Lord Morley presided, as well as to the outcry that called forth that Committee, if only the authorities would give effect to its recommendations; and it was to be hoped that when they received the details of the Suakin Campaign, they would find that already a good effect had been produced. No one on that Committee would deny that the evidence adduced showed an ample case for a searching inquiry into the organization of the Army Hospital Service, and the breakdown alleged to have taken place in the Egyptian Campaign. The most had been made of one or two exaggerated and unfounded statements which had found their way into the public Press; but, with those statements eliminated, the fact remained, upheld by the testimony of everyone connected with the Service—by officers and men alike—indirectly even by the medical officers themselves—by the nurses whose devotion was as usual the brightest spot in the Hospital history—supported also by the valuable testimony of Lord Wolseley—that owing to the inherent defects in the system of organization—the glaring defects in the method of selecting and training the Army Hospital Corps—and owing to the unwillingness of the medical authorities to assume proper authority and responsibility, a very considerable amount of needless suffering had been inflicted on our soldiers, and a large amount of wasted expenditure upon the nation. Some references had been made to alleged inconsistencies between Lord Wolseley's evidence before the Committee and the Report made by him during the campaign. He would express his satisfaction that Lord Wolseley had been able to corroborate with the great weight of his authority the evidence of those who served under him in the campaign; and he would point out that it was sufficiently clear that Lord Wolseley was prepared to pass over, without blame to the Department, any failures that could possibly be attributed to the sudden strain upon their resources at Ismailia; that he was satisfied, and justly satisfied, with their performance at Tel-el-Kebir; but that, with all his readiness to make allowance for the Department, and his appreciation of individual energy, he could not tolerate and pass over that Departmental apathy and want of organizing power which was forced upon his notice by the want of arrangements for the comfort of the sick and wounded in Cairo. It would be a very invidious task to attempt to apportion any blame to individuals; but he would like briefly to bear his testimony to the unflagging energy with which the surgeons at the front did their duty. It had been clearly acknowledged in the Report itself that, as regarded the administrative medical officers at Cairo and Ismailia, there was a lack of initiative and energetic supervision; but for the medical officers at the front there had been nothing but praise and commendations; indeed, he might say, in truth, there had been nothing but praise and commendation—for out of all the Orders and Decorations showered abroad in connection with the campaign, none had reached any one of those who bore the burden and heat of the day. He had come in contact more especially with the surgeons of the Life Guards and Blues and Foot Guards; and he could state that nothing could have exceeded the zealous and kindly care which they manifested throughout a campaign in which the numbers of sick, if not of wounded, certainly taxed their energies very severely. The want had been, not of professional care, but of Departmental organization. Attempts had been made to rebut this charge by pointing to the small death-rate in Egypt. No doubt, the death-rate was satisfactory; but the question still remained, did there, or did there not, exist a distinct amount of preventable suffering, and a distinct absence of procurable comfort? He was afraid that everyone who read the evidence contained in the Blue Book impartially must come to the conclusion that the question on both points could only be answered in the affirmative. The country was ready to pay any sum which might be demanded to lessen the sufferings of the troops; and he could not understand how it was that, with a harbour for a base, containing the finest fleet of transports ever collected for the conveyance of stores and troops, with the exceptional advantage of a commodious building ready for immediate use as a hospital, on the 10th day after landing, sick men were obliged to lie on bare boards instead of the palliasses, which were an essential part of ordinary field hospital equipment. It was in evidence also, and he would like to hear it explained, why, on board first-class transports, convalescents, to whom good food meant recovery and meant life, should have been kept so hungry that they had to beg bits of biscuit from the sailors? Neither could he understand why the bread, which was refused by commanders of regiments at Ismailia, should have been accepted and served out by the medical officers in the hospital after only verbal remonstrances. Officers in command of regiments at Ismailia not only condemned and refused the Commissariat bread, but forced the Commissariat officer to replace it with locally purchased bread; while in the far more important case of the sick and wounded in the hospital, the medical officers contented themselves with simple remonstrances and protests, and then served out to the wounded men in their charge this atrocious compound of unwholesome flour and indifferent water. There was a worse case still. It could not be understood why, on the very day that 400 wounded men came down from Tel-el-Kebir to Ismailia, three days after the fight, it was so arranged that two field hospitals were ordered up from Ismailia to the front, thereby denuding the hospitals at the base of their proper attendants, and rendering it necessary to supply their places with men taken from one of the regiments stationed there. He asked the Committee to picture the scene which was described by Miss Lloyd, in the Blue Book—the 400 wounded soldiers lying at Ismailia all night in their helplessness and pain, without any orderlies to attend to them, or, if orderlies were forthcoming, finding themselves not only at the mercy of men utterly ignorant and untrained as nurses, but brutally drunk in the bargain. Could the authorities excuse, or could the country permit, an organization which allowed such a disgraceful scene as that in the Ismailia hospital on the night in question? It had been said that a great part of the complaints made of the hospital treatment came from officers. As a matter of fact, he knew there were several officers who could have given very valuable evidence in condemnation of the Medical Department in the Egyptian Campaign; but they refused to volunteer their evidence, because they feared it might be said they were grumblers. That might be a feeling worthy of respect; but he would assert that no officer had come forward to give evidence, or would have wished to have done so, except on the far higher and more worthy grounds of the fulfilment of a public duty in exposing the faults and errors of the present system. Again, the men themselves were afraid to find fault, or to come before Lord Morley's Committee and give evidence. He hoped hon. Members would give him credit for not trying to make a long Blue Book speech. But, if he had thought it necessary, he could have corroborated by quotation from the Blue Book every point he had raised. Although during the consideration of the Army Estimates the attendance was not large, all who were present were acquainted with the subject; and he thought they would agree with him when he said there was ample evidence of the fact that the men themselves were afraid to give evidence. As to the only other means of information—the doctors—the doctors, of course, considered that the inquiry was a direct attack upon themselves. One of them said the cooking was "fairly good." Lord Wolseley said, "I have never seen such bad cooking." And another surgeon said he was "fairly satisfied with his orderlies." He thought that that gentleman's evidence would have little weight with those who had studied the rest of the evidence. Good could not fail to come of the inquiry with regard to hospital orderlies. They would learn discipline instead of drill; they would get some proper hard training; and he hoped that in the future there would be fewer cases of hospital orderlies stealing the medical comforts, and giving pills and applying mustard plaisters to the wrong patients, and still fewer cases of them using bad language and threats to the wounded and helpless soldiers. The recommendations of Lord Morley's Committee on these points were very valuable, as were also the recommendations with respect to field panniers; the abolition of the foolish rule under which, in non-dieted hospitals, a patient was subject to 24 hours' starvation; the provision for the proper cooking instruction of the Army Hospital Corps; and last, but by no means least, the recommendation as to the more general and recognized employment of nursing sisters. There was one recommendation, however, which seemed so entirely opposed to all the evidence which was given before the Committee, that one was astounded to find it included in the Report at all, and sanctioned by the signatures of any of the Committee—he meant the recommendation that the Army should not be allowed to return, as would have been expected from the evidence, to a modified form of the regimental system; but that the Medical Service of the Household Troops should be assimilated to that of the rest of the Army. Two Members of the Committee had dissented from that view; and he could not understand how any body of individuals could make such a recommendation after hearing the evidence. Without exception, every commanding officer who was examined before the Committee, besides the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Wolseley, and Sir Daniel Lysons, had condemned the present system, and advocated a return to a modified form of the regimental system— a system that should attach surgeons to regiments for periods, say, of five years. They had pointed out, in the clearest and most convincing manner, the disadvantage of a system which entailed constant changes of medical officers; the constant ignorance as to who was temporarily in charge of the men as medical officer. They had dwelt upon the waste of force that must necessarily ensue from this planetary system of medical supervision; they had dwelt upon the very great dislike which was entertained, both by the men and the married women, for these constant changes; and yet, in spite of this overwhelming testimony, in spite of the fact that the best medical officers themselves detested the shuttle-cock principle on which they were treated; in spite of this mass of evidence, the Committee arrived at a conclusion which was not only discreditable to their own common sense, but which was equally opposed to the best interests and wishes of the Army. If any hon. Member had not studied the question he (Mr. Guy Dawnay) asked him to refer to the evidence, given in the Index, under the head of "Regimental Medical System," and especially to the evidence of Colonel Nicholls, of the 3rd Battalion of the Rifle Brigade. Colonel Nicholls related how, in 14 months, at the Curragh his regiment had been under the charge of 13 different medical officers, and also referred to the case of a man in the Rifle Brigade who, one cold morning, two years ago, when the regiment was starting for a march out, was sent by his colonel to hospital at Aldershot suffering from severe bronchitis. The man was at once sent back as a malingerer. The commanding officer then sent him to his hut; and when the battalion returned from its march, the poor fellow, who but a few hours before had been turned away from the hospital as a shammer and malignerer, was found dead. The case against the present system was ably and clearly stated in the Appendix to the Report, which contained the dissent of Major General Hawley and Colonel Loyd Lindsay to the recommendations of the Committee. Those gallant officers said—

> "With reference to the above important question (namely, the distribution of medical officers), we are of opinion that the inconvenience to the Service (which the Report admits to be justly complained of in the Army) is due to defects inherent in the unification system itself, and not to faulty working of details which might be remedied. The two systems under which the Army Medical Service can be worked—namely, the unification and the regimental systems—are distinct both in principle and in practice. Under the first—namely, the unification system—the medical officers form a separate professional department. This system proceeds on the principle of detaching them from regiments, and from the duties that would there devolve upon them, and of attaching them to station hospitals. If medical officers were to drop the military character which has always attached to them, this system might be made to work fairly well in time of peace; but without great alteration in detail it could not be carried out efficiently in time of war. . . . Under the second—namely, the regimental system—medical officers are attached to regiments, the sanitation of which they have in charge, under the commanding officers, together with medical attendance on the wives and families of men belonging to the regiment. This is the system which officers in the Army, from the Commander-in-Chief downwards, are unanimously in favour of. Every branch of the Service—Engineers, Artillery, Cavalry, and Line—have given evidence in favour of it before this Committee; and the General Officer commanding at Aldershot has also, in his evidence, advocated the advantage of it. It is the system adopted in every Continental Army without exception; and it is the system to which our own Army reverts in time of war, when a medical officer is attached to every regiment proceeding on active service. . . . The system at present in force (and which the Army regards with so much objection) is a compromise. It wavers from side to side, inclining to a civil organization in time of peace, and to a regimental system in time of war—thereby necessitating a sudden change of system and of organization at the very moment when smooth working (which can only be attained by practice and experience) is of vital importance to the efficiency of the Medical Service during a campaign. For these reasons, we recommend a return to the regimental system, so far as it attaches a medical officer to each unit of the Service."

That was very strong testimony; but he thought the matter was still more clearly stated in the Table of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of a return to the regimental system. Anyone who read that Table must see that the advantages of a return to the regimental system far outweighed the possible disadvantages. Now, what were the objections to a return to a modified form of the regimental system? In the first place, it was said—

> "It is undesirable to introduce changes until the present system had had a fair trial."

The present system had had a long trial, and in the opinion of all military men it had completely broken down. Secondly, it was said that—

> "It would create considerable, though perhaps not insuperable, difficulties in the arrangement of the roster of medical officers for foreign service."

In this case it was allowed that the difficulty was not insuperable. Thirdly, it was said that—

> "It is impossible to adminster the station hospitals with the two classes of medical officers without great friction;"

This was one of those vague arguments which was, for that reason, difficult to answer; but he could not but think it a trivial point. Again, it was said that—

> "It would not provide for the medical attendance of detachments, which would be in the same position as at present."

The experience of the Household Troops, however, proved conclusively that there was no force in this objection. Fifthly,

> "It would, in some cases, involve a waste of power and a probable deterioration in the professional competence of the medical officer so attached, owing to want of practice; and that at the larger stations the advantage of being able to distribute the medical afficers, so that special classes of cases may be dealt with by specially qualified surgeons, would be lost;"

but under the system that had been suggested by the Duke of Cambridge and others — namely, that a medical officer should be attached to a regiment for five years, that would be entirely obviated, and there would be ample opportunity for proper practice. The sixth, and the last, objection was the real one. It was said—"It would entail additional expense." That expense had been put down by the authorities themselves at £22,500 a-year. He maintained that the present system sacrificed the efficiency and the comfort of the Army to an utterly false economy; that, in fact, it involved at critical times a far greater outlay than could possibly be saved in time of peace; it helped most materially to disgust the men whom already we found such difficulty in attracting as recruits to our Army, or in retaining when trained in the Army, and all that for the sake of saving, at the outside, £22,500 a-year, and for the sake of giving a further fair trial, as it was called, to a system which, in the opinion of every military expert, and every reliable authority, had already completely broken down. After what he had said, he did not think he need dwell on the proposal to assimilate the Medical Service of the Household Troops to that of the rest of the Army. If the beauties of uniformity were alone to justify such a proposal, he might point out that it could be attained as easily and with real advantage to the Service by assimilating the Medical Service of the rest of the Army to that of the Brigade of Guards, and by providing that, as in the Brigade, the regimental medical officers should do duty at the station hospital. He must point out, however, that if the proposed assimilation were carried out the grossest injustice would be done; because the medical officers of the Household Troops had joined that branch of the Service on the distinct understanding that they should be retained as medical officers in the Household Troops. They joined that branch of the Service, though well aware of any such disadvantages attaching to the position as those mentioned in Lord Morley's Report—namely, that they were excluded from advancement to the higher grades; and yet, with that knowledge, not only did they join willingly and gladly in the first instance, but now they were equally surprised and disgusted to find it was seriously proposed by Lord Morley's Committee to assimilate to the broken down and generally condemned medical system of the rest of the Army that system, under which their services were first engaged, and for which they had already resigned any participation in the chance of advancement to higher grades, to which a different choice in their profession at the first would have entitled them. He did not suppose, however, that this recommendation of the Committee would receive the serious attention of the authorities; and in any case he would leave the subject to others better qualified by their connection with the Guards to deal with the question. He regretted to have taken up so much of the time of the Committee as a civilian; but he had thought himself bound to allude to the results of that inquiry which he had done his utmost to promote, and he had, at least, had opportunities of forming an impartial opinion as to the absolute necessity of a return to a modified form of the regimental system. By the new Rules he was precluded from bringing forward at this stage of the Estimates a Motion; but he expressed the hope that the general judgment, not only of the House, but of the authorities, might agree with him, in the terms of a Motion which stood in his name on the Paper, that—

> "The present method of appointing Medical Officers in the Army according to the Unification System has not contributed either to the efficiency or economy of the Service, and that such economy and efficiency would be better secured by a return to a modified form of the Regimental System."

DR. FARQUHARSON said, that, before he ventured to make a few remarks on the various questions touched on by his hon. Friend, he desired to congratulate the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) upon the saving of £600 a-year which had been effected by the abolition of the post of Commandant at Netley. He had got, however, a slight suspicion that this long-standing grievance was not altogether dead yet. He did not want to accuse the noble Marquess of any desire to perpetuate the grievance in another form; but he thought the military authorities were very anxious to cling to this particular piece of patronage. He noticed that in "another place" military authorities had maintained that every military hospital ought to have a commandant of this kind attached to them. He should like to know whether Colonel Pell was now, in a modified form, Commandant at Netley; whether he was to be allowed to have access to the wards at all times, and inspect them as a field officer? Because, if that were so, the new state of things would be nothing more or less than a perpetuation of the old grievance. He hoped the noble Marquess would be able to assure the Committee that this officer would be entirely subordinate to the officer commanding the district. The gentleman could not, according to the Army Regulations, have anything to do with the school at Netley, which had a separate existence under the Secretary of State for War. He (Dr. Farquharson) should consider the gentleman's duties were merely extracted or filched from those of the officer commanding the district. He thought the Medical Department would hear with great satisfaction that there was a determination to amalgamate the Army Hospital Corps into one large Corps. He hoped it would succeed in attracting a better class of men to the Corps. The Army Hospital Corps were much complained of for their conduct in the recent campaign in Egypt. To a certain degree the hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Guy Dawnay's) accusations were borne out by the facts. It was said the men were intemperate, lazy, and dishonest. They certainly performed their duties of nursing badly; but it must be remembered they were never taught nursing. Many of them had never seen a sick man in bed before they went out to Egypt; therefore, it was not to be wondered at that many of them were unfit to discharge the difficult duties of nursing sick men. It was a fact that some of them had only three months' training at home prior to being sent out, and that a great part of the time was taken up with the ordinary drill of the soldier. Moreover, when they were out in Egypt they were greatly overworked. At Ismailia, owing to deficiency of transport, the men of the Army Hospital Corps had to work like beasts of burden, bringing up the stores to the hospitals. Their duties were hard and laborious, and they were very often disagreeable duties. There was, therefore, some excuse for the men; and the Committee must not be too hard upon them, considering the very few opportunities they had had beforehand of learning the work they were called upon to do. It was evident that in future the men of this Corps must have a long and special training. It was quite evident they must have at least two months' nursing experience, and that they must be taught cooking. They ought to be well paid; their prospects of promotion ought to be improved; and their characters, previous to entering the Service, ought to be more carefully sifted than they had been hitherto. Of course, it was quite evident also that it was best to recruit the men from civil life. A commanding officer would not give up his best men for hospital service; therefore, it was well the Army Hospital Corps should be recruited directly from civil life. It was desirable, too, that the Army Medical Department should have some opportunity of practising bearers and field hospital drill. It was important that an entire field hospital should occasionally be mobilized in this country, as was the case so often in Germany. As to the regimental system, they had been told that terrible results had followed the abandonment of the old regimental system. Personally, he was in favour of a return to some modified form of the regimental system, which, of course, was now quite dead, and could never be revived. It would be well if medical officers were appointed to a regiment for four or five years, and during that time had an opportunity of attending hospitals. He did not believe the regimental and hospital duties would clash at all; on the contrary, he was of opinion that the plan would work extremely well. The present system was an exceedingly bad one socially for the Medical Department; and it was otherwise an uncomfortable and disagreeable one, inasmuch as the doctors had no settled home. It was also a very inconvenient system to the regimental officers themselves. It was a bad system, because officers did not know to whom they should send in case of need; he knew that men had been attended by two or three different doctors. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Guy Dawnay) had made what he (Dr. Farquharson) considered a very unjust attack upon the Medical Department during the recent campaign in Egypt. He gathered from the Blue Book that the Medical Department in that campaign was one of the most successful Departments, in a medical point of view, that had ever been known in this or in any other country. Those who were attached to the Department did their duty with zeal, efficiency, and skill; and the Report of Sir William M'Cormack in the Blue Book bore ample testimony to the difficulties which had to be encountered. There were great difficulties in connection with the character of the roads, and also in the absence of transport. The troops pushing rapidly to the front were without the means of transport; and, bearing in mind the nature of the difficulties, the medical results were far better than in any previous campaign. Sir William M'Cormack, a great authority upon such matters, expressed that opinion over and over again. During the period the Army were in the field, and afterwards those scourges to which the military were subject in hospital—such as gangrene, erysipelas, &c.—were almost unknown. Although ophthalmia constantly occurred early in the campaign, it was satisfactory to find that not a single man lost his sight. Everything was sent out that was required, or could be desired, for the comfort and ease of the Army in the field. The Medical Department were not responsible for the places which were used as hospitals. He knew that at Ismailia a disused palace was suddenly handed over, and at 48 hours' notice a large hospital had to be extemporized out of practically nothing, because, although it was a very large building, there was absolutely nothing in it when it was handed over. When the ships arrived the transport for the use of the Medical Department was taken away for military purposes and field hospitals. No. 2 and 3 had to be dragged up with great labour by the men of the Army Hospital Corps. It was opened on the 23rd of August; and when they were inspected on the 25th by Sir John Adye he said that they appeared to be comfortably arranged, and that everything had been done for the comfort of the men that could be done. Lord Wolseley visited the hospitals, and expressed himself satisfied with everything that was being done. Under these circumstances, what occurred afterwards in his Lordship's evidence before the Morley Committee came upon the Department like a thunder-bolt. He was sorry to detain the Committee so long, but these were very important points. On the 16th of September Lord Wolseley wrote—

> "The medical arrangements were all they could have been, and reflect the highest credit upon Surgeon-General Hanbury."

On the 24th of the same month he wrote—

> "The Medical Department, under Surgeon General Hanbury, C.B., have done everything that could possibly be done for the care and comfort of the sick and wounded. The manner in which the wounded were removed from the fighting line by the Bearer Company was most satisfactory."

And on the 30th Lord Wolseley telegraphed to Dr. Crawford, the Director General of the Army Medical Department, from Abdin—

> "Dr. Hanbury has shown me your telegram as to the alleged defects in medical arrangements. I have told him he need not answer, as full explanations go home by post. We are all too busy here to reply to the false and malicious reports to which you refer. The Medical Department is working to my entire satisfaction."

No wonder that the statements subsequently made came upon the Medical Department like a thunder-bolt. He found that most of the complaints in regard to the supply of food were made by men who had had no experience of warfare. The staff of cooks was certainly not composed of experienced men. It was impossible to keep meat there, and it was necessary to cook it quickly every night. When the men were asked why they asserted that they had nothing to eat, they said it was provided for them as medical comforts, not as food; but, at the same time, it must be borne in mind that, for medical reasons, the men were purposely kept low. As he had said, if they were to analyze the complaints they would find that they were made by inexperienced men, who had had no previous experience of war, and who were fretting in consequence of the restrictions upon their ease and comfort, which restrictions, however, were absolutely necessary. The complaints were principally complaints with regard to the food supply. They were made by one officer and six men of the Life Guards, by four men of the Royal Horse Guards, and by one or two of the Coldstream Guards and the Scots Guards. On the other hand, the Infantry generally expressed themselves satisfied with all that was done for them. As to the deficiency of beds, to which allusion had been made, it must be remembered that Ismailia was only a naval hospital.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY said, he had referred to the want of palliasses.

Dr. FARQUHARSON remarked that complaint had also been made of the deficiency of drugs, and especially of carbolic oil; but this was a clumsy way of using antiseptic treatment, and a far better plan was to make a lotion with water and carbolic acid, of which there was an ample supply. In regard to the complaints made against the Medical Department for abstaining from purchasing articles required in connection with the service in Egypt, he would simply remind the Committee of a paragraph in a letter from the War Office, dated August 5, 1882, and addressed to the General Officer commanding the troops in Egypt. This letter said—

> "It is essential that, except in the case of petty office or departmental purchases (which may be made by heads of department) there should be but one purchasing department in the local market, and all articles required should be provided by means of requisitions upon the Commissariat Department, which should give all the necessary information as to quantities and description, and the measures proposed for obtaining the supplies. The responsibility of making the purchases in the best possible manner will then rest with the senior Commissariat officer, subject to your orders."

They were told that the bread was bad. No doubt the bread was bad, and it was reported against by the medical officer. At the earliest moment, and as soon as possible, better bread was issued. It was said—"Why did not the Medical Department buy bread for themselves?" It was impossible to do so, because there was not nearly enough bread in the market at the time to supply the hospitals. That fact was fully borne out by the evidence. Major Butler, who was the commandant, admitted that some of the officers at their own table were able to get excellent bread. Very likely that was the reason why the medical officers were not able to obtain it for the hospitals. What would have happened if the medical officers had decided on purchasing for themselves all the articles of which there was a deficiency? No doubt they were most anxious to have everything that was required; but if they had purchased without authority, would they have had any prospect of getting their money back again? A supply of mosquito curtains had been sent out; but when they were wanted they could not be found, and what could be bought were perfectly valueless, and neither the men nor the officers could use them—they considered it far more desirable to have plenty of fresh air. The fact was that the public mind had been contaminated, not only by the unfortunate evidence before the Morley Committee, which was all on one side of the question, but by the credulity of certain newspaper correspondents. He recollected a painful story which appeared in England about the amputation of a Life Guardsman's shoulder without the use of chloroform; but it was simply the vague floating gossip which was going about at the time, and which had been told in conversation to one of the newspaper correspondents, who, without taking the slightest pains to verify the story, sent it home as a fact. Another similar instance of credulity was to be found in the story of a correspondent who pointed out that the officers in the Medical Department were in the habit of going round the hospitals and serving all the sick men with pills out of the same box. Now, the fact of the matter was that the pill pannier was divided into a large number of partitions; and this innocent newspaper correspondent, because the medical officer took the pills he wanted from the same pannier, jumped at the conclusion that he was giving to every man the same kind of drug. He desired to say a single word in reference to the question which had been introduced in reference to the Guards. As an old Guards' medical officer, he deprecated any interference with their ancient privileges. As long as they were retained as a special Corps, he did not see why they should not have specialities of their own; and he did not think any evidence had been adduced to show that any other system would work better. It would only entail extra expense to the medical officers, without effecting any public saving. The argument of Sir William M'Cormack was that a medical officer should be afforded an opportunity of coming to London, where he would have better facilities for study; but the Guards' medical work was not of an ordinary character, and it occupied a great deal of time. It would not be easy for a medical officer to do his duty thoroughly, and to be in attendance at barracks, if he were required to go away at 12 or 1 o'clock for attendance in the hospitals scattered about over the town. It must also be remembered that in many of the Provincial towns—such as Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester — where the Guards were stationed, there were excellent medical hospitals and schools. At all events, if this change were to be made—if the *fiat* had gone forth that the alteration was to be carried out, he hoped it would be distinctly understood that none of the medical officers now serving would be affected by it. He apologized once more for having detained the Committee so long.

COLONEL STANLEY said, the question had been discussed with great ability; and he was sure the speeches that had been delivered had been listened to with great pleasure on both sides of the House. In regard to the speech of his hon. Friend behind him (Mr. Guy Dawnay), he thought his hon. Friend had brought to light in the very best taste, and in the very best way, the prominent points that were the subject of investigation by the Committee last year; and although it could not be considered that the medical discussion had sustained any injury in consequence of being postponed, still, at the same time, there might have been some advantage if it could have been raised when the matters were more freshly in the recollection of the House. The charge of inefficiency and want of care, brought at an early period against the medical officers, had now been entirely dropped; and it had become more and more clear that the Medical Department, as far as the professional requirements of the officers themselves were concerned, had come out of the inquiry, so to speak, with flying colours. No doubt, great defects had been brought to light in regard to medical matters in the Egyptian Campaign. No one, after reading the Blue Book, could for a moment doubt that fact; but that which seemed to him to underlay the whole was the fact, as Sir John Adye had said, that military necessities overruled everything else. There was a sudden, and, to a great extent, a secret change of plan. He did not know whether that was the right word; but, at any rate, a sudden change was made in pursuance of which secrecy was necessary, and there were not the same opportunities afforded which would have been afforded had the movement been made openly, and the ordinary arrangements made beforehand. The very basis on which the hospital equipment depended was not only shifted, but the means of transport necessary for the Medical Service were appropriated to other purposes instead of those for which they were originally intended. All that, undoubtedly, occasioned severe pressure, and produced results which no one could pretend to underrate, and which all must deplore. He thought, however, that Sir William M'Cormack, and others who supported him, were justified when they pointed out that the general results of the Egyptian Campaign, from a medical point of view, compared very favourably with those of any campaign on an extensive scale, which had been undertaken in times past. A good deal of these complaints seemed to have arisen from defects in the system of hospital orderlies; and he hoped the noble Marquess, when he rose to reply, would tell the Committee that he had not lost sight of that point, but would inform them what changes and further improvements he had introduced, and intended to introduce, into the hospital system. With regard to the bad bread, Lord Wolseley seemed to have given evidence, which, as the hon. Gentleman opposite (Dr. Farquharson) said, had fallen like a thunder-clap after the previous good Reports of the good working of the medical system; but he (Colonel Stanley) must say that, after those Reports, Lord Wolseley did not appear to have stinted himself in the use of forcible language; but there appeared to be a great deal that was entirely reconcilable between the first account of Lord Wolseley and his evidence before the Committee. What he understood Lord Wolseley to complain of, in the main, as one of the principal faults was that the initiative was not taken freely enough by the medical officers. He was bound to say, although he spoke with great respect as far as the financial point of view was concerned, that the medical officers would have been fully justified, under the circumstances of the case, in acting on their own account, as Lord Wolseley had said; and, perhaps, when things were not at hand and absolutely at their disposal for the immediate use of their patients, they might have risked a little more in assuming responsibility, and the authorities would not have failed to support them. He did not remember, speaking from memory, a single case in the South African Campaign where any charge was thrown upon a medical officer, where he had incurred it on his own responsibility, meaning to act for the good of the Service. He, therefore, thought a little more boldness would have prevented many of the things which were complained of in the Blue Book. When the mosquito curtains, which were said to have been purchased, were not at hand when they ought to have been, and the men were suffering from the want of them, and their suffering might have been avoided by a little expenditure and a little risk, he was satisfied the authorities and the public would have fully condoned the medical officers if they had taken steps to procure curtains, and the medical officers themselves would have obtained credit, and would not, in the end, have lost in pocket. Perhaps he might be allowed to say one or two words on a somewhat more delicate subject which cropped up in all these questions—namely, how far was it the fault not of the circumstances, but of the system? It seemed to him that a great deal was often laid at the door of the unification system, which was hardly fair towards it. Personally, he was able to speak without bias upon this point. He had been brought up under the system, which all liked very much, and which he believed had been found to work very well, certainly in peace times, and, with certain exceptions, it worked well in a time of war—he referred to the regimental system. With respect to that regimental system, he had come to the same conclusion as his noble Friend and Predecessor Lord Cardwell—that they could not revert to that system as it was. Nor was it entirely due to those who, for theoretical reasons, wanted to make the station hospital the unit rather than the regiment. The fact was that the change had been forced on Lord Cardwell by circumstances not from within, but from without the Department. Day by day the difficulties were found to be greater in obtaining for the benefit of the Medical Service such candidates as, in former times, would have been willing to enter; and although there was not in a great honoured and learned Profession, such as the Medical Profession, anything like Trade Unionism, still there was something like it in the way in which young men from the medical schools were drawn aside from the Army, and told that there was no prospect for them, and that they must not expect to rise as they would be able to do in Civil life. There was a great deal of truth in that. There were in the higher ranks of the Army Medical Service comparatively few advantages; and he believed it was merely on account of that that the medical schools—and he said it, he hoped, without offence—set their faces against candidates going into the Army. It was a very serious state of things. Lord Cardwell, among other things, attempted to deal with it by an increase of pay and position in the higher ranks; and in order to do that he endeavoured to meet the difficulty, first of all, by a diminution in the number of medical officers; and, secondly, by a system which would admit of the more free introduction and use of medical officers. Lord Cranbrook succeeded to that system; but it was not found to work well. The complaints were frequent; competition for entrance into the Department became rare; and there were often more places than competitors for them. One proposal after another was made; and to bring himself to a more recent date he believed the Warrant under which the Medical Service was now constituted was one which was passed at the time he had had the honour to be at the War Office. One of its immediate effects was to bring a number of candidates forward, and there was actually competition for entrance into the Service. They were thus able to have a selection of the best men, where, up to that time, there had been comparatively no selection at all. First of all, it equalized the conditions of the Service, when they could be equalized in no other way; and, secondly, it gave the men entering the Service a better prospect in regard to their future lives. The men did not feel, in comparatively early years, that they had reached a point beyond which they could not go; but that there was a career, and not an ill-paid career, open to officers in the Medical Department, by which they had an opportunity of rising even to the very highest positions. He had never been able, himself, entirely to appreciate — perhaps it was part of the old leaven still remaining — the difficulty which seemed to have been felt, in officers, although they belonged to and were interchangeable in a Department, yet being attached to regiments for a considerable time, doing duty in those regiments, and yet doing joint duty with others in a station hospital. There never appeared to his mind much greater difficulty in that, although he did not say the cases were precisely analogous, than there was in the case of an officer doing regimental duty, and also garrison duty. There was one point on which, perhaps, undue stress had been laid in regard to the abolition of regimental medical officers. There was a tendency to exaggerate the difficulties that would arise to officers in discharging their regimental duties if they were also to perform duties at a station hospital. There was nothing in the Departmental system, as originally explained, to prevent the attachment of a medical officer to the battalion and to every regiment and battery in the Service, and the closer such a system were adhered to the better it would be for all persons concerned. But there were two difficulties; first of all, he would frankly say there was an influential Department of the State in charge of the public purse, which was supposed to take the views of the Secretary of State for War; but there was a still greater difficulty. It did not appear to the War Office in the years 1878, 1879, and 1880 to be desirable, just at the moment they had a good attendance, to re-introduce the system of selecting candidates by competition, when they had a chance, as it were for the moment, of raising the Medical Service of the Army to something beyond the point at which they were obliged to be contented to stop. It did not seem to them to be wise at that moment to provide more places than there were men to fill them, and thus to sweep away the advantage of the very competition which, on the other hand, they thought it desirable to re-introduce as essential for the good of the Service. That had a good deal to do with the question at the moment. There were also other subsidiary questions. A number of gentlemen, who were civil practitioners, had been specially engaged at the time, some of whom had gone out to South Africa, and elsewhere, at considerable inconvenience, and it would not be either right or wise to displace them. There were other points of that nature which required consideration; but what he wished to emphasize was that there was nothing in the Departmental system, as then constituted, which inherently prevented the attachment of a medical officer to each battalion and battery; and the longer, he ventured to say, that could be done, so long as the officer could be left without detriment to the Service, so much the better it would be for all parties concerned. A case occurred to him at that moment. A regiment was sent out on foreign service, the medical officer of which was also going out to the same destination; but he was taken away from the regiment and attached to another battalion, which was going to the same destination as his own proper battalion, but in another ship. Now, that seemed to him to be one of the many needless changes, which he did not mean to say were not justified, because if they had a roster it was necessary to adhere to it, but which showed the advantages of the regimental over the Departmental system. It seemed, to his mind, to be a case where a compromise between the regimental and the Departmental systems might have produced a better effect than was produced at the time. That was the light in which he read the assent to the system which had been given by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire (Sir Robert Lloyd Lindsay), whose absence at that moment he deeply regretted, and also of General Hawley, whom they all knew to be one of the best regimental officers in the Service. He did not think it followed as a corollary; but he shared the feeling of the hon. Member for West Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson), that this was not exactly the moment in which they could go out of their way to alter the system which prevailed in the Brigade of Guards. He waited with some anxiety to hear what the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War would have to say on that point; but it did appear to him that there were various points connected with the system which it would be wise to leave alone, provided the public generally did not suffer. A good deal had been made of the establishment of a general large hospital in London. It was said that the officers would gain by being interchanged with officers in other regiments now quartered out of London, and that officers out of London would gain by going up to London and being within reach of all the most refined appliances and the latest lessons of medical teaching. He doubted, however, from all he had hitherto heard, whether it would be a kindness to bring officers up to London every two or three years in this manner. It would be asking them to throw away a good deal of money, and to sacrifice many advantages which they at present enjoyed. Moreover, they would be initiating a system, which would certainly not be a very popular one, without enjoying any of those distinct advantages which an alteration of the medical system in other directions had produced. He hoped it was a *sine quâ non* that it would be understood that the changes in the Warrant would not apply to any of the existing officers without their own consent. As far as he remembered, the question was, to a certain extent, discussed in 1879; and he thought what was then arrived at as a compromise was that no medical officer should reach the higher branches of the Service unless he had been for a certain time actively employed abroad; but upon a medical officer giving up his chance of obtaining a higher post he was to be exempt from the necessity of going abroad and quitting the battalion to which he had been attached. That, at the time it was arrived at, was considered to be a fair compromise; and he believed that it was accepted by the Medical Service as such. He doubted, also, whether it would be found, unless they were prepared to give a higher rate of pay and increased allowances that there would, in point of fact, be any great kindness in bringing officers up to London to live here for two or three years in charge of hospitals, who had no particular connections in London, and who would necessarily have to set up establishments for themselves at no inconsiderable cost. He did not think the proposal would be accepted with such approval as seemed to be anticipated in some quarters. At the present moment, as far as he was aware, they had no large hospital in London which they could use, so that if they brought in a new system, after all they would only create one central staff for the purpose of sub-dividing it. For all these reasons, and without expressing at that moment an absolute and final opinion upon the point, he would ask the noble Marquess to hold his hand in the matter until it was proved that all parties concerned would benefit by the proposed change. It was perfectly certain that one result would be to sacrifice a good deal of the public money; and if it did not produce a better result than that which now existed, there would be a good deal of heartburning in consequence. As he had stated before, he spoke with a bias which he could not pretend had been wholly effaced; but he did think that these were common-sense points, which he hoped the noble Marquess would fully appreciate. He was sorry to have trespassed so long on the time of the Committee; but he had considered it his duty, having had to do with the Administration formerly, to make these remarks on the subject. He had pointed out the general principles within which they could act legitimately in connection with all that had been done before; and he hoped that the noble Marquess and his advisers, having regard to the wants of the Service, would look carefully through all the details, and see whether, by the careful working of them, they could not still bring those general principles, which most people considered to be absolutely necessary, into harmony with the general conditions of the Service.

Dr. LYONS said, he did not intend, nor, indeed, did he think it necessary, to enter at any length into the merits or demerits of the Medical Department in the late Egyptian Campaign. It was not necessary he should do so, because public opinion, as was usually the case when time was given it to form a correct estimate, had veered round in the right direction. He believed there was now no doubt in the mind of anyone who had inquired into all the circumstances, and informed themselves properly that the charges which were hastily, unwisely, and unjustly made against the Medical Department for the part they played in the Egyptian Campaign of 1882 had completely fallen to the ground. The House and the country could congratulate themselves upon the success of that campaign. If, in the future, the country found itself engaged in any other expeditions or wars, it would, indeed, be very fortunate if it had as little to complain of as it had in respect to the Egyptian War. No doubt, some of the success which was achieved was due to the singular rapidity with which the campaign was conducted. It must always be borne in mind that scenes of war were necessarily attended with more or less of human suffering; and that it was the object and desire of the Medical Profession, and of the Government who feel it its duty to throw an army into the field, to diminish the sufferings of humanity to the lowest possible point. He ventured to say that that point was almost reached during the campaign they were contemplating. His hon. Friend the Member for West Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson) had entered at some length, and with considerable ability, into many very interesting subjects. It was not necessary he should follow his hon. Friend very closely into the subjects he had so effectively dealt with. One subject—namely, that of the bread supply to the troops in Egypt, had been incidentally touched upon. He was of opinion that it was utterly impossible for the medical officer on the spot to make any better arrangements, and that view of the case was fully borne out by the evidence. The question of the supply of food was always the most difficult one in connection with the movement of great masses of men. The question of the Army medical system had of late occupied a good deal of public attention. The treatment of regiments by their own medical officers, which was so popular for a long time in the country, was never likely to be revived again to its full extent; but those who had seen warlike operations must admit that some other means of dealing with wounded men than those recently adopted must in practice be found. It was always well that the medical officers should be personally known to the men; that they should be acquainted with the characters and constitutional history of the men of the regiment; and he could quite conceive that it would be possible that a medical officer might be attached to a regiment for a period of five years, and that after that time, or even during the five years, a certain portion of his time might be given up to dealing with disease and injury in hospital centres. There was another point on which he wished to say a word; he mentioned it on a former occasion. Nursing was, undoubtedly, one of the most difficult of all the practical questions that had to be dealt with in connection with large masses of men engaged in a campaign. He was of opinion that a solution of the question would be found in a very much enlarged nursing organization. They could not get men to discharge more than the mere routine duty of an hospital attendant. The more careful class of nurses must be looked for in females of good constitution and of superior education, and with a special vocation for nursing. Of course, it would be very difficult to get a good and efficient corps of female nurses; but if it could be formed he was persuaded the very greatest advantage would accrue. He disapproved of any kind of responsibility being attached to the medical officer for the errors and sins, either of omission or commission, of the nurses, no matter how carefully they might have been selected. In any future campaigns in which they might be engaged, he trusted there would be a more intimate relation between the Commander in the field and the Chief of the Medical Staff. The first medical officer ought to be in confidential communication with the Commander; indeed, he should hold some recognized position upon the Staff.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I shall detain the Committee for a very short time with any reference to the remarks which were made by the hon. Member for the North Riding (Mr. Guy Dawnay) upon the Report of Lord Morley's Committee. Sir, I am inclined to agree generally in the reply given to the hon. Gentleman by the hon. Member for West Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson). I do not think that the hon. Member (Mr. Guy Dawnay), notwithstanding all the care and attention which he told us he had bestowed on that inquiry, established any of the allegations which had been made now for more than a year and a-half, and which I am sorry to say the hon. Member has repeated in a general form, as to the breakdown of the medical administration in Egypt. In my opinion, it was sufficiently proved, by the investigation of Lord Morley's Committee, that there was nothing which could be called a breakdown in either the medical or in any of the other arrangements in Egypt. There was a certain amount of inconvenience; there was a certain amount of hardship; there was a certain amount of want of preparation at particular stages of that campaign; but I think it has been conclusively proved by the Report of Lord Morley's Committee, and by the various discussions which have taken place upon it, that such inconveniences and such failures as did take place were owing either to the conditions of the campaign, or to the fact that there was a necessarily sudden military movement, which made it impossible for all the Departments to be as efficiently organized to perform their duties as they would have been had the campaign been conducted under other circumstances. To a great extent, anything that has been complained of was due to that circumstance. I do not say that everything was due to that circumstance. What took place at Cairo afterwards, so far as there was any reason for complaint, probably could not be attributed to Lord Wolseley's movements; but such complaints as are justified, and are not to be attributed to the causes which I have mentioned, are to be attributed to a failure, which we thoroughly acknowledge, to solve an admittedly most difficult problem likely to befall any military nation — the thorough organization of its Departments of supply to its Army in the field. We quite admit that our organization requires constant care, although we do not think it is altogether faulty. I have myself appointed, as I mentioned some time ago, a Departmental Committee to inquire into some of the conditions of that problem; and the House of Commons has also appointed a Committee, which is now sitting, to inquire into some of the questions which arose in connection with the campaign in Egypt. Under these circumstances, while I fully admit that the Report of Lord Morley's Committee will be productive of a great deal of good, and while I admit that good lessons may be learnt from a careful study of that Report, and of the evidence on which it is founded, I doubt whether there is anything gained by the introduction in this House of charges more or less vague, more or less unsubstantiated, and which I must say the hon. Gentleman the Member for the North Riding (Mr. Guy Dawnay) did not support by his references to the Report of the Committee. The hon. Gentleman acknowledged that he did not make what is called a Blue Book speech, and that it would have been easy for him to do so. No doubt it would; but I must point out that although the hon. Member made a much more interesting and a much more effective speech by refraining from any lengthy reference to the Blue Book, he, at the same time, made it difficult to meet the somewhat vague allegations which he has repeatedly brought forward unless by reference to Blue Books. The greater part of the hon. Member's observations were directed to what is called the unification system, and to the modification of that system, which was proposed by the minority of Lord Morley's Committee. Now, Sir, the hon. Member supported his proposal for a modification of the present system by a reference to the military evidence which has been given before Lord Morley's Committee. But the hon. Member did not allege, and he could not allege, that the change which he advocated was supported by any of the medical witnesses who were examined before the Committee; and, in fact, he told the Committee that the medical witnesses appear to have been asked very few questions on the subject. Surely this is a matter on which a decision must be arrived at after hearing the medical as well as the military evidence. In my opinion, the military evidence, to which the hon. Gentleman has pointed, is not of that strong and conclusive character he would lead us to believe. He alluded, for instance, to the evidence of Colonel Nicholls. I have referred to that evidence, and no doubt Colonel Nicholls did relate an anecdote of a single case of hardship which might have occurred under any system. The rest of his evidence with regard to what is complained of is of a most inconclusive character. What does he say in answer to the second question put to him?—

> "Could you inform the Committee whether you have experienced, either here or at other stations at which you have been quartered at home, any difficulty or inconvenience in regard to obtaining medical attendance on your men, or on the officers of your battalion?—The married people always say that they have got great difficulty in finding the doctor."

In further examination, he said, in answer to the question—

> "And there is no difficulty put in the way of regimental officers visiting him? — Not the least. The doctors are exactly the same as they were before in that respect; but it gives more trouble to find a man. And certainly the women of the regiment do not think that the present system is anything to compare with the old one; they look at the doctor now as their enemy, not as their friend. In old times he was quite their friend."

Surely the medical administration of the Army is not to be decided by the women; and yet that is the main part of the evidence. The arguments for and against the present system are, as had been said, so fully stated in the Report of Lord Morley's Committee, and in the dissent of two Members from that Report, that I am afraid that anything I can say on the matter will not add very much to what may be gathered from a perusal of that Report. The majority of the Committee acknowledge that there is a reasonable complaint of there being too frequent changes in the medical officers in charge of the troops; and they think it will be possible to make arrangements by which these too frequent changes which have been complained of shall be, to a great extent, remedied. One of the great difficulties experienced is that it has not been found possible for the brigade surgeon, in charge of a considerable body of troops, to be accommodated with quarters in the camp, and he has been obliged to live in lodgings; but the War Office Committee have endeavoured to make arrangements for quarters in camp to be provided for the medical officers, so that they may be accessible at all times. There is considerable difficulty in this matter, because brigade surgeons are generally married men, and there is not sufficient accommodation for them in the married quarters; but we are doing what we can in the matter. Now, with regard to the proposition that, in all cases, medical officers should be attached to battalions, in the first place, the difficulty is one of a financial character. A few years ago, as has been stated, the position of the Army Medical Service was very deplorable. Candidates up to the standard could not be found for appointments in the Army Medical Department, and we were obliged to take them without competition; and, in consequence, the standard was not what it would have been under other circumstances. Great advantages were offered to, and great improvements have been made in the position of, medical officers, in regard to pay, prospects, and pensions. Those improvements could not be made without involving the expenditure of a considerable sum of money. The assent of the Treasury and of Parliament to those improvements in the position of the medical officers was distinctly obtained on the understanding that such economies as were consistent with the efficiency of the Service should be made; and one of the economies which, in the opinion of the principal medical authorities of the Army, could be made, not only without detriment to, but with actual improvement in, the efficiency of the Medical Service, was the substitution of a system of station hospitals for the system of regimental medical officers. It will, therefore, be a matter which will require very much consideration whether we should now go back to what would certainly be a more expensive system without having much stronger ground for it than has yet been brought forward. A Committee inquired into this and many other matters during the latter part of the administration of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Stanley). That Committee reported that the attachment of medical officers to battalions would, under one contingency—that is to say, maintaining the principle of continuity of control in regard to the smaller hospitals—make it necessary to appoint 41 additional medical officers at an expense of over £22,000; or, if that principle were not insisted upon, then the increase of medical officers might be reduced to 21, at an expense of between £14,000 and £15,000 a-year. At the stations where single battalions are quartered, there would be practically no change. The hospital is now practically a regimental hospital, and the officer in charge is practically attached to the regiment. Neither would there be any change in the smaller hospitals. The change that would take place would be at the camps and at the larger stations, where, in my opinion, the change which was proposed would lead to a very great waste of power, and also to considerable friction. Then it is said that the officers attached to battalions might, in addition to their duties with the troops, also discharge duties in the station hospitals. No doubt that might be done; but that would almost certainly cause a considerable want of efficiency. The medical officers would be under the command of two different commanding officers; and that is a system which has never worked well under any circumstances. They would be under the command of one commanding officer in regard to their duties in the regiment, and under the principal medical officer in regard to their duties in respect to the hospitals; and, after all, unless at the expense of a great loss of efficiency, these officers, who are employed in the hospitals, would have nothing to do with the battalions to which they were attached. In order to secure the most efficient working and control over hospitals, particular officers must be told off to particular wards, and particular wards are devoted to particular diseases and ailments. Therefore, it would be a mere matter of chance whether a medical officer attached to a battalion, when performing duties in the hospital, would have anything to do with the men in his own regiment. Therefore, all the information which the medical officers could possess of the regiment and the men would be thrown away for those occasions when it would be of value. The argument as to their knowledge of the character and constitution of the men has, therefore, lost a great deal of force under the present circumstances. It may have had some force when a doctor had a chance of becoming acquainted with the men; but now, when men serve so short a time, and the change from home battalions to foreign battalions is so frequent, and the men pass from the care of one officer to another so rapidly, there is very little in that argument. Then it is said that the medical officers attached to battalions for a particular time would have an opportunity of acquiring habits of discipline in which they are now deficient. As to that argument, I have only to say that if a medical officer is to obtain the habits of discipline, it is necessary that he should do that at a very early period of his military career. If he is to acquire habits of discipline, that must be done when he enters the Service. If not, it is not likely that when he comes to be quartered with a battalion, he will be able to acquire any habits of discipline which he did not previously possess. But if a medical officer is to be attached to a battalion at the commencement of his military career, then the consequence will be that the officers and non-commissioned officers, and the men and their wives and families, will be condemned to receive permanently the medical attendance of the most inexperienced members of the Medical Profession. That would be a change which I do not think would be at all satisfactory; and, further, it would be a change which would be extremely injurious to the efficiency of the medical officers themselves. Instead of taking a position where they would gradually learn their profession, and have the fullest opportunity of obtaining that knowledge which is necessary, they would be placed, at the very outset of their career, in a position where they would have little practice, and comparatively little opportunity of improving their minds and increasing their knowledge. I believe that that is a change which would be altogether uncongenial to, and strongly deprecated by, the members of the Army Medical Department. During the last two and a-half years there had been 85 appointments made in the Army Medical Service, and for those there were 259 candidates; and it is easy to suppose that, under such circumstances, the quality of the Medical Service has gradually improved. Under these circumstances, I think it would be unwise to introduce changes which are altogether opposed to the feelings of the Medical Profession, and which have been rejected by a very large majority of very competent men examined before Lord Morley's Committee, who strongly recommended that the present system should be retained, with such modifications as might be thought desirable. For these reasons I cannot hold out any hope that we are likely to adopt a modified regimental system. There has been one other question raised, and that is as to establishing a properly organized general hospital in London. I believe the medical officers would be the last to deny, and I believe there is no doubt, that great advantage might be expected to accrue to the Medical Service and to the Army generally, and that arrangements more satisfactory to the Guards themselves would result, from the establishment of a properly organized general hospital in London. That would give the whole Army Medical Profession great opportunities of improving themselves, to which Army medical officers would look forward with considerable hope. But, as has been stated by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Stanley), such a proposal would probably be a costly one, and that it is a proposal which cannot be entertained until the question of regimental medical officers has been disposed of. That is a question which has not yet been settled, and which may not be settled for some considerable time to come. Until it has been disposed of, we cannot entertain the idea of establishing a general hospital in London; and until that is done we do not think there would be any sufficient advantage in disturbing the present medical arrangements. I do not in the least wish to commit myself, or my Successors in the War Office, on this point, neither do I wish to preclude them from any course they may in future deem desirable. On this subject Lord Morley's Committee were unanimous. [LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Not unanimous.] The noble Lord is mistaken. Major General Hawley sent in a Paper, in which he objected to the decision of the majority that the present unification system should be maintained without modification; but that objection did not extend to the paragraph in the Committee's Report, which proposed that the medical system of the Guards should be amalgamated with that of the Army. It is not worth while arguing that point over now; and all I will say is that I do not wish to preclude either myself or my Successors from adopting, when circumstances make it desirable, what I believe to be the unanimous recommendation of the Committee. We do not, however, think that that recommendation could be carried into effect without full knowledge, and until it could be accompanied by a proposal for the formation of a general hospital in London; and therefore, until that scheme can be entertained, it would not be worth while to make any considerable change in the medical system of the Guards, which at present does, undoubtedly, give great satisfaction to the Army.

COLONEL MILNE-HOME said, he was sure it would give great pleasure to the medical officers of both the Guards and the Household Cavalry to hear that at present there would be no change made in the admirable system which had now existed for so many years; and he did not think he should have risen had he not thought it right, considering the part he had taken in the Egyptian Campaign, to pay his tribute of thanks to his noble Friend for what he had been good enough to say with reference to the regimental medical officers at the front. He was sure that, although no honours had been given them, amongst the many honours that had been flying about after the campaign, they would feel amply repaid by the remarks which the noble Marquess had made with reference to their services. In respect to those officers, he thought he ought to notice an error which had crept into the Report now before the Committee. In paragraph 120 it was stated that the Life Guards embarked on the *Calabria* without any supply of drugs, plaisters, or other medical paraphernalia; but, on inquiry, it was found that that was not the case. But the statement would have been quite true if it had been made with regard to the *Holland*, which took out the troops he had the honour to command. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer were present, he would support him when he stated that the *Holland* sailed without the necessary medical paraphernalia, although, just as she left the Docks, an order having been got from the Secretary of State for War, a case of medicines was put on board. She also sailed without any Army Hospital men whatever; and it was only because she touched at Cowes that those men were able to go on board. The statement was, therefore, true as to the *Holland*, though not as to the *Calabria*. But when the case was opened at sea the medicines were found to be utterly useless, because they did not include anything that was applicable for ordinary medical work. He should also like to say, with reference to the regimental officer who accompanied these troops on board the *Holland*, that he applied, before they started, to the Army Medical Department to know whether he was to make any request for medical stores for the campaign. He was told that he would find everything when he got to Alexandria; but when he arrived there he found nothing. It was the same at Ismailia; and the result was that the expedition, which started at cock-crow about the 28th of August from Ismailia, started with nothing but one field-companion, although the officer had been told that he would find everything he wanted there and at Alexandria before he started with the expedition. Some severe things had been said in the evidence before Lord Morley's Committee with reference to the senior medical officer of the regiment to which he himself belonged—namely, Surgeon Major Hughes Pryse at Messana. The reason for what had been stated was that that officer declined to abide by the rules of red tape which governed the Surgeon General in command at Ismailia, and improvised a hospital at Messana, which had done exceedingly good work, as would be seen by reference to the evidence of General Sir Drury Lowe. He thought it only fair that some tribute should be paid to that officer for the excellent work he did at Messana. He effected cures, and gave relief to unfortunate sufferers, who would not have been attended to at all if he had acted according to the red-tapeism of the Department. With all due respect and deference to the noble Marquess, he felt that the noble Marquess had, perhaps, done all he could to acquiesce in the opinions expressed by his hon. Friend below him (Mr. Guy Dawnay) and by Lord Morley's Committee. He began by stating that there had been no break-down in the Medical Department in Egypt at all, although he had acknowledged that at Cairo there had been some inconvenience and failure, which, however, were amply accounted for. Then he went on to detract from the military evidence which had been adduced by his hon. Friend below him; but he would remind the Committee what that evidence was. The noble Marquess had only quoted the evidence of a certain colonel of Infantry; but his hon. Friend had adduced the evidence of the Duke of Cambridge and of the Commander-in-Chief in Egypt, Lord Wolseley. The Duke of Cambridge's evidence was rather in favour of the regimental system; but he would not quote it, because his hon. Friend had done so, although the noble Marquess had scolded his hon. Friend for not bringing more evidence forward. But the Duke of Cambridge's evidence was entirely in favour of his hon. Friend's contention; and as to Lord Wolseley's evidence, he should like to read to the Committee two answers which he gave to Lord Morley's Committee, inasmuch as the noble Marquess might like to hear them again. His Lordship said—

> "My orders were, if you cannot get good bread go out in the town and buy it. That is my complaint from the first day to the last day. The great complaint against the doctors was that they did not do everything that they could have done. I said to them, if you do not get anything that you can possibly want for your men go out into the town and buy it, no matter what you pay for it. I will pay you back; but they would not do it; they always went back to the Commissary, and that is what I complain about."

The hon. Member for West Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson) had said that if the officers had paid for these comforts they would not get their money back; yet here was Lord Wolseley saying that he would pay them back. Then, in the following page, Lord Wolseley said:—

> "I then said to the doctor, 'Is it possible that up to this moment, although we have been five weeks in Cairo, not a man in your hospital has ever had a pudding or anything baked for him, or anything made for him, except what you can boil in a soldier's kettle?' And he said—'Yes; we have had nothing more.' I said—'It is very hard upon the men, considering that you have been here five weeks, and you might have bought any quantity of stores. If you had asked me for £1,000 for them, I would have authorized you to buy them; and yet you tell me now, at the end of five weeks, that you are still cooking for the hospital in those large trenches. In an hospital where there is an immense number of sick, and through which an immense number of sick are passing, you are now cooking for your sick patients in exactly the same way as soldiers out in a campaign would cook.'"

That was the evidence that the noble Marquess thought nothing of. The hon. Member for West Aberdeenshire had alluded to the complaints that had been made by some of the regiments; and had said that amongst the Highlanders there were no complaints. Since the hon. Member made that statement he had not been able to examine the Blue Book on that point; but possibly the Highlanders might have been better attended to on a particular day than the Life Guards or the Blues. His hon. Friend below him (Mr. Guy Dawnay) had remarked that some soldiers were rather backward in making complaints, thinking it might do them harm afterwards; and, as a matter of fact, soldiers and officers in general could not be got to state their grievances unless forced to do so. He knew well, from experience in his own regiment, that it was only when great pressure had been brought to bear upon them, that they could be induced to state their experiences at Ismailia and elsewhere; but, it having been pointed out to them that it was not for their own benefit, but for the benefit of the whole Service in future, they were induced to come forward and state exactly what had happened to them at those places. His hon. Friend had likewise alluded to the complaint that there was no carbolic oil in the hospitals. He believed he said it was too bulky to carry; but Surgeon Pelly stated, in his evidence, that he would gladly have done without carbolic oil if he could have obtained some carbolic acid, which would have answered the purpose as well. Then as to the cost of the oil. He was sorry to have to allude to these small items, but his hon. Friend had referred to them; and although carbolic oil was, no doubt, a very bulky article, it was about the most useful that could be at hand in such a climate, and under such circumstances. Surgeon Pelly was asked—

> "Are you averse from the carbolic oil being used in the field owing to its great bulk?"

And the reply was—

> "I think it beneficial to have a small quantity for cases in which it is especially useful. I gathered from persons in the country that it was very useful."

From that he (Colonel Milne-Home) inferred that it was desirable to have some quantity of it, however bulky it might be. He had made these few observations because it seemed to him that he could not help rising to acknowledge the manner in which his hon. Friend had spoken of these regimental doctors; and to express his surprise, after the evidence which had been taken with reference to the excellent way in which their duties were performed, that they should have received absolutely nothing but general thanks. But he was further surprised that they were not to have a greater continuance of the regimental system in the Service. He agreed that it was necessary that young doctors should be found to learn their profession, and also that there should be depôts from which the men could be supplied to furnish surgeons for the Service. It seemed to him that a compromise might be effected here. It was requisite for the benefit of all regiments, especially a regiment on long service, that doctors should be appointed to them who might become acquainted with the men and their wives and families; but he did not see why they could not have from the depôts or stations assistant surgeons, who might come as apprentices as it were, and be drafted from regiment to regiment and station to station as occasion might require. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had brought in regulations permitting long service, under certain circumstances, in the Household Cavalry and regiments of the Line in future; and, therefore, he thought that surgeons might be attached to regiments as regimental officers, in order that they might become thoroughly acquainted with the married men and their families, and look after them as family doctors. That regimental system in the Household Cavalry had worked very satisfactorily; and he trusted he should never see the day when their sick soldiers would be removed to a general hospital in London, over which their officers could have no control. At present the Household Cavalry had their own regimental hospitals; the officers could visit that hospital, and look after the patients there, and see that they were cared for; but if the sick were sent to a general hospital in London that necessary and desirable supervision could not take place. Again, if they were to make that hospital into a sort of school, where medical officers from the rest of the Service were to be sent, it appeared to him that that would be degrading the position of medical officers in the Army.

Major General ALEXANDER said, he did not intend to take up the time of the Committee, except for the purpose of thanking the noble Marquess for the concessions he had made, and to add that the medical officers of the Guards would be grateful for his not abolishing a system which had worked well. With reference to the speech of the hon.

Member for the North Riding (Mr. Guy Dawnay), the noble Marquess had, in his reply, apparently forgotten that the hon. Gentleman had quoted Lord Wolseley in support of his allegation. He begged to remind the noble Marquess that Lord Wolseley said that one of the greatest evils with which they had to contend under the Departmental system was the system of malingering; that it could not exist under the regimental system, because every medical officer under that system knew his own men, and could, therefore, baffle any attempt at deception.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £524,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Pay and Allowances of a Force of Militia, not exceeding 136,806, including 30,000 Militia Reserve, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL said, in former years he had had occasion to call the attention of the Secretary of State for War to a vital point connected with the annual training of the Militia, which his experience, and the experience of the officers of the Militia, had shown to be absolutely unsatisfactory and useless. He referred to the money which was devoted to the annual training of the Militia in musketry. He had received repeated assurances from the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War and his Predecessors in Office that this point would be attended to. On his moving the reduction of this Vote on a former occasion by the sum of £20,000, which represented the money spent in the annual training of the Militia, the noble Marquess acknowledged that the question raised was one deserving of attention, and had pressed him not to divide the Committee on the Motion, giving him the assurance that before that time next year he would ascertain the opinion of the military authorities with regard to the question. He admitted that that was a sufficiently vague assurance; but he would like to hear from the noble Marquess whether the subject had met with that attention which it seemed to him to require from the Department? Nothing could be more vital to the efficiency of the soldier than that he should be able to shoot, except, perhaps, that he should be able to march; but the fact was that the present period of Militia training did not admit of anything like effective musketry instruction being given to the Militia. On former occasions suggestions had been made for the consideration of the Secretary of State for War, and three alternative courses were proposed. The first was, that the musketry training of disembodied Militia should be discontinued altogether; that the authorities should be content that the Militiaman should be taught to march and handle his arms, and not attempt to shoot. That, at least, would have the advantage of saving to the country £20,000 a-year, which, it was his impression, was absolutely wasted at the present time. The second course was that alternate trainings should be devoted to field exercise and to musketry instruction; and the third was that the Militia regiments should be had up in companies during the training period, and instructed in musketry at headquarters. He was sure that the noble Marquess would not expect him to enter into details, which he had already frequently stated in that House, as to the inconsistency and unsatisfactory nature of the present system of training. Anyone acquainted with musketry instruction would know that it was, above all others, that kind of instruction which had to be carried on deliberately, and with the greatest possible nicety, and with careful consideration of wind and weather. All that was absolutely impossible in the limited period of 27 days, which was all that was allowed to the Militia. But the noble Marquess had assured him that, in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee appointed to consider the question of musketry instruction in the Service, more ammunition would be given to the Militia. What did that mean? It meant that their task was to be made more difficult; that whereas it was difficult for each man to fire away 40 rounds, which was the old allowance, in a very short time, it was now proposed to improve the instruction given by making him fire away 60 rounds in the same time. Why, that arrangement only complicated and aggravated the difficulty; and he was so convinced that the present system of musketry instruction in the Militia was loss of time, loss of money, and loss of energy, that he now proposed the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £20,000, the cost of ammunition expended annually by the Militia.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £504,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Pay and Allowances of a Force of Militia, not exceeding 136,806, including 30,000 Militia Reserve, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, the subject brought before the Committee last year by the hon. and gallant Member had been considered by the military authorities, whose duty it was to superintend the training of the Militia, and the Regulations for musketry instruction to that Force had been totally revised, and a new General Order had been issued. That Order was dated the 17th of April, 1884, and he was not sure whether it was generally known as yet; at any rate, he thought it could not have been known to the hon. and gallant Member, because he made no reference to it in his observations. The main feature of the Order was that no firing was required of the Militia beyond 300 yards, and this it was thought would so simplify matters as to enable every regiment to undergo instruction either by battalions or half-battalions. Hitherto the Regulations had been based upon practice at 600 yards, which, as had been explained by the hon. and gallant Member, greatly complicated the course of instruction, and which it was impossible for the regiment to undergo thoroughly in a short space of time. The Committee would perceive that by the revised Regulations a great deal of unnecessary complication had been done away with. Although it was impossible for him to say how far those revised Regulations would be successful for the object in view, he believed the Committee would see that he had not neglected the promise given to the hon. and gallant Member last year; that he had called the attention of the military authorities to this question, and that they had endeavoured so to simplify and reduce the theoretical requirements of the old Militia Regulations as to enable a course of musketry instruction to be gone through much more satisfactorily within a limited time. Without expressing any opinion as to how far the changes would meet the object in view, he might say that, at all events, they went in the direction of the hon. and gallant Member's wishes.

EARL PERCY said, he was afraid that the answer of the noble Marquess would not be entirely satisfactory to his hon. and gallant Friend, because the new Rules did not make any considerable change in the system hitherto obtaining. The main difficulty was the reduction of the distance at which the Militia might shoot. The practice of striking off half-battalions in alternate years had long been in operation; and the new Rule, which laid down that two companies were to be struck off at the beginning of the training, would have the effect of reducing the other drill of the regiment almost to a dead-lock, because they would have men who had become, so to speak, rusty by a year's absence, drilling with men in the middle of their training—they would have men of all degrees of efficiency mixed up together. It had always been the practice not to strike off companies until they had had a certain amount of drill, and that he thought was better than the system now proposed. A good deal of unnecessary expenditure had been caused by the system of drilling recruits on enlistment. It was evident that, where there were few recruits at the depôt, the expenses attendant upon musketry instruction were thereby very much increased. He knew of a case where a Militia regiment had three recruits at headquarters, of whom one bought his discharge and another deserted, the result being that the remaining recruit had to be taken by rail a certain number of miles every day for musketry instruction, accompanied by a non-commissioned officer, buglers, and men, thereby causing a large and unnecessary expense to the country without any commensurate benefit resulting. He hoped the noble Marquess would not lose sight of the subject; and if his hon. and gallant Friend decided to take a Division on his Motion for the reduction of the Vote, he should feel it his duty to vote with him.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, he was not disposed to put the Committee to the trouble of a Division. He was aware that it was not possible to enter into all the details of the Regulations in Committee; but he trusted the noble Marquess would not forget that the assurances given to the Committee were far from meeting the case he had endeavoured to lay before him. He had been 20 years in the Militia, and never during that time, as far as he was aware, had any regiment been required to fire at a greater distance than 300 yards. The permanent Staff were required to fire at 600 yards; but not so the Militia. The new Rule, therefore, meant nothing at all, and the other details which the noble Marquess had mentioned were simply matters of regimental arrangement. However, he presumed he must be satisfied with having entered his protest against what seemed to him to be a lavish expenditure of public money, not only without adequate result, but with no result at all. He would ask leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CHESTER-MASTER desired to make one or two remarks with reference to the withdrawal of the enlistment money, which the Committee would remember was taken away on the 1st of September last year. This was done, as hon. Members would probably be aware, because so many Militia recruits did not turn up at the time of their training at the depôts or places where the regiment was called out. Formerly, the amount given on enlistment was 20*s*., which amount was some years ago reduced to 10*s*., and then taken away altogether. He wished to point out the difficulty resulting from that arrangement in agricultural and mining districts. Speaking from his own experience in an agricultural district of Gloucestershire, extending over 20 years, he believed he should be right in saying that recruiting sergeants personally knew the addresses to within 5 per cent of the recruits whom they enlisted in rural districts. Before the last reduction, he believed the absentees from his own regiment had never been more than 5 per cent. The orderly clerk of the regiment was instructed to make out a return of the recruits who came forward for enlistment, and the answers they gave between September 1, 1883, and March 1, 1884. Until then the North Gloucestershire as well as the South Gloucestershire regiment had never been below its strength, except by a small number; but this year they had recruited only 53 men. On the 1st of September they required 198 recruits, and on the 1st of March they had only obtained 53, of whom 17 elected to drill at the depôt near Bristol, and 13 elected to go out with the recruits. The answers of 81 men were all to this effect—"We feel the benefit of 10*s*. in our hands," which in Gloucestershire was called "a dab in the fist;" and it meant that 10*s*. were worth more in the winter, when no work was to be got, than 20*s*. given at the end of the training. Their answer was, in fact—"No; we will not enlist, because we do not get anything on enlistment." The number of recruits in his regiment in former years had never fallen short of their number; but he had received a letter a few days ago to say that the regiment was more than 100 below its strength. He thought the noble Marquess should find some means of remedying this state of things. There was one other point to which he would like to draw the attention of the Committee, and it was this. The strength of the Militia was always taken from the day on which the inspecting officer inspected the regiment, and that was at the end of the training. He hoped he would not be accused of egotism if he again alluded to the Militia in his own locality. At the preliminary drill, or just before the preliminary drill commenced, in 1882 and 1883 the strength of the Gloucestershire regiment was, in 1882, 792 men, only eight below their strength; and in 1883 it was 799, being only one below its proper number; and yet, when the inspecting officer came at the end of the training, and sent in his return, their strength was, in 1882, only 680 men, and in 1883, 686 men. There were two or three reasons for this. In the first place, absentees from the regiment were not allowed to have their places filled up for three months; another reason was that men, temporarily discharged, were returned on the strength of the regiment, but were not allowed to be counted as present at the inspection at the end of the training. Another reason was that all men who enlisted into the Regular Army could not have their places filled up before the inspection. Of course, he need hardly point out to the Committee that it was a feather in the cap of the Militia regiment who sent the greatest number of men from its ranks into the regiments of the Line. He was one of those who did his utmost to get men of his regiment to join the Regular Army; and he thought that, however much it might tell against the strength and the *esprit de corps* of the Militia, it was the duty of the colonels and officers of the Militia regiments to draft as many men as they could from their ranks to the Regular Forces. What, however, he should like to suggest, if the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War could possibly see his way to it, was this —that the Militia regiments should be allowed, at any time, to go on recruiting up to 10 per cent over their proper strength. As was well known, there were always some absentees; there were always a certain number of deserters; and there were always a certain number every year who enlisted into the Line; but when Militia regiments had recruited up to their full strength they were obliged to stop. He thought they ought to be allowed to recruit to the extent of 5 or 10 per cent over their strength. In that there would be no extra expense to the country; but Militia regiments would then have at the end of the training a far larger complement of men than they had at the present time. He had only spoken of the years 1882 and 1883, when the Gloucestershire regiment was in the one year 120 below its strength, and in the other year 117 below its strength, simply and solely for the reasons he had stated. In those years, until they had got a certain number of men struck off their rolls, they were unable to continue their recruiting. He had made these few observations in the hope that the noble Marquess might be able to do something to remedy this state of things.

EARL PERCY said, he was very glad the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chester-Master) had called attention to the subject of the withdrawal of the 10*s.* bounty for enlistment, and he hoped the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War would give the Committee some information as to its effect upon the recruiting. He (Earl Percy) did not think the effect had been at all satisfactory. He held in his hand a Return he moved for some time ago, and which had been laid on the Table of the House, though it had not as yet been printed. That Return gave the number of recruits enlisted between the 1st of October, 1883, which was the date when the Order was issued, and the 1st of March, 1884, and it compared that number with the number enlisted between the 1st of October, 1882, and the 1st of March, 1883. The result shown was that in England and in Scotland the Artillery and the Engineers had fallen off to a large extent. The Infantry in England had slightly decreased, and the Infantry in Scotland had increased. He did not take Ireland, because that country was under peculiar conditions. The decrease in all arms in England had been from 11,022 to 10,940; but in Scotland, on the other hand, there had been an increase from 1,390 to 1,868. That might not be thought altogether to be an unsatisfactory result; but he would like to point out to the noble Marquess that when they came to look at which regiments had decreased, and which had increased, they found the increase was only in the case of a very few regiments, comparatively speaking. He found that 46 regiments in the United Kingdom had increased less, between the 1st of October, 1883, and the 1st of March, 1884, than they did in the preceding corresponding period. [An hon. MEMBER: In the rural districts.] Well, as that had been said, and as his hon. Friend who had just spoken stated that the rural districts were affected in this matter to a different extent to mining districts and populous places, he (Earl Percy) would like to quote his own personal experience. In spite of the fact that in the North of England the times were bad and many men were out of work, his regiment had recruited but few more recruits than they did last year, notwithstanding all the efforts made to obtain recruits. He believed, too, that there were many more absentees from the regiment than there were last year under the old system. He could not pretend to say whether, on the whole, the new system answered better in rural districts than in the more populous districts; but certainly, speaking from his own experience, the new system had worked very unsatisfactorily in populous places. There was another matter to which he wished to draw the attention of the Committee, and it was this. It had been alleged that the effect of the new system might be felt more strongly in regiments that were trained at a distance from their headquarters rather than in regiments which were trained at headquarters. He confessed that he had never been able to follow that argument; and, looking at the facts, he found that of the 46 regiments whose numbers had decreased in the course of the last six months, 29 were trained at their headquarters, and 17 were trained away from headquarters. It really came to this—that of the regiments which had been detrimentally affected by the operation of the new system, considerably more than half were trained at headquarters. He was quite aware there were some advantages to be gained by the system of withholding bounties; but certainly, as far as he could see, the system had failed in its main object, which was to prevent absenteeism, which in some regiments was found to be a great and growing evil. In his own case, so far from preventing absenteeism, he had more absentees this year than last. He was quite sure that the only plan upon which to manage the bounty question was the plan foreshadowed by the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken—namely, that of making a difference between one district and another, leaving it to the discretion of the officer commanding a district, whether a bounty should be given and what amount should be given on enlistment, or whether the whole of the bounty should be withheld until the recruit came up for annual training. He was certain they never could make a hard-and-fast rule that would suit all parts of the country. The Return to which he had previously alluded only referred to the period from October last to the 1st of March in the present year; and he knew it had been alleged that a large influx of recruits had been effected just before the preliminary drill, that, in fact, there would be a larger number of recruits in future than there had been in former years. He had not found that to be so in the case of his own regiment; and he trusted the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War would be able to give some reassuring information to the Committee on this subject.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON wished to draw the attention of the Committee and the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War to what appeared to him to be a very unsatisfactory state of the Militia, both with regard to officers and men, at the present time. He would first deal with the case of the officers. He found by the last Return that there were no less than 648 wanting. He found that in 1880 there were only 307 officers wanting to complete the Establishment, so that now the number wanting was more than double what it was in that year. He should be glad if the noble Marquess could suggest a reason for this state of things. He wished to refer the Committee to a Return that was laid before the House a short time ago with regard to the number of appointments to and the number of retirements from the Militia. From that Return he found that in the course of the five years ending March, 1884, no less than 2,471 officers were appointed to the Militia, and that in the same period no less than 2,488 officers had left the Militia. Now, the total number of officers being 2,941, that showed that nearly the whole of the Militia Force were renewed every five years. It was a very curious state of things that the Militia officers should be renewed every five or five and a-half years; and the reason of it, as it appeared to him, was that the Militia was officered, as far as regarded the junior officers, on an entirely false basis. Young men were appointed to the Militia, not for the purpose of serving in the Militia permanently, but merely as a means of entering the Regular Army by the commissions which they obtained. Young men were appointed to the Militia, but remained in it only just as long as was necessary to fit them for the Army, and if they failed to get into the Army they left the Militia. Now-a-days, as a matter of fact, gentlemen merely joined the Militia as a stepping-stone to the Army. Now, that could not be a sound or workable system. He should like the noble Marquess to explain why there had been such variation in the number of commissions given to the Militia for the Army. In 1881 the number was the same as Lord Cardwell fixed it at. Sixty commissions were given to the officers of the Militia for the Army every half-year. Young men joined the Militia with the expectation of obtaining a commission in the Army; they knew there were a number of vacancies, and they took their chance of getting one of them. But in 1881 the commissions for the Army were reduced exactly one-half, and that caused a large number of young men to be disappointed. In March, 1882, the commissions were kept at one-half—namely, 30 every half-year; but in September, 1882, they were raised to 40 every half-year. In September of the following year they were increased to 70 in the half-year; and now this year they understood they were to be increased to 81 every half-year. Great injustice had already been done. Young men entered the Militia with the expectation of gaining an entrance to the Army; but the number of commissions given to them had been reduced, although subsequently they were raised to their original number, and now they were to be increased beyond that number. The uncertainty as to the number of commissions to be given had caused great hardship, and it was very desirable that there should be more regularity in the number of commissions given. Now, with regard to the men, he found by the last Return that no less than 42,745 men left the Militia every year. The total rank and file enrolled was only 99,440; therefore, nearly one-half of the Militia rank and file left last year. That, also, seemed to be a very singular state of things. The recruits last year were nearly 36,000, so that there was a deficiency of 6,000. The Militia would appear to be renewed every two years, so far as the rank and file were concerned. Now, if the Militia was to be really efficient in time of war that was a very alarming state of things. He wished also to point out that no less than 11,330 men deserted or were struck off the rolls of the Militia last year. He hoped the noble Marquess would be able to give some satisfactory explanation of these figures, because they led to the belief that the Militia was not in that satisfactory state that could be wished.

SIR ROBERT CUNLIFFE said, he should like the noble Marquess to give his careful consideration to some points which had recently been put before him. He (Sir Robert Cunliffe) entirely agreed with what fell from the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chester-Master) as to the present condition of recruiting in the Militia. His own experience as a Colonel of 10 or 12 years' standing was that in consequence of the change in respect of bounty, Militia regiments did not recruit men as well as they formerly did. His own regiment was 220 men below its strength. The district was a purely mining and rural one, and the regiment was trained at headquarters; therefore, none of these special reasons assigned for the lack of recruits could be cited in his case. Some years ago his regiment was scarcely below its strength. He entirely agreed with what had been said with regard to the officers of the Militia. He thought those Gentleman who, like himself, had had a large experience in the Militia would agree that the present condition of things was not what they would desire. Anyone who had had charge of a regiment must feel that it was very desirable that there should be more stability in the elements of which officers were composed. His hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Alexander Gordon) had stated that a considerable number of young men simply joined the Militia for the sake of passing into the Line. Under present circumstances, it was only natural they should do so; but looking at the importance of the Militia, and to the work which could be got out of the Militia if required, it seemed to him (Sir Robert Cunliffe) that the members of the permanent Staff of the Militia ought to be obtained on a principle which would secure more stability than there was at present. The Committee would agree with him that if the officers of the permanent Staff knew their work and did it, they could obtain wonderful results from a Militia regiment in the course of the annual training. It was impossible to find a more willing or a more easily managed set of men than Militiamen; and if they were properly handled and looked after, grand results could be obtained. Under a system by which the officers of a regiment were constantly being changed it was impossible to get such good results as they might otherwise expect. It appeared to him that these were circumstances which deserved to have the serious consideration of the War Office. He had felt it his duty to bear his testimony to the fact that the defects which had been pointed out existed; and he hoped the noble Marquess would be able to look into the question, and that possibly before another year would make some Regulation which might be of service.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked for a little information with regard to a point which appeared on the surface of the Votes. On page 35 he found that for bounty and expenses of enrolment there was almost a similar sum charged this year as last; last year the sum was £198,000, and this year it was £203,000. On page 37 he found there was a considerable change from the Vote which was submitted last year. The item for "levy money, attestation and medical fees, &c., on enrolment or re-enrolment," was, last year, £39,500. This year that item had sunk to the comparatively small sum of £9,000; whereas the item for "bounty payable on termination of training and on re-enrolment," had gone up from £128,500 to £164,000. Now, he presumed that that alteration in the figures was but a reflection of a very considerable alteration in the policy that had to be pursued with regard to the enlistment of Militiamen. He had waited for some time to hear any remarks which might throw light on that portion of the Vote; and he had no doubt the noble Marquess would have some clear explanation to offer. He assumed that the change had been brought about in order to secure a better attendance at training; and, under that impression, he sought for the figures which would show the payment made for provisions, and he was rather astonished to find that, whereas last year the amount was £299,400, this year it had sunk to £270,000, so that this theory which looked for increased attendance as an explanation for the change was hardly borne out by the charge for provisions.

Major General ALEXANDER said, that, before the Vote was put, he wished to remind the Committee that, in 1881, certain provisions were made by the Predecessor of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War for the retirement of commanding officers of Militia on account of age, and it was provided that no commanding officer of Militia should serve after the age of 65, except in certain cases, where they might serve up to 67. He found, upon inquiry, that that Rule had never been made applicable to the Channel Islands Militia, over which the War Office, he understood, had no authority at all, that Militia being under the supervision and the control of the Governor. Under the circumstances, there was no means of ascertaining the ages of the officers; and it was suggested to him that, as at least one of the officers was verging upon 70, he (Major General Alexander) should move for a Return of the names and ages of the officers commanding the Channel Islands Militia. That Return the noble Marquess was good enough to give him as an unopposed Return, but it had not yet been presented to the House, and he was, therefore, unable to act upon it upon the present occasion; but should he find, when it was printed, that there were officers in the Channel Islands Militia who were 70 years of age, or were approaching the age of 70, he begged leave to give Notice that next year, either in this Parliament or the next Parliament, he should move the reduction of the Vote by the amount required for the Channel Islands Militia.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, that with regard to the observations of the hon. Member for Cirencester (Mr. Chester-Master), it was the fact that Militia regiments were, under the present system, allowed, in certain circumstances, to recruit above their strength. As to the distinction which had been recommended between Militia regiments in agricultural and urban districts, he was afraid it would be undesirable, if not impossible, to make any such distinction. The Inspector General of Recruiting had said in his Report—

> "As stated last year, there was strong objection urged against the existence of two different systems of enlisting recruits working side by side, one under which recruits of a brigade or battalion were receiving 10*s.* on enlistment, the other under which they were receiving no bounty on enlistment."

The distinction between the two systems of giving bounties had been abolished, because it was found to have a prejudicial effect upon the regiments which were at the headquarters at the regimental depôts; and he was afraid that exactly the same unfair result would be caused if distinctions were attempted to be drawn between regiments maintained in agricultural districts and those which were maintained in urban districts. The noble Earl (Earl Percy) had referred to the effect of the change which had been made in the matter of the preliminary drill, and that was also adverted to in the Report of the Inspector General, who said—

> "It was naturally to be expected that in the detached battalions, where 10*s.* on enlistment had hitherto been given, and where the recruits had not the facility of drilling at the headquarters on enlistment, there would be a considerable falling off in the winter in consequence of this alteration. This has been the case, but the effect of the change can hardly be estimated fairly until after the coming training. Now that dates for the preliminary drill have been fixed and announced, those who are desirous of doing their preliminary drill and training together will come up at that time."

The Inspector General was writing on the 28th of February; but now the dates of the preliminary drills had been fixed and announced. Since the beginning of the year the flow of men had been regular; and all that could now be said was that the effect of the change, which, as had been observed, could hardly be estimated as yet, should be very carefully watched, and if it was found necessary to make any further alteration, then they would have to consider what was to be done. Of the 32,049 troops which were raised last year, 19,434 were raised to be drilled on enlistment, and 12,615 were raised by brigades and battalions which were not drilled on enlistment; and he understood that out of every 800 men 600 elected to go through the preliminary drill on enlistment. The system appeared to be popular; and though it might suffer until it was thoroughly known, he did not think there was any reason to anticipate that it would suffer on the whole. So far as absentees were concerned, the new system appeared to be working well, and the percentage of absentees under the new system compared very favourably with the percentage of absentees under the old system. He did not think it was possible to go back, because if a 10*s.* bounty were given to a Militia recruit, no recruit would join the Army without going to the Militia first. The hon. and gallant Member for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon) had referred to the number of commissions in the Line given to Militia officers. That was a complaint of long standing; but he had not heard either the hon. and gallant Gentleman himself, nor any other Member who had addressed the Committee, make any practical suggestion for a change. It appeared to him (the Marquess of Hartington) that there was every reason for satisfaction, for, after all, the Militia was not a profession; and it was almost a matter of surprise to him that so many gentlemen should be found who were willing to devote a portion of their time to military duties of that nature, which must, to a very considerable extent, interfere with their other occupations. The hon. and gallant Gentleman complained of the system of passing from the Militia into the Line; but that he (the Marquess of Hartington) conceived to be a very great inducement to gentlemen to accept commissions in the Militia; and, if any change were made, it would not diminish, but would rather increase, the difficulty of finding officers to join the Militia. The hon. and gallant Gentleman referred to the large number of commissions in the Line recently given to Militia officers; but he (the Marquess of Hartington) endeavoured to explain, when he made his Statement in introducing the Estimates, what were the reasons which had made that necessary. A diminution in the number of commissions granted was made at a time when a considerable reduction in the number of regimental officers had been made, and when it was believed that fewer numbers would be required in future. But owing to causes which were then unforeseen—namely, that a great number of officers had accepted the terms of retirement which were now open to them—the number of vacancies in the Line had been much larger than was anticipated; and as Sandhurst could only supply a certain number of officers, there was no alternative but to accept a larger number of gentlemen who had served in the Militia, and who proved on examination to be qualified for commissions in the Line. Of course, it would be the object of the authorities, as soon as it was possible for them to ascertain what was the normal number of commissions in the Army likely to be required, to endeavour so to adjust the number of cadets at Sandhurst and the number of commissions offered to officers in the Militia as to provide that the number might be as established, and as little fluctuating as possible. With regard to the number of desertions from the Militia last year — no less than 11,330—the largeness of that number was due to the large number of desertions from the Irish regiments, owing to the suspension of the training of the Irish Militia for three years. During that period of suspension there had been no means of knowing how many men had left the Force; and, therefore, against last year were placed the whole of the arrears for three years. Of course, in some cases the men had died, and the number, therefore, of desertions was uncertain; but the whole number of men unaccounted for were put down for last year.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: They are not all real desertions, then?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, they were not; but the number covered all the men who during the last three years should have appeared on the roll, and whose disappearance could not be officially accounted for. The hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) had referred to some figures in the Estimate. He (the Marquess of Hartington) did not think he was quite able to follow the hon. Gentleman's observations; but the discrepancies which the hon. Gentleman had pointed out appeared to him to be due to the change in the system of enrolment, to which he had already referred, through the abolition of the 10*s.* bounty on enrolment. If the hon. Gentleman would take the sum of the three columns included under the head E, on page 37, he would see that the total amount for the present year was £203,000, as against £198,000 for last year. The items were differently distributed in consequence of the change, and the sum taken for levy-money and attestation and medical fees on enrolment appeared to be greatly reduced, while the sum paid afterwards appeared as a portion of the increase. He was, however, very glad that the hon. Gentleman had called attention to this matter.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, there was one matter which had been referred to by the noble Earl the Member for North Northumberland (Earl Percy) with respect to the position of those officers who, being adjutants of Militia or Volunteers, had failed to qualify for the Army. He (Colonel Colthurst) hoped that matter would be taken into consideration, for it was of great importance to the officers themselves and to the discipline of the regiments. He did not know whether the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War would be able to say whether any relaxation of the arrangements could be made on behalf of those officers. It would be well if the noble Marquess would look into the examination for the rank of captain. A certain standard was now laid down with a certain number of subjects, and the minimum number of marks required in each subject. An officer might pass in each subject, and might then find that, although he had so passed and qualified in each subject, he yet had not passed the examination, owing to the aggregate of efficiency being greater than the number of marks required in each subject would reach.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, this question did not really arise on the present Vote. The noble Earl was, however, going to call attention to the subject, and there would be an opportunity for making a statement upon it when it came on.

MR. BIGGAR wished to draw attention to a matter which related to the Antrim Militia. Some years ago there was some very loose conduct in that regiment, and a party of officers went into an hotel where another officer was staying and wrecked his room. He (Mr. Biggar) was informed last year, but never heard it until then, that one of the officers who was concerned in that attack—Major Johnson—based his defence before the Adjutant General in Dublin upon very different material to that on which he had based his defence to the War Office. When he was applied to by the War Office on the subject, Major Johnson denied point-blank that he had anything to do with the transaction; but that was not the ground which he (Mr. Biggar) understood him to have put forward before the Adjutant General. He could not, of course, ask the noble Marquess to discuss Major Johnson, because the noble Marquess had as yet only heard his (Mr. Biggar's) *ex parte* statement, and he (Mr. Biggar) only spoke from hearsay; but he thought that this was a matter in which the noble Marquess might undertake to make inquiry into the merits of the case. He did not think that the Statute of Limitations ought to run in a case of this sort. If Major Johnson had made a a statement of facts to the War Office or to the Adjutant General in Dublin last year relating to transactions which took place some years ago, there was no reason why he should now be let off because of the remoteness of those transactions. Still, under the circumstances, he (Mr. Biggar) could not ask the noble Marquess to do more than to make an inquiry; and if, after inquiry, it was found that there was any ground for the charge, then no doubt the noble Marquess would deal with the whole matter as it deserved. He (Mr. Biggar) had on previous occasions drawn attention to two cases which had occurred in this same regiment, and in both of those cases it was found that there were grounds for investigation. In one of them the colonel of the regiment retired rather than face the charges made; and in the other case, in which he (Mr. Biggar) drew the attention of the noble Marquess to the conduct of the adjutant, that officer was dismissed by the noble Marquess for the conduct complained of. Therefore, up to the present time, he (Mr. Biggar) had succeeded in making good the charge he raised as to the conduct of these officers; and all he asked in the case of Major Johnson was that the noble Marquess should undertake to make inquiries. He thought he was entitled to ask that from the noble Marquess.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, it was perfectly true that, in consequence of some charge being made by the hon. Member for Cavan on a previous occasion, an inquiry was instituted by the War Office into the conduct of the adjutant of the Antrim Militia respecting some Returns. It was found, he regretted to say, that incorrect Returns had been made by the officer in question, and the result was that that officer was removed from his appointment. As to the case of Major Johnson, he really could not undertake to make any inquiry into it. It was said to have occurred 11 years ago, and he believed that Major Johnson's presence on the occasion was altogether denied. He believed that some time ago there was a good deal of practical joking in the regiment of the kind that had been referred to; but the officer who commanded the regiment then did not command it now, and he had no reason to believe that anything of the sort had taken place for a great number of years. No good purpose whatever would be served by entering upon an inquiry. If inquiry ought to have been made at all, it should have been made at the time.

MR. BIGGAR said, the matter was this. Major Johnson was charged with having made one statement to the Adjutant General in Dublin, and quite a different one to the War Office. That was a much more serious matter than a practical joke occurring 10 or 11 years ago. Possibly, so far as the practical joke alone was concerned, the noble Marquess was not far wrong in saying that the Statute of Limitations ought to be allowed to run; but the other matter was much more serious, and perhaps upon that part of the case the noble Marquess would undertake to make some inquiry?

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £69,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Yeomanry Cavalry Pay and Allowances, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

COLONEL O'BEIRNE moved that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £8,000—the sum which the Irish taxpayers had to contribute towards the support of the Yeomanry. He did not think it was just that they should be called on to support English Yeomanry, in which they were not concerned in any manner, directly or indirectly. Ireland was not allowed to have Volunteers of her own, and yet was called upon to contribute to the Volunteers of Great Britain; and that was unfair. Another reason why he objected to the Vote was that at the present moment some regiments of the Regular Cavalry of the Line were not fit to go upon active service in a campaign. They were utterly inefficient and useless for any military purpose whatever; and that was not a proper state of things. Before any money was granted for the Reserve Forces, the first necessity was to put the Regular Cavalry of the Line into a really efficient condition, so that at least a certain portion of the regiments could be called on for a campaign. In the early part of the century the Yeomanry, Cavalry, and Volunteers were sent upon a campaign, and took part in the Peninsular War, and they did good service, and were mentioned by the Duke of Wellington in his despatches. If that were the state of things now he would admit that there would be good reason for the Vote; but the Yeomanry regiments that were now in existence certainly were never called upon to go on any foreign service whatever. He believed they were very good horsemen, and very intelligent men; but for military purposes they were of no use, and, therefore, such Votes as this were quite superfluous.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he hoped the hon. and gallant Gentleman would not persist in his intention to move the reduction of the Vote, but would rather join forces with him (Mr. Labouchere) and take a Division against the whole of this outlay of £69,000. When these Army Estimates were voted, every year, these discussions always took place; and instead of any protest being made against the way in which the Estimates went on increasing year by year, military men got up to ask that more money should be spent. He knew they always explained that in some particular item they would be ready to cast off a halfpenny; but they generally finished by wanting a much larger expenditure somewhere else. He knew them of old. He had the greatest respect for the common sense of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War when he was not trammelled by officialism; and he would ask him to tell the Committee of what real use this Yeomanry Force was. They were called out for eight days in the year; but everybody knew that it required much more than eight days in a year to make either a Cavalry soldier or a Cavalry horse. He had asked an hon. Friend of his who sat on the other side of the House of what use was this Yeomanry Force, and what reason could be given for maintaining such an absurdity; and the reply he received was—"Well, you see, if a foreign Army were to come here, the Yeomanry would be useful in this way: they are recruited from the farmers, who know the country, and who know how to ride, and they would be able to show the way to the English General;"—but whether it was to retreat or to advance he did not know. They were asked, then, to spend £69,000 a-year for that. The gentleman whom he questioned on the subject belonged to a Midland county, where it was exceedingly improbable that any foreign Army would come; and he did not think there was much necessity for anybody to show an English General the road he wanted to go. At all events, they need not spend £69,000 a-year for such a purpose as that. In this case, as in many others, it was the poor man who suffered for the rich man's benefit. Each year the Vote grew more and more; the permanent Staff had increased; and of the 35 troops of which the Yeomanry Cavalry Force consisted each troop of 265 men had 18 officers. [An hon. Member: Each regiment.] They might call it a regiment if they liked—they might even call each troop an army; but what he wanted to call attention to was that in a really genuine *bonâ fide* regiment where there were 550 men there were only 24 officers, so that a Yeomanry regiment had proportionately more officers than any of the Cavalry regiments of the Line. Were they really to take a serious view of these things, or were they to go on with this wasteful expenditure? Unless some case could be made out in favour of the Yeomanry they ought to do away with it, once for all. How was it managed? They knew there were a certain number of people who liked to swagger about with feathers and a sword by their side, and who came out on the horses which they had been hunting with to have eight days' drill and a Yeomanry ball, or something of that sort. That was the whole story. There was no sort of use in these relics of mediævalism—of a past age—and he wanted some one to tell him what *quid pro quo* they got for this £69,000 a-year?

Mr. C. T. D. ACLAND, as an officer interested in the Yeomanry Force, was not prepared to say that they were of any more use than the Volunteers; indeed, he would not for a moment say that they were of so much use, because he quite admitted that farmers could not be got to devote so much time to acquiring military drill efficiently as tradesmen, to whom it was a positive recreation to come out and learn their drill. The hon. Member who had just sat down had, however, said that the Yeomanry were of no use at all, because they were never called on foreign service. It was true they were not so called on; but that was because we were never attacked by any foreign Army. It might just as well be said that the Volunteers were of no use; but not a single Member would agree with such an observation if it were made. If the Volunteers were of any use, he maintained that the Yeomanry in their sphere were of equal use. If an Infantry Volunteer could be made into an efficient Infantry soldier, so a good man and horse could be made useful in the same way and turned into a good Cavalry soldier. He would ask the hon. Member for Northampton to go and witness the Yeomanry Cavalry when they were at drill; and he would point out to him that those who were best qualified to judge as to the ability of the Yeomanry Reserve—the Inspectors General of the Yeomanry Force—had constantly testified to the ability and efficiency of the Yeomanry men. Probably, the hon. Member was not aware of it; but during the past 10 years there had been an efficient school for training auxiliary officers of the Cavalry at Aldershot. Every officer of the regiment had to go through this auxiliary Cavalry school. They did all go through it; and he had no doubt that if the hon. Gentleman would attend the school in order to see the officers of the Yeomanry regiments go through their work, he would be perfectly satisfied as to their efficiency and their knowledge of what they had to do. The officers who belonged to regiments before that school was instituted made use of it. He (Mr. Acland) did not suppose anyone desired to see this Vote increased, and he knew very well there was a prejudice against it in some quarters; but, still, it would be admitted by most people that those in authority were doing their very best to get the Service to which they belonged brought into an efficient state. Many Yeomanry officers were prepared to admit that in bygone days it was anything but efficient, and that the description which had been given by the hon. Member would apply very well to the condition of things which existed 20 or 30 years ago. His description, however, did not apply to the existing state of affairs. The actual cost to the country for the Yeomanry was something like £4 a man; while that of the Infantry Volunteers was something like £2 6*s.* 8*d.* Now, in order to get the Yeomanry Force together it was necessary to pay for horses as well as for men. He only wished they could get more training out of the men than they did; but considering the circumstances, and the difficulty they experienced in getting the men to train at all, he was sorry to say he did not see how, without giving a very much larger allowance for horses, the country could get any more service at all out of the Force. He was sorry to see that apparently the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had not been able to grant the Yeomanry what they were promised last year—namely, a small allowance for extra troop drill; because it was exceedingly difficult to get men to bring their horses away from the work of the farms—to bring them sometimes 10 or 20 miles for a day's drill—without some extra compensation. But, be that as it might, he did not know what the argument of the hon. Member for Northampton was founded on; and he trusted the Committee would think twice before it consented to anything in the nature of doing away with a Force which could be made much more efficient than it was, and which he did not believe necessitated an extravagant expenditure of public money.

MR. SIDNEY HERBERT said, he had asked a Question on the subject of the Yeomanry that day, and the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had given him an answer which was not likely to be considered very satisfactory by the men of that Force. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Acland) had alluded to the subject to which he was referring. A doubt seemed to be cast upon the fact whether any such promise as that alluded to had been made. Well, he was informed that a Memorial to the effect that additional grants would be made was last year sent to the different regiments; at any rate, there was no doubt in the world that the men had expected an increase. Another Question he had put had been as to the distance which entitled men to a day's pay in marching in. The distance was 20 miles; that was to say, if the men had to march in 20 miles they got an extra day's pay for it. But a new Memorial had been issued on the 4th of April this year, stating that the distance for which the day's pay would be granted would be increased from 20 to 30 miles. When they came to consider that this Force was not in any very great state of training at this period of the year, and that they would have to march 30 miles to their duty, which it would be admitted would give a horse a very hard week's work, or rather a hard nine days' work, as they were out nine days altogether, hon. Members would see that the effect would be to put a stop to a great deal of recruiting. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Northampton with regard to the Yeomanry, it was no doubt a fact, and hon. Members would agree with him, that great difficulty was experienced in getting employers of labour to avail themselves of the services of the Reserve men after they left the Colours. Employers had long been against such employment, their argument being that the men might be called away to serve at any time, and that, therefore, they could not be relied upon for any length of time. This, however, was not the case with regard to the Yeomanry. Employers belonging to that Force could be appealed to, and with success, to employ Reserve men, on the ground that being soldiers themselves they should employ soldiers. He was told that in very many instances this argument was used with good effect. The hon. Member for Northampton had given his version of the utility of the Yeomanry in the event of their active services being required; but the hon. Member could hardly be looked upon as an authority on such matters.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I think it scarcely necessary to reply at any great length to the observations of the hon. Member for Northampton, which I think are made annually either by himself or some other hon. Member. I feel the Committee is very much indebted to the hon. Member for having made his remarks with such brevity. With regard to the Yeomanry, I would only repeat what I stated in moving the Army Estimates—namely, that I think there is no branch of the Service in which greater improvement has been effected than in this Force. A few years ago, no doubt, the Yeomanry were very much open to criticism, for, as the hon. Member for Northampton pointed out, the duty performed by them was little more than a seven or eight days' outing in the county town. Recently, however, owing to the appointment of Inspecting Officers for Auxiliary Cavalry, and active and efficient Cavalry officers as Yeomanry adjutants, and owing further to the appointment of active non-commissioned Cavalry officers as troop sergeant-majors, the efficiency of the Force has been very greatly increased. I quoted to the Committee the other day from the Report of the Inspecting Officers for Auxiliary Cavalry, and I pointed out that he expressed himself as astonished at the efficiency exhibited by these regiments. In his Report, this officer commented upon the very great progress the Yeomanry had made in drill with the very limited opportunities at their disposal. I think there can be little doubt, as my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Acland) says, that if there is a necessity for a Volunteer Infantry Force, there is also a necessity for the Yeomanry Force. As I have said, it is in a state of very fair efficiency at present; and I have no doubt that if, unhappily, any occasion should arise for its being called into active service, and it were embodied for any length of time, that its efficiency would very rapidly increase, and that it would become a most useful and important arm of the Service. I do not think the Committee will be in any way disposed to take the view of my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton; but it was true that there was considerable difficulty in asking the House this year for any considerable increase in this Vote. What we have endeavoured to do has been to increase the efficiency of the Force as far as possible without adding to the expense the country is now put to. It was, undoubtedly, the intention of the War Office, and I had hoped that it would have been in my power, to give the Yeomanry some small payments to assist them in having extra troop drills in the course of the year. As I stated originally, it would have been possible to make these payments without a large increase in the Vote, because it was found that during recent years the sum voted by Parliament had not been entirely spent. An examination of the accounts of last year, however, seemed to show that that would not be the case—that there would be no saving, in consequence of the improvement which had taken place in the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Force. This year, at all events, it would not be possible for us to make the grant; but I am still in hopes that it will be possible to save a small sum from the amount annually granted, from which the allowance might be made. Though it is true that no promise was ever made that the allowance would be granted, no doubt a Circular was issued leading the Force generally to expect that some such allowance would be forthcoming; and I am sure there must have been great disappointment experienced when it was found that nothing was to be given. I can only promise to do all in my power, consistently with the limits of the Vote and the efficiency of the Force, to find some way of making this increased payment.

MR. C. T. D. ACLAND said, the noble Marquess had stated that he would cause further inquiries than those instituted last year to be made with reference to the power of the Yeomanry to carry a more efficient weapon than that with which they were served at present, and also as to whether any arrangement should be made by which non-commissioned officers from the Yeomanry ranks could be admitted to some share in the course of instruction at Aldershot. The non-commissioned officers could be afforded this instruction at a very slight cost; and if they could obtain it he was sure a great many of them would go in for it, if it took place at a time of the year when they were not engaged in getting in the harvest. He had no doubt in the world that such instruction would be of the greatest practical use.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 103; Noes 25: Majority 78. — (Div. List, No. 84.)

(6.) £568,500, Volunteer Corps.

MR. A. F. EGERTON said, the Volunteer Force had to thank the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War for an issue of Martini-Henrys—especially that part of the Force which was represented by the National Rifle Association. He should like to ask, further, if there was not to be a further issue of these rifles? It was most important that the men should have them. Everybody knew what a bad arm was supplied at present, and how extremely necessary it was that it should be taken away and a better one given in its place. He understood that at the present moment the Government had in store upwards of 240,000 Martini-Henrys; and he hoped the noble Marquess was going to order the issue of a certain number of these to the Volunteer regiments. He should like to know whether that was the case; and, if so, he should like also to know whether the issue would be made *pro ratâ* to the Force or by regiments? To his mind, the *pro ratâ* system would not be so good as the regiment system. It was desirable to have each regiment homogeneously armed, rather than that there should be two kinds of arms in each.

MR. GURDON wished to say just two words on the point alluded to by hon. Gentleman opposite, when, some time ago, he asked a Question as to the reduction in camp allowances to Volunteers. There was no doubt that the Volunteers felt this reduction very much indeed. They had not expected any such arrangement at the War Office. He could speak intimately of the battalions of Norfolk and Suffolk Volunteers, who had for the last seven or eight years been in the habit of having annual encampments. These battalions had almost every year received high praise from the inspecting officer, and they themselves believed that they deserved it. They knew perfectly well that all the praise they had received arose from their spending a short time in camp every year. The battalions were recruited from agricultural districts, and it would be impossible for the men, unless they went through a training of this kind, ever to arrive at a state of efficiency. When he first heard of the new Order he received it with dismay, feeling that it was a real blow aimed at the Volunteers. There were always three courses open in this matter—Either to give up the encampments altogether—and that was the very last thing they would think of doing, because the adoption of such a course would be the deathblow of many of the Volunteer battalions in the East of England; or to call on the officers of the regiments to contribute; or that the whole cost should fall on the commanding officers. To his mind, he thought the second of those courses would have to be adopted. There was no difficulty in obtaining good men in the Service; they got the same excellent class that they had obtained from the first; but there was great difficulty in obtaining the right class of officers. Many, of course, were too busy; some were too idle; and others said they could not bear the expense. Many of the officers were in poor circumstances, and if they were to be asked for £5 or £10 towards the expense of the camp much greater difficulty would be experienced than was felt now in getting them to consent to go into camp. He appealed, therefore, to the noble Marquess whether it was not a fair demand to make to ask that the camp allowance should be allowed to continue? How was it to be expected that men would accept commissions which involved all this trouble and expense? He hoped the noble Marquess would reconsider this question, and ask for a small Supplementary Estimate, or, at any rate, promise that this reduction should not be made next year.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER reminded the noble Marquess that he had asked a Question on this subject a few days ago, and the noble Marquess promised to answer any Questions that might be brought forward upon the Estimates in Committee. He wished now to appeal to the noble Marquess to use his best efforts on behalf of the Volunteer Force, so that the whole number who had applied to go into camp this year might be allowed to do so. The Volunteer Force had now arrived at what he thought was a very efficient state; and he could speak from 25 years' experience of the Force. He had worked hard and long to bring that Force into a condition of efficiency; and he maintained that the great efficiency at which the Volunteers had now arrived was owing in a large degree to the regimental camps which had been carried out for many years past. There were now, he believed, something like 84,000 applicants to go into camp this year; and the Volunteers were most anxious, through what had taken place in past years, to prove their efficiency in years to come. That desire was owing to these camps. The sum of money proposed this year was only £34,000 for regimental camps for military instruction; but he hoped the noble Marquess would see his way to bringing in a Supplementary Vote, so that the whole of the men who had applied might be enabled to go into camp, for that was of the utmost importance to the efficiency of the Volunteer Force; and he thought they ought to receive a little more encouragement from Her Majesty's Government than they had received during the past 20 years. The commanding officers had worked hard to effect the present state of efficiency; but for many years during the early existence of the Force they had received no encouragement whatever from the Government. They had used their best efforts to produce efficiency; and these regimental camps had had a great deal to do with the present efficiency of the Force. There could be no doubt that discipline had been greatly promoted by these camps; and if only a small further sum of money was granted all the requirements of the Force might be attained; and he could not too strongly urge the noble Marquess to enable all the men who desired to go into camp this year to do so. But there was another consideration he wished to urge, and that was that, if not this year, in future years there should be a larger capitation grant. All through the past years the officers had put their hands into their pockets to bring up the efficiency of the Force; but he thought the Government ought now to do what was necessary to maintain the existing state of efficiency.

Mr. BRAND, in reply to the hon. Member opposite (Mr. A. F. Egerton) with regard to the issue of Martini-Henry rifles to the Volunteers, said, the present reserve was 250,000 stand of arms, and it was not thought desirable to reduce that any further until there had been a fresh manufacture of rifles. But, under present circumstances, it was not desirable to manufacture too freely, because there was a question under consideration with regard to providing the Army with a new rifle. That question had not yet been decided upon; but a Departmental Committee had made a Report, he believed, in favour of a new arm, and the matter would come before the Secretary of State for War in the course of a few days for his decision. With reference to the present issue of the Martini-Henry rifle to the Volunteers, 8,000 had been issued to them through the National Rifle Association upon loan from the Government. He had instructed the authorities to make inquiries in the different districts as to the number of rifles it would be necessary to issue to the Volunteers in order to bring them up to the 12 per cent point. With regard to the Wimbledon competitions, he understood that the National Rifle Association had decided that in future the competitions should not be carried on with the Snider rifle; and, therefore, it was desirable that the Volunteers should be able to compete with the superior rifle. As soon as the Returns were received from the different districts, the War Office would be prepared to issue the number of rifles required to make up the 12 per cent; the Volunteers, of course, retaining their Sniders until there had been a full issue of the Martini-Henry. The Secretary of State for War would answer the question as to an increased capitation grant.

MR. A. F. EGERTON asked if he was to undersand that the question of making a further issue of a new rifle to the Volunteers would be considered as soon as the question had been decided between the Committee and the War Office?

MR. BRAND: Yes; it will be considered then.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM said, he did not propose to detain the Committee any length of time; but with regard to the question of issuing the Martini-Henry, he wished to point out that it was now three years since Lord Morley, in distributing the prizes to a battalion of Volunteers in the county which he represented (West Kent), stated that the Martini-Henry would be issued to the Volunteers at an early date; but that had not yet been done. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Brand) had now stated that a new rifle was to be distributed to the Army.

MR. BRAND said, he had only stated that the question of a new rifle was now before the War Office, a Committee having reported upon it.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM said, that, in that case, his only suggestion was that this new rifle should be issued to the Volunteers as well as the Army as soon as possible. With regard to the proposal to reduce the camp allowance, he was sure that would be received with universal regret by everybody who was interested in the Volunteer Force. It was not necessary now to point out the advantages which the Volunteers who went into camp received from the camp instruction; but it was perfectly clear that in districts where the companies of battalions were scattered, and were at considerable distances apart, these camps were the only opportunity they had of meeting and joining in battalion drill two or three times a-day for five or six days. In that way they learned their work in camping with others; and everyone who understood the subject must admit that the lessons they thus received were of the utmost importance to them. He had recently had a conversation with a gentleman who for some years had been in command of one of the districts; and that officer had expressed the opinion that the great increase in efficiency which had recently been noticed in the Force was entirely owing to these camps of instruction. Speaking of one particular battalion, he said that before they went into camp they were practically useless; but after their first year in camp, such was their efficiency that he found he could do anything he pleased with them. He himself had had the honour of going into camp with Volunteers for something like 14 years; and he could answer for it that the advantages they had derived had been enormous; and when it was considered how small an increase in the Estimate was wanted to enable the 20 per cent extra to go into camp, he felt sure that the Government, when they thought the matter over, would agree that the expense ought to be borne by them, and not by the battalions themselves. If that was not done, either the officers of the battalions must bear the expense of taking the extra 20 per cent into camp; or if, as was often the case, the officers were not men who could bear that expense, they would be reduced to the invidious and unpopular position of having to select the 20 per cent who were not to go into camp. He thought that was a very serious matter, for this proposition meant either that 20 per cent would not be taken into camp at all, or the expenses would have to be borne by the funds of the battalions which were already so heavily burdened. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would see their way to a small extra grant which would enable the further 20 per cent to go into camp.

MR. BULWER said, he had been a Volunteer for 25 years, and he wished to say a few words on this subject. When his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Henry Fletcher) asked a Question upon this matter a few nights ago, he understood the answer to be that the original intention of the Government was that each corps should be assisted to camp out once in three years. He had looked at the Volunteer Regulations to refresh his memory, for when that answer was given he could not remember that there was anything like an expressed intention in those Regulations to assist each corps to camp out only once in three years. He could not find that there was any such intention expressed in the Regulations; but, on the contrary, this camp allowance was held out as an inducement to Volunteers to go into camp and make themselves efficient. What had been the result? The Government having held out that inducement, year after year increasing numbers of men had gone into camp; and now, after the system had produced most satisfactory results, they were told that 20 per cent of those who had applied to go could not have the allowance. What would be the consequence of that? Either 20 per cent of the men would not be allowed the opportunity of making themselves efficient, and so lose the capitation grant, and the Force would be weakened to that extent; or they could only remain efficient by the officers bearing the expense. He thought it was a crying shame that the Government should, for the sake of a paltry economy of this kind, impose upon the officers the expense of keeping up the efficiency of the Force. Everyone knew what our Army was. Gallant fellows they all were; but if it were not for the Militia and the Volunteers, we should not be able to resist invasion. Everybody knew that, though everybody did not like to admit it. As to the effects of these camps, he wished to supplement what had been said by the opinion of a higher authority than any of the hon. Gentlemen who had already spoken, and that was Lord Napier of Magdala. He (Mr. Bulwer) was intimately acquainted with the corps in question, and he was sorry that the noble Lord the Member for Winchester (Lord Baring), who held a command in the corps, was not at that moment present in the House. The corps to which he referred was the 1st Hampshire Volunteers, one of the first battalions to go into camp. They had gone into camp for 20 years, and originally almost the entire expense was borne by the officers, and that was the only mode in which they had been able to make themselves efficient. Last year they went into camp 900 strong; and Lord Napier of Magdala, happening to be residing in the neighbourhood, went out every day to watch their progress, and afterwards drew up a Memorandum, which he sent to the commanding officer, expressing the result of his observation of the men. From this Memorandum he would read a few sentences, with a view to impressing on the Committee the advantages which Volunteers derived from being in camp. These men were recruited from different districts in the county, and they only met occasionally for their company drills; while their only opportunity of learning their battalion drill and qualifying themselves to take their place in line with the Regular troops, or with any troops, was this annual week's practice. This they did very thoroughly. And with regard to cooking, he might mention that whole carcases of sheep were delivered in camp, and were cut up and distributed to the men just as would be done on actual service; and everything was done according to strict regulations. Lord Napier, after having watched them for one week, published this voluntary compliment to them—

> "I had frequent opportunities of seeing the 1st Hampshire Volunteers during their eight days' encampment at Camberley. They were steady at drill; Battalion movements smartly done, not entirely without mistakes, but with fewer than could possibly have been expected; the distances well preserved. The skirmishing was good, and I noticed the attention of the non-commissioned officers, and the willingness of the men to be taught. The camp was well pitched, and all its arrangements, camp kitchens, &c., very business-like and satisfactory. The conduct of the men in town was exemplary, and thoroughly won the goodwill of the inhabitants, who hope to see them again next year. The working of the Battalion showed that the company officers and the men had attended to their drill during the year, and thus they were able to appear in combined movements as if they had been embodied for a long time, and made it very difficult to realize that they had been together only a few days. On the whole, I consider the 1st Hampshire Volunteers a most serviceable and intelligent body of men, very creditable to their battalion, and to their officers and non-commissioned officers. I congratulate Colonel Sir W. Humphery on having brought the corps to such a highly creditable condition."

That was entirely owing to their having been in camp every year for 20 years, the numbers going into camp having increased from 500 to 1,000. The Government proposed now that only 800 of those men should be assisted to go into camp; and as that was their only means of making themselves efficient 200 must be returned as non-efficient, or the officers must provide the money which the Government declined to give. He sincerely trusted that if the Committee of the House recognized the value of the Volunteers they would not sanction this parsimony. With regard to the issue of the Martini-Henry, he was not so anxious to encourage the practice of "pot-hunting" by the issue of this rifle for a fortnight. He thought it was of more importance to consider the general improvement in shooting by the Volunteers than the shooting of a few men at Wimbledon. He would rather have a few battalions shoot better than they now could, than have good shooting confined to a few particular men. He hoped the noble Marquess would have no hesitation in asking for a supplement to the Vote proposed, which was not sufficient to meet the wants of all the men who wished to go into camp this year, so that no Volunteers might be disappointed in receiving their allowance.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL, as almost the oldest Volunteer in the House, said, he would venture to say a few words on a question which was of such considerable interest as this. As he read the Order of 1881 in the Regulations, it was that 2*s*. a-day, for a period not exceeding six days annually, be allowed to Volunteer corps for each man, under the circumstances described in paragraph 999. That was the Regulation distinctly laid down. Under those conditions camps of instruction had been formed which had been of very great use; and, speaking as one who had had the honour of entertaining one of these camps each year in his own place, he could bear testimony to the advantage these camps had been, not only in bringing up the efficiency of the men, but in promoting their health and discipline. Under these circumstances, a letter had been issued, dated March 31, 1884, which, he thought, was unworthy of a Government which had any desire to promote the Military Service of the country. The reason given for reducing the allowance by 20 per cent was that the numbers of men applying to go into camp throughout the country being in excess of the amount provided for in the annual Estimate, it had become necessary to limit the amount sanctioned for each corps. So that simply because it was not thought fit to put a few hundred pounds on to this Vote—an amount which would never have been grudged by the House or by the country—it was deemed necessary to limit the amount granted. He would apply that to the one camp with which he was acquainted. The number of men who went into that camp was 1,150. Of those, there were 200 men for three days at 6*s*. per man, which would come to £60; 100 men for five days at 10*s*. each—total, £50; 850 at 12*s*. each—total, £510; making altogether £620 for these 1,150 men. What did the Government propose to do? To grant only £496 of that £620, and to put the officers or men to the expense of £124 to enable all the men to go into camp.

Colonel WALROND said, he was glad the Government had taken this Vote thus early in the Session, instead of deferring it, as they did last year, to a later period. It was a very important Vote, more especially on account of the Memorandum which his hon. Friend had quoted. The question of camps of instruction was a very serious one to the Volunteer Force generally; but as it had been discussed so fully already, he would not say much upon it. But he wished to say that many battalions of Provincial Volunteers now looked entirely to these camps for their efficiency. They could not afford to have battalion drills in their own districts; and if they could not have this annual week in camp they would suffer serious loss. Therefore, he hoped the noble Marquess would see his way to making an increased grant. He was quite sure that the noble Marquess and his hon. Friends were ready to do this; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer turned a deaf ear to them. All the military authorities in the House and at the War Office were, he was sure, willing that the Volunteers should receive their fair measure of money. He was much disappointed by the statement of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Brand) with regard to the Martini-Henry rifles; because he knew that the Council of the National Rifle Association understood that, in addition to the Martini-Henry rifles they now had, they were to receive 12,000. [Mr. Brand dissented.] The hon. Member shook his head; but that was what was understood by the Council; and, as a member of that Council, he thought it his duty to mention that now. He had also hoped that there would be an additional number of rifles issued to the whole Force in the course of the year; and he thought it would be a disastrous policy to issue Martini-Henry rifles to the Volunteer Force on a percentage system, as proposed. He could imagine nothing so likely to promote the practice of "pot-hunting" as to issue a certain number of Martini-Henry's to the good shots; because there were men now armed with that rifle who had given up the Snider entirely, and only shot with the Martini-Henry. If there was only a percentage of Martini-Henry's issued, the men who had them would give up the Snider, and that would seriously interfere with class shooting. It was desirable that general shooting should be encouraged, rather than that attention should be directed to getting a certain number of good shots. There was an impression that the Volunteers could shoot better than the men in the Army; but although, no doubt, it was possible to pick out a certain number of Volunteers who would make good practice, his opinion was that, in general, the Volunteers were in this respect inferior to the Regular troops. He trusted that the question of rifles would receive the earnest attention of Her Majesty's Government. He had referred to that subject two or three weeks ago, and the reply was that 250,000 Martini-Henry rifles were in store. He could see no reason why those weapons should not be as safe in the armouries of Volunteer Corps as they were in the Tower of London; at any rate, he was certain they could be returned into store within a week if necessary; that they would be rather improved by a little practice being made with them; and that their issue would tend to increase the efficiency of the Volunteer Force. It was somewhat late (1 A.M.) to call attention to one or two points that he desired to refer to; but the present was the only opportunity that would present itself of discussing Volunteer questions during the Session. One point was as to whether it was desirable that there should be an increased capitation grant, because the present grant was, in the opinion of many persons, insufficient, and it was considered that an additional sum should be given. His own view was that, if any further grant were made, it should be done by means of re-arrangement of the class firing; and he thought that if a scheme were drawn up to encourage the men to shoot, and thereby obtain an increased grant for efficiency with the rifle, it would do some good to the regiment. Then he wished to draw attention for one moment to the examination which Volunteer officers had to go through. He complained that the officers had to pay all their expenses in going to the place of examination, and that, when that examination was passed, they received as a grant 10*s.* for the benefit of their regiments. He thought that when an officer had passed his examination, the grant might be increased from 10*s.* to 50*s.*, or even more; and that would, no doubt, induce a larger number of officers to present themselves and do their best. So much had been said about the advantage of those examinations that he would not further refer to them. He thought it a subject for much congratulation that the Volunteer Force had increased in efficiency; and he was sure the Committee would be satisfied with the statement of the noble Marquess that during last year 1,390 Volunteers had enlisted in the Regular Army. It had always been his opinion that the Volunteer Force was a valuable addition to the Regular Army, not only in time of peace, but in time of war; and he was convinced that there was sufficient spirit amongst them to induce them to join the Army in the hour of need. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would be able to carry out the views he had recommended.

COLONEL STANLEY said, he was anxious, after what had been said by hon. and gallant Gentlemen in different parts of the House, to ask the noble Marquess to consider, in the most favourable light that circumstances would allow, the applications made by Volunteers to camp out. He trusted the noble Marquess would not be compelled to baulk the desire of the Volunteers to go into camp. Recalling the Regulations, he believed there had always been some reservation as to the grant to be given. Paragraph 913 distinctly stated that the general expense would be covered by 2*s.* a-day; but there did not appear to be any limitation of the numbers. There were, of course, difficulties in the way—that was to say, the noble Marquess could not go to the country for an additional grant; he must wait until the exigencies of the Service pressed it upon him. But he could not help thinking that if the noble Marquess could see his way to allow a large proportion of the Volunteers applying to go into camp, it would go far to remove the feeling of discouragement which he understood was rather widely spread in consequence of the Regulation. With regard to the issue of Martini-Henry rifles, it appeared to him that a mistake had been made in issuing them by percentage, which would tend to mix up the arms of the regiment, and to complicate the arrangements for making and storing them; it would introduce two kinds of arms and ammunition, where it was never desirable or convenient to have more than one; and it would have a tendency to encourage the doctrine that the rifles in question were issued to assist a few men to shoot exceedingly well, rather than to bring up the whole regiment to a better average of shooting. It might be well if the rate of distribution were increased; and he thought the noble Marquess would be justified in keeping a lower reserve than, perhaps, would at other times be desirable. As had been pointed out, the arms would not be lost to the Army, and they would be always available in case of emergency. On the whole, he should be glad to see the abandonment of the percentage principle, which had been generally unacceptable, and was believed to be undesirable in itself.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he hoped his right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley) would not think he was going too far in saying that they ought not to be satisfied with less than the proper allowance for every Volunteer on going into camp. In Lancashire, which was at the head of all the counties in respect to the Volunteer Service, both in numbers and efficiency, it had become more and more the custom every year to go into camp; and he thought that the inclination to adopt what was really the best system of training ought to be encouraged in every possible way. But the diminution of the allowance must have a discouraging effect. He knew already of one very efficient Lancashire corps which had decided not to go into camp upon the reduced allowance offered this year. The officers did not feel themselves justified in putting their hands into their pockets to make up the difference between the grant and the amount actually required. His own experience was that the great benefit to be derived from camping out depended upon its continuity. Those Volunteers who had been into camp one year were in a much better condition to profit by their next year's duties, and so on with respect to other years. The corps to which he belonged had gone regularly into camp for several years; and, as an instance of the progress made from year to year, he might mention that three years ago the men undertook to do their own cooking. The first year they had the assistance of eight skilled cooks from one of the Regular regiments; the next year they only required four; and the following year only one. Now, cooking was essential to enable a regiment to march, and that was just the kind of instruction that was derived from going into camp; and he hoped the Government would not act so as to discourage this very hopeful means of bringing the Volunteer Service into a condition of efficiency. There was much in the *Report* issued this year which must be gratifying to those interested in the Volunteer Force. The efficiency of the Force had greatly increased; and yet they were sensible of the fact that much remained to be done to enable it, in case of need, to take the field. He thought the Government would not go too far if, in addition to the Martini-Henry rifles, they were to provide accoutrements of the most approved pattern, and also valises. As it was, Volunteers were obliged to march into camp with the old knapsack, which was the only means they had of making up their kits; and it would be obvious that no regiment could take the field with an equipment of that kind. Therefore, he hoped the authorities would take into consideration the question of supplying accoutrements and valises to those Volunteers who desired to make themselves efficient. Some distinguished military men thought the Government ought to provide the Force with great coats, and that also he commended to the attention of the noble Marquess. At that hour he would not go into any other matters connected with the Force, though there were several which he had wished to notice; and he would, therefore, conclude by saying that he did not think he could too strongly express the hope that Her Majesty's Government would yield to the desire, on the part of most Volunteers, that a sufficient grant should be made to enable those who desired it to go into camp.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, the discussion which had taken place showed that a strong feeling existed amongst hon. Gentlemen who took an interest in the Volunteer Force with reference to camping out. He did not think that subject had been prominently before him until a Question was asked upon it a few days ago; and until that evening he was not aware that so strong a feeling existed in connection with it. It was quite clear that before next year the subject must, at all events, be thoroughly considered; either some increase in the provision must be made, or else some method of selection less objectionable than the present method of dealing with the grants must be adopted. He did not, however, think that amongst the Volunteers of North-West Lancashire any idea of breach of faith was associated with the Circular which had been issued.

COLONEL STANLEY: I hope the noble Marquess will not think I said there was any breach of faith. I said it was wise to avoid the appearance of it.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he thought the Regulation must be held to be governed by the first paragraph relating to regimental camps, which said that a portion of the Volunteer Force would in each year be assisted to form camps for Volunteer exercise, and then went on to describe the Regulations as to Volunteers who wished to form camps. There was nothing whatever about a greater force being assisted to camp out every year. He had already stated that they should be allowed to camp out every third year. As he had stated the other day, the permission to receive this assistance was not at first very much taken advantage of; apparently but a small number of corps desired to camp out at all, and those who did received the allowance year after year. The number, however, had continued rapidly to increase, and it was thought to be desirable and more agreeable to the position of the Volunteers themselves that, instead of making a selection of corps, a reduction of 20 per cent should be made on the number of men all round who were desirous of camping out. But, as he had said, the question must be considered before next year. If he could see his way to do so, he should be very glad to meet the suggestion of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Stanley), to reconsider the matter at once; but considering the heavy expenses with which the Military Estimates were burdened this year, it was much more likely there would be a deficiency than a saving, and he could not, therefore, make any further provision by way of Supplementary Estimate this year. It was necessary that some control should be exercised over this and other expenditure on account of the Volunteer Force; although he was free to admit that up to the present time the Force had been an economical one, and he believed that its high popularity was largely due to that fact. He was somewhat sorry to hear that the exertions of the authorities to maintain that economy had been met with a request for an increased expenditure. The hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Walrond) was probably correct when he said that the House would cheerfully vote the sum required for an increased capitation grant. No doubt it would, and also a great many other items; but when hon. Members, on whichever side of the House they sat, came to consider the expenditure of the Government from a broader point of view, he did not see that there was any such unanimous acquiescence in the general increase of military expenditure; on the contrary, accusations of extravagance in military matters had proceeded with tolerable impartiality from both sides of the House. Under those circumstances—considering that it was desirable that strict economy should be exercised with regard to the Force; considering, also, that only a limited portion of the Force could encamp every year, and that the proposal would involve a sudden and unexpected increase of charge, it was impossible to hold out any hope that an alteration could be made before next year.

MR. ALAN EGERTON said, that nothing appeared to have been done for the purpose of restoring to the Volunteers Wormwood Scrubbs as a shooting ground. It was very important that all Volunteers should become efficient in shooting in order to earn the capitation grant. At the same time, it was impossible for the working classes, who formed the great bulk of the London Volunteer regiments, to spend the time and money necessary for their going down to Ealing. The present arrangement meant that Volunteers must sacrifice half-a-day's wages in order to make themselves efficient; and he therefore trusted the hon. Gentleman the Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Brand) would be able to give some assurance that Wormwood Scrubbs should be used for the purpose of Volunteer practice.

MR. BULWER said, he hoped that the allowances would be made this year to the men who actually went into camp. A promise to that effect would enable commanding officers to make the necessary arrangements as soon as the number of men was known. The expense would not be very great, and the concession need not be drawn into a precedent; at the same time, early notice could be given next year which would allow commanding officers to make arrangements for a certain number of men to go into camp on the Regulation allowance.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER remarked, that the establishment of the Volunteer Force in 1883-4 was 193,734, and that for the year 1884-5 it numbered 194,220 —a very considerable increase, which showed that the Volunteers were desirous of making themselves efficient, which, of his own knowledge, they were perfectly able to accomplish. He hoped the noble Marquess would see his way this year to give the Volunteers the benefit of any alteration that could be made in the Regulations with regard to camping out; and he was sure they would be perfectly willing to submit to such further Regulations as the noble Marquess might bring forward.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he would give the best consideration he could; but it was impossible for him to do what was asked of him—namely, to bring in a Supplementary Estimate. It was occasionally necessary, at the commencement of a year, to bring in Supplementary Estimates; but such Estimates were for unforeseen expenses. He could not see his way to bring in a Supplementary Estimate to cover the expense of Volunteers going into camp.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Committee sit again upon Wednesday."

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that when the Vote for the Men was taken the Committee were promised faithfully that to-night, or the night the Estimates were brought forward again, hon. Members should have an ample opportunity of discussing the Vote; that was distinctly stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer when the Vote was agreed to. They had not had the opportunity that was promised them; and therefore he begged to ask that Supply should be put down again upon a day that the Committee would have an opportunity of discussing the question of the present condition of the Army.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR reminded the right hon. Gentleman on the Government Bench that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War agreed in reference to one Vote—a Vote which had just been taken in Committee—that it should not be reported as early as the other Votes, but should be allowed to stand over until the War Office had made up their minds with regard to certain suggestions, emanating from Irish Members, as to the payment of chaplains for certain Militia regiments in Ireland. What he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) wanted to ascertain was, whether it was distinctly understood that at the next Report of Supply the Vote for Divine Service would not be included?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, the Report of the whole of the Votes must be put down *pro formâ;* but he would arrange with the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, who had given such an undertaking as the hon. Gentleman the Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) mentioned, that the Vote for Divine Service should be postponed. In reply to the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), he had to say that the first Vote had been already reported; but there would be ample opportunity for discussing the question of the present condition of the Army upon the Reserve Vote, and that Vote could not long be postponed. He hoped that the introduction of that Vote would be considered by the hon. and gallant Baronet a fitting and convenient opportunity on which to bring on his Motion.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER pointed out to his hon. and gallant Friend the Financial Secretary to the War Office (Sir Arthur Hayter) that the Committee understood from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that they should have an opportunity of discussing the whole Army question on Vote 8, and on some day between Easter and Whitsuntide. He hoped that another day would be given before Whitsuntide for the consideration of the Army Estimates.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, the Government promised that a day should be given for the Army Estimates, and another day for the Navy Estimates, before Whitsuntide. It was quite impossible to give a second day for the Army Estimates before Whitsuntide.

Motion *agreed to.*

HYDE PARK CORNER IMPROVEMENTS BILL.—[Bill 136.]

(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Courtney.*)

SECOND READING. BILL WITHDRAWN.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE moved that the Order be discharged. He proposed to take this course so that the Bill might be introduced in the other House. He had failed to induce hon. Gentlemen, who opposed the Bill, to remove their blocks; and as it was absolutely necessary that the Bill should pass on an early day, in order that it might be referred to a Select Committee, he begged to move that the Order be discharged.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked if the Bill could be introduced in the House of Lords, inasmuch as it was a Money Bill?

Mr. WARTON begged to move that the Order be not discharged.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR rose to Order. He desired to ask whether the Bill could be introduced in the House of Lords without infringing the Privileges of the Commons?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is competent for the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) to move that the Order be discharged.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR pointed out that the right hon. Gentleman had explained that his object in moving that the Order be discharged was that the Bill might be introduced in the other House. Could such a reason be of any weight at all unless they knew that the Bill could be introduced in the House of Lords?

Mr. HICKS said, that, after the remarks which had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works, it might, perhaps, be well that the House should understand the reason why objection had been taken to proceeding with the Bill after half-past 12 o'clock at night. [*Laughter.*] He repeated, that, after the remarks which had fallen from the First Commissioner of Works, it was desirable the House should be acquainted with the objections which had been taken to passing the Bill in the early hours of the morning without any discussion; and he was not going to be debarred from narrating the facts by any interruption from Gentlemen on the Front Treasury Bench. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite talked both in and out of the House about Obstruction; but he hoped the country would understand that the Obstruction came from those Gentlemen themselves, by interrupting independent Members of the House. Now, the objection to the Bill was that Her Majesty's Government asked the House——

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE asked whether it was competent for the hon. Gentleman to discuss the Bill?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not competent for the hon. Gentleman to discuss the merits of the Bill, or the clauses of the Bill. He can only refer to the Question now before the House, which is that the Order be discharged.

Mr. HICKS said, it would be in the recollection of the Speaker that the First Commissioner of Works used words implying censure upon those who had objected to the Bill being passed without discussion; and if he (Mr. Hicks) was in Order——

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I never implied any censure.

Mr. HICKS: Mr. Speaker, I am entirely in your hands.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Question is that the Order be discharged.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS BILL.

(*Sir John Hay, Mr. James A. Campbell.*)

[BILL 131.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Sir JOHN HAY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said he had no desire to detain the House at that hour (1·50) of the morning by making any statement in regard to the merits of the Bill. In the printing of the Bill a certain number of errors had been made, especially in regard to figures, and it was well the necessary Amendments should be printed on the Paper. This could not be done until the second reading had been agreed to. He hoped hon. Gentlemen would allow the second reading to be taken now.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir John Hay.*)

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he did not think the House ought to allow a Bill of this kind to pass the second reading; and, therefore, he begged to move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. The objections to the Bill were manifest. It would accentuate the difference between boroughs and counties to a degree that had never previously been suggested by any responsible politician, and to an extent that was absurd; and the House, he was sure, would not read a second time a Bill carrying out that principle in such a way.

Mr. A. R. D. ELLIOT seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Buchanan.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 6th May, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Fisheries (Ireland) * (77).

Second Reading—Public Health (Confirmation of Byelaws) * (76); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (The Labourers Act) (Carrick-on-Suir) (54); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Naas, &c.) * (55).

Third Reading—Marriages Legalisation (Wood Green Congregational Church) * (66), and *passed.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL *v.* CHARLES BRADLAUGH, M.P.—ACTION AT BAR.

PETITION.

Petition of Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., praying that an Officer of the House may attend at the hearing of a cause commenced by the Attorney General, on behalf of Her Majesty, against the Petitioner, and produce the Journal of the House for the year 1882 (presented on Thursday last): Ordered as prayed.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (THE LABOURERS ACT) (CARRICK-ON-SUIR) BILL.

(*The Lord President.*)

(NO. 54.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord President.*)

The Earl of LONGFORD said, that this was one of the first Bills that had been brought forward for the confirmation of Provisional Orders that had been made under the Act which was very properly intended to provide labourers' cottages in Ireland. That Act was passed rather hurriedly; two or three defects in it were pointed out at the time the measure was passing through Parliament; and it was even observed that, in the form in which it stood, it was totally unworkable. If it had not been totally unworkable, it had, at all events, caused a great deal of confusion, and might be the cause of a great deal more. The authorities who were intrusted with the administration of the Act were the Sanitary Authority—that was, the Board of Guardians—who had now constituted themselves, to a large extent, political debating societies; and, while not always keeping in view the advantages of those for whose benefit the Act was passed, disregarded the rights of anyone who was not in favour with them. In short, they mixed up politics with the matter. At the same time, the Sanitary Boards had large powers to choose sites and take possession of them under certain formalities. The Lord President had asked them to carefully watch the working of the Act; and he thought it right to urge on him that one Amendment, at least, should be introduced to provide that sites taken by compulsion should, at all events, have a frontage to some public road. At present, the sites which were selected were often a very considerable distance from any public road, and even in the centre of a man's farm, which certainly was not intended by the Act. It was very desirable indeed that the choice of sites should be carried out under some more responsible authority, so as to cause as little inconvenience as possible. The working of the Act, he believed, had caused great expense, and was the cause of great dissatisfaction to those with whose rights it interfered; and he thought that, at all events, in the respect he referred to, it ought to be worked so as to trouble those concerned as little as possible.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON said, he entirely endorsed all the allegations that had been made by his noble Friend in regard to the working of the Act. In Ireland a man had always a great objection to building labourers' cottages on his own land; but that objection did not apply to the building of cottages on the lands of his neighbours, and the only protection they had was the Boards of Guardians, which, as they had heard, had taken up a political stand. The result of this was that the Act had done far more mischief than it had conferred benefits. He hoped, however, that in future the authorities would take care that the benefits which it was intended that the Act should confer upon the labourers should not be neutralized by the action of the Boards of Guardians.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that he did not like to express any opinion of his own at this moment on the working of the Act, which had, no doubt, been attended with very considerable difficulty; but he would take care to bring to the attention of the Irish Government, and especially of the Chief Secretary, the points raised by the noble Lords.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly.

PARLIAMENT—REPRESENTATION OF IRELAND.—RESOLUTION.

LORD WAVENEY had given Notice of his intention to move a Resolution—

> "That all boroughs of not more than 1,000 registered voters at the time of passing any Bill for redistribution of seats in Parliament in Ireland shall be incorporated into the representation of the counties wherein they are situate by the addition of so many members to the county representation as these boroughs shall have aforetime returned to Parliament, to be elected then and thenceforward on the county franchise;"

but before his Lordship rose,

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that he objected to the noble Lord proceeding with this Motion. On a former evening he had pointed out objections to the Resolution as being against the Standing Orders of the House. He asked their Lordships whether they were in a position to agree to such a Resolution as the one upon the Paper, which had reference to a redistribution of seats, and which particularly affected the other House of Parliament. There was another objection to the Resolution. He noticed that last night, or rather that morning at 2 o'clock, there was a Bill for the redistribution of seats before the other House, which was counted out upon it. Therefore, there was a Bill before the other House on the subject of this Resolution. He thought that if the noble Lord would consider the matter, he would hardly propose such a Resolution as that which now stood upon their Lordships' Paper in his name.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that when the Notice was laid upon the Table he was not aware that there was a Bill before the other House on the subject; but now the attention of their Lordships had been called to that fact he had to say that it would be clearly out of Order to proceed with the Motion.

LORD WAVENEY said, that the noble Earl at the Table (the Earl of Redesdale) had stated that his Resolution had reference to a redistribution of seats; but he would point out that there was a great distinction between a Redistribution Bill and what would be the result of his Resolution if it were agreed to in a Bill. He would, therefore, proceed to bring on his Resolution.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) rose to Order, and said the noble Lord stated that his Resolution had nothing to do with the redistribution of seats; but those were the very words of the Resolution, and the fact that this Resolution unquestionably dealt with a subject regarding which there was a Bill before the other House made it out of Order to bring on the Resolution in that House.

LORD WAVENEY pointed out that his Resolution had reference not to redistribution of seats, but to the incorporation of the seats existing in boroughs with those in the counties—it was a question of allocation, and not one of any particular redistribution. And unless any noble Lord had other objections to make he would proceed with his Resolution.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY rose to Order. He felt as strongly on this subject as the noble Earl the Leader of the House and the Chairman of Committees that the Resolution was out of Order and should not be proceeded with, and they were not so powerless as to allow the noble Lord to proceed in spite of the objections offered against his doing so; he would, therefore, move that the noble Lord be not now heard.

Moved, "That the Lord Waveney be not now heard."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question? *agreed to.*

LORD WAVENEY thereupon gave Notice that on an early day he would call attention to the numerical proportion of the boroughs of Ireland.

EGYPT—THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: My Lords, I rise to inquire in what position the negotiations with regard to the proposed Conference on the financial affairs of Egypt now stand; and to move for a copy of the invitation to the Conference addressed by Her Majesty's Government to the various Powers, and I should have liked to have added to the Motion the words, "And the answers received from the different Powers." I have observed, from the ordinary channels of information, that an answer was made in "another place" to my right hon. Friend (Mr. Bourke) that it was wholly inconsistent with the practice of Parliament to lay these answers on the Table before they had been received. If that be so, and if that be the practice of Her Majesty's Government, I have nothing to say. At the same time, I think it right to call attention to one rather singular incident in these transactions, because I notice that on the 1st of May, when a Question on this subject was put to the Prime Minister, he was reported to have said that the proposal of Her Majesty's Government to hold a Conference had been accepted by the Powers; whereas on May 2nd, when he was asked whether he would produce these answers, he said—"We are not accustomed to produce the answers of Foreign Powers before they are received." There is a certain difference between these statements, and I do not know how to reconcile them. I am at a loss to understand whether it is that the Government object to produce these answers at all, or whether they object to produce them before they are received. If they have been received, as, according to the statement of the Prime Minister, they seem to have been, I trust there will be no objection to produce them; if they have not been received, I must leave the noble Earl to explain how the Prime Minister was able to state on the 2nd of May that the proposals had been accepted. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has on several occasions lately taken me to task for various things I have said, or have been supposed to have said. A few days ago he described me as a severe critic of Her Majesty's Government, and the remarks I made seem to have pressed rather hard. Last night, again, in answer to a very simple Question which I ventured to put, and which had no reference to Her Majesty's Government, he said that I claimed a monopoly of knowledge on a particular subject. I have no doubt it was inconvenient to Her Majesty's Government to be asked Questions as to the progress of this Conference. Of them it would be much more true to say that they had claimed a monopoly of knowledge to themselves, our knowledge having been extracted from the Papers to which I refer. But, at the same time, the remedy is in their own hands. If they would deal a little more frankly with us, and take Parliament a little more into their confidence in matters of this kind, Questions such as I am about to put would be less frequent, and the speeches concerning them would be more brief. I think, in the circumstances, we should fail in our duty if we hesitated to put Questions which the supreme urgency of the case seem to me to warrant. There are two questions which are at this moment directly before the public mind—one is the position of General Gordon, and the other is of this financial Conference. I do not wish to say a word with regard to General Gordon — that is a separate question. What I desire to call attention to is the position and progress of business with regard to this financial Conference. It is a most important question, and one which goes far beyond the hour, and it is most important that Parliament should have a clear understanding as to the bases of the Conference. In the morning papers yesterday there appeared a Memorandum which purported to be the invitation sent by Her Majesty's Government to the Powers. The text of the invitation was not given; but I think it is not too much to ask the Government to give Parliament, not only the Memorandum, but the text of the invitation in an authoritative form. And here I cannot but say that we owe a very great debt to the public Press, in that, but for them, we should have been absolutely in the dark as to the condition in which affairs were. I am not going to discuss the figures or statements in that Memorandum. It is sufficient for my purpose to say—if I gathered it rightly—that the Memorandum set forth that the present deficits, accumulated during the last three years, amount to the enormous sum of £8,000,000 sterling, and that there is a deficit during the current year of £500,000 more. These figures come to something not far short of bankruptcy; and it is on that ground, as I understand it, that the Conference is to meet. Upon the very threshold, so to speak, of that Conference, I must take the opportunity of saying that I feel the greatest doubt as to the expediency of calling the Conference together at all. It is meant, so far as we can understand it, to effect a change in the Law of Liquidation; but that law was not passed through the agency of any International Conference, but by an International Commission, and in the ordinary course of diplomatic communications. In regard to this the old legal maxim holds that the same power which ties the knot may also undo the knot. But there is a, perhaps, more serious objection than that to which I have referred. It is impossible not to question in one's own mind what the prospects of success are in summoning such a Conference. I cannot see how it is possible that the Powers there assembled will agree to a proposal without obtaining from Her Majesty's Government a security which I do not think it is in their power to give. What I mean is, supposing that Her Majesty's Government make a request for some concession on the ground of these enormous deficits—which, as I have said, amount almost to a state of bankruptcy—must not the answer be, what security is there that next year, or the following year, there will not be a recurrence of these deficits? What security can the Government give, what answer can they possibly make to such an objection? The only possible security would be a re-establishment of order, on which a general confidence would follow; but that security does not exist at the present time. That confidence has broken down and gone to pieces under the administration of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt, and it is impossible not to ask Her Majesty's Government how that security is to be provided. Then, further, how can any reasonable person suppose it possible that you could limit the debate in this proposed Conference to mere questions of finance? Finance means one of two things—retrenchment or taxation; and then comes the question—Retrenchment in what, or taxation of what? Retrenchment in what particular Department? Taxation on what particular class? Finance, in this instance, means opening up the whole administration of the Government of Egypt; and I am, therefore, totally at a loss to know how you can bring the Representatives of the various Powers to discuss the finance of the country without trespassing upon the question of general policy. Her Majesty's Government have already, by implication, admitted that nothing would be more dangerous, or more compromising to the interests of England in Egypt, than to discuss the whole question of policy and administration in an International Conference, and that, in fact, it might amount to opening a door which you can scarcely hope to close again. This very Memorandum to which I have referred, and which, I presume, I may quote, is an illustration of what I mean, because in one part of it it is stated that, although there has been an enormous deficit, the Khedive has spent £500,000 sterling for the recovery of the Soudan. This last point brings in the question of policy, in that the burden is shifted most unwisely—and, as I think, injudiciously —from the shoulders of Her Majesty's Government to those of the Khedive. As to the recovery of the Soudan, I will say nothing beyond expressing the opinion that a single word from Downing Street would have stopped the march of Colonel Hicks and all the subsequent disasters that followed it. It is said that the Government have secured the assent of all the Powers to the Conference, and I sincerely hope it is so, for nothing would give me greater satisfaction than to have that knowledge; but I must own that there are very few signs of that happy concurrence and concord. As far as the Foreign Press is concerned, I must say that it is almost entirely opposed to any proposal for Foreign Powers to take part in this Conference. Certainly the news that we have seen this morning that Russia has taken advantage of this occasion to annex Sarakhs, which has been hinted at before, does not improve the situation; and if the report be true it only shows the value of the sympathy and co-operation of Russia. We are now, in fact, reaping, in a great measure, the results of a very impulsive Prime Minister. We are reaping those results in the hostility—the patent, manifest hostility of the Porte, and possibly the coldness of Germany. There is a great deal more that might be said on this subject. I have simply stated, from my point of view, the very obvious reasons which have induced me to doubt greatly the political wisdom or the public expediency of the Conference at the present time. But if that Conference is to be held, it is very important to know what the terms and basis of it are. I see numberless difficulties, and what is much worse, a great many dangers ahead. There may be opinions and engagements to which we may be committed, and which will be dangerous hereafter. Again, I say that, under these circumstances, what we desire is to have light thrown upon this question. We have been too long in the dark, and it is very desirable that the Government should give us some general knowledge of the state of the case. I think it is extremely likely that the noble Earl opposite will tell me that I am premature in asking for this information, and that I am embarrassing the Government in asking for it. Well, I am really afraid there is no alternative. According to him, either I am too early or too late. The Conference at this moment has not met, and it is for that reason that I propose this Question. I know, if the Conference were sitting, the noble Earl would tell me it was contrary to precedent to express an opinion while negotiations were in progress. Therefore, I am on the horns of a dilemma. I must ask the Question now, or not at all. Under these circumstances, I press for the information, feeling that I am performing a public duty in doing so.

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, I own I was a little surprised when I saw the Notice of this Question on the Paper. I thought one of the objects of the noble Earl was to make a personal explanation, and to explain what he had said on two former occasions, on which he said I was entirely mistaken. I really do not think that I did make a mistake. The noble Earl's speech with reference to which he said I had made a mistake was as to the deportation of convicts by the French to Australia, which was brought forward on two occasions by my noble Friend behind me (the Earl of Rosebery). What was the language on both these occasions of the noble Earl? He said that he really wished the Government would understand the importance of the question, and he assured us that the Australians were very much excited on the subject. He went on in this sort of way, and said that really he must press upon the Government that they ought to make diplomatic representations to France upon the subject. I appeal to your Lordships—is it likely we are ignorant of all these things? And when he gave us this lecture, was it entirely out of place for me to remonstrate against his assuming a monopoly of the knowledge that this was an important question? The noble Earl made very great fun of what he considers to be a difference of answer of mine from one given by Mr. Gladstone in "another place." Considering the hundreds, almost thousands, of Questions and answers, I cannot always undertake to give an explanation of an answer that was given; but I must say that, in this instance, the reply is a very obvious one—namely, that the two answers were perfectly compatible. I said here, and Mr. Gladstone stated in the other House, that answers had been received upon this Egyptian Conference Question of an affirmatory character. When asked to produce these answers, amongst the many reasons which may be stated, I think there is a very strong objection against doing so. But there is also this fact. The answers we had received were not written answers at all, but mere oral communications. That, I think, rather disposes of the alleged difference in the answers which have been given. Then the noble Earl goes on to refer to the objects of the Conference, and he says he cannot understand why we are to have a Conference. I am not going to argue the case with the noble Earl; but I may say this much—that when the Powers of Europe have an international right, and you wish to interfere with that international right, I do not think that the idea of consulting with them on the subject is perfectly monstrous. The noble Earl then went on to say that they must have information on the subject, and that they had suffered enormously from our reticence. I have a sort of recollection of a reticence on the part of the Government we succeeded. I think for nearly 18 months the public and the two Houses of Parliament were not aware of a great change of policy and all sorts of intentions with regard to Afghanistan, and yet the noble Earl objects to our keeping our own counsel even for a week or two. The noble Earl says he has a right to ask all these things. I deny it. We have heard lately of several new departures on the part of the Conservative Party with regard to policy. It appears to me that the noble Earl wants to bring about another great change of policy, which is this—to transfer to Parliament the negotiations with Foreign Powers. Now, it may be that the noble Earl only intends that the House of Lords should take the position which constitutionally the Senate of the United States has a right to take; but you may depend upon it that if we were to take away from the Crown the conduct of negotiations, there is another place that would not be slow in following our example. I must decline, and I cannot conceive anybody blaming me for declining, to enter into explanations with regard to negotiations which are at this moment actually going on.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I think the noble Earl shows undue susceptibility when he is indignant with us because we press upon him the importance of the serious questions which occupy the public mind at the present time. He should remember a little of the recent history of his own Government. It has been a history of long inaction and neglect, broken only by those spells of activity which have been brought about by the interference of Parliament. The policy of the Government has been bad enough; but it would have been twice or three times as bad as it has been if it had not been for the pressure which has been applied in this and the other House to induce the Government to attempt to cope with the great public dangers which their negligence has brought upon them. I think my noble Friend is quite justified in sounding a warning note with respect to this Conference. Whatever the rights of the Crown may be with respect to negotiations and the communication of its intentions to Parliament, we at least have the right to criticize, and it is a right we are bound to exercise when we think great public evils are impending. I confess that the reticence of the noble Earl fills me with some alarm. I am sure he is too good a tactician to adopt it if he could avoid it with safety to his own objects. I cannot believe that he would be so reserved if there were no other intention but to alter something of the Expenditure or something of the Revenue of the Viceroyalty of Egypt. If it were only an intention to correct something in the Law of Liquidation, to allow some Revenue to be applied to a purpose which had not previously been permitted, it would be so simple a matter, so free from any dangers, that I am sure the noble Earl would himself have come down at an earlier date and have told us something of the intentions which the Government entertained. There must be intentions with respect to this Conference of a far more wide-reaching character, involving far more delicate questions and far more dangerous issues. The Conference is beset with many difficulties. I do not know, when the noble Earl talks of the duty of consulting other Powers when you wish to modify an international right, that he intends that doctrine to be rigorously applied. Is he going to apply it in all its integrity to Turkey? Turkey is not only one of the Great Powers, and admitted to the Concert of Europe by the Treaty of Paris; but Turkey has a special claim to be heard in the disposal of Egyptian questions. It is especially necessary to appeal to Turkey upon the question of finance. If you intend to ask for outside authorization the first step you must take in order to smooth the path of your finance is to raise a loan; and raising a loan is positively prohibited by the Firman which makes the title of the present Khedive to his Throne. If you are to consult other Powers, as the noble Earl says, whenever you intend to interfere with matters on which they have international right, the first Power that should be consulted, and from whom consent should be obtained, is the Empire of Turkey. But that is not all. The Law of Liquidation does not impose the consent of the four or five Powers known as the Great Powers. It does not concern their interests alone. It is a law having for its object the protection of the individual interests of creditors belonging to various nationalities, and those nationalities are not only belonging to the Great Powers. There are Sweden, Spain, Greece, and other Powers. Is this Conference to contain them all? If it does not contain them all, how will its structure be conformable to the dogma which the noble Earl has just laid down, that when you interfere with the international rights of other Powers you are bound to consult them? My Lords, the evil which I dread, and which I believe many men in this country dread, when we heard of this Conference, is, that it will not be concerned with finance alone; that by hook or by crook the whole question of Egypt will be brought upon the Council Table, that the position which this country possesses in Egypt will be made dependent upon the assent and arbitrament of the Powers who sit around this Council Table, and that it will be under the cover of the European Concert that Her Majesty's Government will extricate themselves, with little honour, from the embarrassments in which their policy has involved them. My Lords, if that is the object with which the Conference is summoned, or if that is the object which is contemplated, it is one of the most dangerous to the British interests that any Minister has ever devised, because it proposes nothing less than the sacrifice of that position which we have obtained in Egypt out of regard to British interests, and which, without sacrificing British interests, we cannot abandon. I am not going to speak of the past, or of the Dual Control. It was an arrangement which answered, I believe, admirably whilst it existed; and with reference to its death there is that difference of opinion which often occurs with respect to an individual's death. His friends think that his life might have been saved, and the friends of the doctor hold an opposite opinion. In my opinion, the Dual Control died by reason of the unskilful treatment with which it met; but I cannot expect noble Lords on the opposite Bench to agree with me. The point on which they will agree with me is that it is dead beyond recall. Well, what I want to insist upon is that the issue of this Conference, if it touches anything beyond finance, cannot be a revival of anything approaching to the Dual Control, or anything in which France should be our only partner. If anything touching the Government of Egypt comes out of this Council it will be a multiple control; and a more complete device for insuring permanent anarchy, for paralyzing the power of England in Egypt, and compromising all the interests she seeks to guard, it would be impossible to conceive. My Lords, there is no instance of International Government ever having produced anything but evil. I earnestly trust that, though the noble Earl will not tell us precisely what the aims of this Conference are, he will banish the possibility of such an issue from his plans and from his mind. At all events, I am convinced that any result of this Conference which shall leave the action of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt less free than it is now will be condemned by the people of this country. You cannot hand over the Government of Egypt to other hands than your own for the present. Having destroyed all that is strong and vigorous in Egyptian institutions, you cannot leave it to the anarchy you have brought upon it. You must work out for yourselves, by your own strength, the difficulties upon which you have entered, the problem you have yourselves by your conduct laid down; and I earnestly hope this Conference will not be made a screen for escaping from the responsibilities you have incurred.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: The noble Lords who are in Opposition have a great advantage over us, because they know they can make speeches which, from the nature of the case, we cannot even attempt to answer. I rise merely for the purpose of saying that, while we feel bound not to reply, it is a new and peculiar mode of advancing the Public Business in the interests of the country for the noble Marquess, after he has been told it is impossible to give any information, to get up and make such a speech as he has just delivered. It is very easy for noble Lords opposite, after they have been told that it is for the public interest that Questions should not be answered, to get up and say—"Oh, just what we thought; you have some dark design." That, I repeat, is a very easy but not very admirable mode of procedure, or the most calculated to advance the Business of the House.

HOUSE OF LORDS—THE ELECTRIC LIGHT.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN asked Her Majesty's Government, Why the electric light, which has long since been successfully introduced into the House of Commons, has not been introduced into this House, and whether it is intended so to introduce it; and, if so, when? He had to complain that a Vote had been granted for the purpose of introducing the electric light into both Houses; but, while the House of Commons had taken care of themselves, the House of Lords was left with an illuminant which had almost gone out of fashion for public buildings.

LORD SUDELEY: My Lords, in reply to the noble Earl, I have to state that the First Commissioner of Works has the whole question of lighting in the Houses of Parliament with the electric light now under consideration. Plans and estimates are being made out, and it is intended, if possible, to light up with the electric light, not only the Library, Corridors, and Lobbies, as has been done in connection with the House of Commons, but also, in this case, to light up the interior of the House of Lords itself. The noble Earl has referred to the fact that last year a small Vote was taken to light up the Library. This was undoubtedly true; but when the First Commissioner came to go further into the matter, he found that, owing to the very short time your Lordships sit in the evening, it would be most uneconomical to light up only so small an area, and that it would be better to wait until it would be possible to light up all the Lobbies and the House itself as well as the Library.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD: Does the noble Lord mean that we must wait 12 months for the electric light?

LORD SUDELEY: I endeavoured to explain that there will be no difficulty when it is found possible to light up the whole area, and not only a limited section such as the Library.

MARRIAGES VALIDITY—PRETENDED CLERKS IN HOLY ORDERS.

QUESTION.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Lord Chancellor, Whether the marriages solemnized by a man not in Holy Orders, who fraudulently obtained curacies in several dioceses and parishes during six years, are valid?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in reply, said, the attention of the Attorney General was directed to the case; and he had very little doubt, if the Acts were at all as the noble Lord understood, that the law would be found not ineffectual to punish this description of fraud. With regard to the marriages which the person in question was said to have solemnized, he was happy to be able to state that, according to the best authority which he had been able to consult, there seemed no reason to suppose that those marriages, if contracted in good faith and in ignorance of the incompetence of this person, would not be held good. But even if there should be a doubt on the point, he had laid on their Lordships' Table a Bill of a retrospective as well as a prospective character, which he hoped would for ever set at rest all doubts with regard both to marriages solemnized in places which, for some formal reason, were supposed to have insufficient authority, and also marriages solemnized by persons incompetent by law to do so, but where the contracting parties acted in good faith.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS—DELAY IN DELIVERY.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can explain why the Parliamentary Papers, "Egypt Nos. 12 and 13," which he placed on the Table of the House on the 28th April, extracts from which appeared in *The Times* and other newspapers on the 2nd of May, were not delivered to Peers until midday on the 3rd of May? He complained that similar delays were not uncommon; and he wished to know how it was that such documents appeared in the newspapers before they were in the hands of noble Lords?

EARL GRANVILLE said, he was rather alarmed when he saw the Question; but he was somewhat re-assured when the noble Earl asked it; and he felt that he could answer this Question, at any rate, without reticence, and without detriment to the Public Service. The fact was, the Papers were laid on the Table of the House on the 29th, not the 28th of April; and the printer reported that a full supply had been delivered to Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode with instructions to strike off a certain number of copies for the use of their Lordships, and some delay, owing to pressure of work, had occurred in doing so.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, he thought that it was remarkable that the Papers dated the 1st of May had appeared in the newspapers without having been presented.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that it was impossible to prevent any member of the Press buying copies of the Papers and publishing them next morning; and he did not understand why this attack had been made upon him.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE said, he thought that the answer of the noble Earl was hardly to the point, which was that important telegrams had appeared in the morning papers without having been presented to their Lordships' House.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD called attention to the fact that important public documents had appeared in the morning papers of that day which had not been distributed to Members of that House.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that he could not make himself personally responsible for the delivery of every packet of Papers.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that it was constantly the case that Papers were distributed in the House of Commons and published next morning without having been delivered to their Lordships. He had no wish to make an attack on the noble Earl; but they did not know whom else to attack.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY reminded their Lordships that the House of Commons sat later, and that it would thus happen that Papers might be delivered there which could not be delivered to their Lordships.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that the grievance was a real one, and it had happened over and over again. He thought that the fault must lie with the office connected with the printing of the Papers.

House adjourned at half past Six o'clock,
to Thursday next, a quarter
past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 6*th May*, 1884.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee—Resolutions* [May 5] *reported.*

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—London Eastern Tramways.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 3) (Saint James, Westminster, &c.) * [195]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 4) (Colchester, &c.) * [196]; Waterworks Rating (Scotland) * [197].

Second Reading—Gas Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [181]; Water Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [182].

Committee—Representation of the People [119] [First Night]—R.P.

QUESTIONS.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND)—THE RATE COLLECTOR OF THE BOYLE UNION.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the attention of the Local Government Board has been drawn to the fact that on the occasion of the election of John M'Williams to the rate-collectorship of the Cragkan Division of the Boyle Union, the rate of poundage was fixed at 8*d.* on a division by the vote of a majority of the Board before proceeding to the election, notwithstanding that the Board was apprised that one of the candidates offered solvent security for the collection of the rate at 4*d.*; how many ex-officio guardians and how many elected guardians voted for an eightpenny poundage, and how many ex-officio, as distinguished from elected guardians, voted for the reduced poundage; whether it was stated that the rates are already satisfactorily collected in another Division of the Union at 4*d.*; whether the persons who voted for the eightpenny rate were, with one or two exceptions, those who subsequently elected Mr. M'Williams; whether, in view of these circumstances, the Local Government Board will be requested to reconsider their sanction of the appointment; whether, with regard to the allegation that the Local Government Board had no information as to the procurement of Mr. Corry's resignation by M'Williams, the Local Government Board have received a communication from Mr. Mahon, stating that Mr. Corry's resignation is in M'Williams' handwriting; whether Mahon's protest was forwarded in the usual course by the Local Government Board to the Board of Guardians for their observations, and was suppressed by the clerk; whether the clerk admitted publicly that he had inserted 8*d.* as the poundage rate in the advertisement without the authority of the Board; and, whether he is the person whose neglect of duty caused the breakdown of the Labourers' Act in the Boyle Union, and who boasted at a meeting of the Board that he had not read the Act, and did not intend to do so?

Mr. TREVELYAN: On the day of the election it was sought to reduce the poundage from 8*d.* to 4*d.*, and this proposal was negatived by a majority of 5, the voting being for, *ex officio*, 1, elected 22, total 23; against, *ex officio*, 21, elected 7, total 28. With respect to the security offered by the candidate who was prepared to collect for the lower rate, the clerk of the Union states that one of the parties named as his surety states that he would not sign a bond for him. It is true that some Guardians stated that in a neighbouring Division the rates were satisfactorily collected at 4*d.* But the clerk of the Union reports that this is not the case, as there is a very large arrear outstanding in that Division. The Guardians who voted for adhering to the poundage of 8*d.* were generally those who voted for Mr. M'Williams's appointment. These facts would not justify the Local Government Board in overruling the action of the Board of Guardians in regard to the election. After the Local Government Board had sanctioned the appointment of Mr. M'Williams, they received from Mr. Mahon a communication as stated in the Question, and they have informed Mr. Mahon that if he has any evidence to support his statement that Mr. M'Williams induced the former collector, Mr. Corry, to resign "for a consideration," the question of removing Mr. M'Williams from office will at once be considered. Mr. Mahon's letter was sent by the Local Government Board to the Guardians. It was not suppressed by the clerk, but was laid before the Guardians at their next meeting. The clerk has not replied to the inquiry in the last paragraph but one of the Question, but the poundage of 8*d.* has been allowed in the district for many years. The clerk of the Union denies that he ever made the statement attributed to him in the last paragraph of the Question; and the Local Government Board inform me that the alleged breakdown of the Labourers' Act in Boyle Union appears to have been caused by the Guardians' omission to make their scheme and give the necessary notices in due time.

DOMINION OF CANADA—THE CLIMATE OF MANITOBA.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he will take means to have a statement furnished to the public regarding the climate of Manitoba?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: There is already an abundance of statements, both true and official, available to the public. I would refer the hon. Member to the "Colonization Circular," issued by the Colonial Office, price 6*d.*; secondly, to the Statistical Abstract for the Colonial Possessions issued by the Board of Trade, where, on page 154 of the last edition, he will find a table for each of the 12 months of the average readings of the thermometer in Manitoba. Thirdly, I would refer the hon. Member to the hand-book of information relating to the Dominion of Canada, which is published by the Canadian Government with the sanction of the Secretary of State. There are a map and photographs bound up with it, and it can be obtained from the High Commissioner of Canada or any of the Canadian agents in this country gratis.

INTESTATES' ESTATES BILL — CROWN'S NOMINEE ACCOUNT.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he can inform the House what is the total amount of accumulations on the Crown's Nominee Account, which may be claimed, either by right according to Law, or by grace according to precedent, and to which the Statute of Limitations contained in the Intestates' Estates Bill will apply?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, he was not quite sure what the hon. Member meant by his Question. The Bill, if passed, would in due time apply to all estates that had been, however recently, brought within the administration of the Treasury. He supposed, however, the hon. Gentleman wished to know what was the total sum which at present could be claimed either by law or moral obligation, but which claim would be barred if the Bill became law. The total amount of accumulation a week ago was about £250,000, of which only a very small portion would possibly come within the scope of the Bill. He thought he would be safe in putting the maximum sum at £50,000. The object of the Bill was not to bring money into the Exchequer, but to close accounts which had been outstanding for some time, and to prevent the possibility of persons wasting their time and labour in making impossible claims.

LAW AND JUSTICE—DORMANT FUNDS IN CHANCERY.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the time assigned by Act of Parliament for the periodical publication of the list of dormant funds in Chancery is now long passed; and, if so, whether he will take such steps as may be necessary to prevent any further inconvenience arising to the suitors from the disregard of the Law by the Public Department which he represents in the House of Commons?

MR. COURTNEY: No time is fixed by statute for the publication of these lists; but a Chancery rule directs that they should be published as soon as may be after the 1st of September. As the list has to be made up to that date the work cannot be commenced until after it; and as it has to be compiled by the regular staff of the office from books constantly in use its preparation necessarily takes some time. By the new rules the date prescribed for its publication is March 1. Two causes have prevented this date being attained on the present occasion—first, the large changes in the *personnel*, duties, and organization of the Pay Office consequent on recent forms and organization; and, secondly, the introduction of a new and greatly improved form of Return, which will give more information to the public in a better form; but which, on its first introduction, entails a great deal of additional labour. The Return will be ready in about four weeks.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND)—THE RATE COLLECTOR OF THE BLACKROCK TOWNSHIP COMMISSIONERS.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Elliott, the rate collector of the Blackrock Township Commissioners, is now rate collector of the Rathmines district of the South Dublin Union and secretary of the Drummond Institute; whether, at a recent sworn inquiry, ordered by the Local Government Board, it was proved that there were 121 persons on the Parliamentary register for the county of Dublin for the Rathmines polling district alone, as rated occupiers, whose names did not appear upon the rate books, and who were not objected to by the Union authorities at the last County Dublin Parliamentary Revision Courts; whether, at such sworn inquiry, Mr. Elliott, on cross-examination, stated on oath that in his district the larger portion of the rates for the year were collected before the 1st day of June 1883, and that he considered that his duty to make inquiries as to rated occupiers with a view to making objections on the Parliamentary Voters' Register ended when he received payment of the rates, and that in many instances landlords in the Rathmines district, owning a large number of houses, paid the rates thereon, and in such instances he had made no inquiries, and relied solely on such notifications of alterations in tenancies as these landlords had given him; whether Mr. Elliott has collected and misappropriated more than £2,000 of the Blackrock township rates, and has assigned substantially all his property as security therefor; whether a Committee of the Blackrock Commissioners make a daily audit of Mr. Elliott's collecting accounts; and, whether the Local Government Board intend taking any steps in reference to Mr. Elliott's conduct?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Mr. Elliott holds the appointments stated. The evidence given by the Clerk of the Union and Mr. Elliott at the sworn inquiry bear out the statements in the second and third paragraphs of the Question, and these officers have been censured by the Local Government Board. The Board have at present no information, beyond that contained in newspaper reports, as to the alleged misappropriation of the township rates; but the subject is engaging their careful attention. I am informed by the Secretary to the Township Commissioners that the entire matter is under the consideration of a Special Committee of the Board, who have all but closed their proceedings; but have not yet brought in their final Report.

BANKRUPTCY COURT (IRELAND)—UNCLAIMED DIVIDENDS—FUND ACCOUNT.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is a fact that, on the 1st of November in each year, a list of unpaid dividends is prepared and made out by the official assignee of the Irish Bankruptcy Court, showing the names of the different parties entitled to those dividends; and, if so, what valid objection there is to publishing that list in the Dublin papers, so that creditors may be made aware of the dividends due to them?

Mr. COURTNEY: A list is annually prepared, showing the items transferred to the unclaimed dividend account in the previous year. The suggestion of the hon. Member will be duly considered when we are in a position to decide upon this Question.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN asked what became of the interest that accumulated upon this fund?

Mr. COURTNEY: I am not in a position to answer that Question.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT LONDONDERRY—USE OF FIREARMS IN A PROCLAIMED DISTRICT.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, seeing that young Waller had firearms in his possession on the occasion of the riots in Derry in November last, he will make inquiry as to whether Waller had an excise licence to carry arms, and, if not, why has he not been prosecuted for a violation of 33 and 34 Vic. c. 57; whether he had special licence to carry arms in a proclaimed district, and, if not, why he has not been prosecuted under the Crimes Act; and, to ask same questions regarding Taylor and Mr. Candlers, who were charged with firing revolvers at female factory hands?

Mr. TREVELYAN: With regard to this Question, there are several persons concerned about whom Questions have been asked on both sides of this affair; and I would be rather glad if the hon. Member postponed his Question till next Monday, when I will give a complete answer.

BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND).

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a number of appointments, temporary or otherwise, have been made, within the past five years, upon the Staff of the Board of Public Works in Ireland; whether any public notification of such appointments being about to be made was previously given; or whether any such appointments were subject to competitive examination; whether it is a fact that persons of little or no previous training or qualifications have been so appointed to act in matters of engineering, surveying, land improvement, drainage, buildings, loans, reporting, &c.; whether it is a fact that, while persons with little or no previous training, professional skill, or qualifications, have been so appointed, qualified men, some of whom had taken out their degrees and diploma of civil engineering in Trinity College, Dublin, and in the Queen's University, have been unable to obtain such employment under the said Board; and, whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House a Return of all such persons appointed or employed on the Board of Works Staff within the past five years; showing whether temporary or permanent, the dates of appointment, and age then, their pay and allowances, the nature of their employment, and a description of their previously ascertained qualifications?

MR. COURTNEY: I understand the hon. Member to refer to the Engineers' and Surveyors' Department of the Board of Works. A considerable number of persons have in recent years been appointed to temporary offices in these branches of the Department without advertisement or examination, which are not required for such posts. The selection has been very carefully made by the Board out of a large number of applicants, and they see no reason to doubt that the best men were selected; certainly, none were appointed who were not qualified by training and experience. It is obviously impossible to answer specifically such general charges as those made by the hon. Member; but if he will bring any particular case before me privately I will make inquiries about it. There is no objection to lay the Return asked for on the Table; but at present I see no justification for incurring the expense of doing so.

BURGH POLICE AND HEALTH (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Lord Advocate, When he intends to take the Second Reading of the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): My hon. Friend will have observed that this Bill has been placed on the Paper on Government nights for the second reading; and we had hoped that the second reading might have been obtained. The Bill, however, has been blocked; but if the hon. Member who has blocked it will remove his block, I have no doubt the Bill might be read a second time after a short discussion. Our proposal is to ask that the Bill should be referred to a large Select Committee, and I do not think the clauses will occupy much time.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CAPTAIN BECKETT, R.M.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Captain Beckett, resident magistrate at Athlone, is a member of the military mess, and spends the greater part of his time at the military barracks, where persons having business with him, in his magisterial capacity, are continually obliged to wait upon him; whether, recently, after midnight, a party composed of Captain Beckett and three military officers sought admission into the house of a lady in Athlone, and, being refused admission, one of the party threw an empty champagne bottle through the fanlight over the hall door, and another threw a large paving stone through one of the drawing-room windows, inflicting damage also in the interior, and, when the servants appeared, the party ran away, one of the fugitives leaving an officer's laced cap behind him; if some members of the local police force witnessed part of the occurrence, and whether any police report has been made; and, what steps will be taken to elicit the truth, and to vindicate the Law?

MR. TREVELYAN: Through the kindness of the officers of the Royal Artillery at Athlone, Captain Beckett, R.M., is an honorary member of their mess. It is not the case that he spends the greater part of his time at the barracks, or that persons having business with him are continually obliged to wait upon him there. The statement that Captain Beckett was in any way concerned in the disturbance referred to in the second paragraph of the Question is wholly without foundation. He did not even hear of it until some days later. It is not the case that any of the local police were present. When they heard of the matter it was reported; but, as the owner of the injured property refused to take any action, the divisional magistrate thought it a case rather for the military authorities to deal with than one for further police interference. He accordingly reported it to the Colonel commanding the 45th Regiment, to which the officers concerned belonged, and it is now before him.

MR. SEXTON: I beg also to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he is aware that steps were taken to induce the parties concerned from making any statement, and that money was offered to the servants to procure their silence?

MR. TREVELYAN: I cannot say anything about that.

NAVY—H.M.S. "GARNET"—THE "GRENADA PEOPLE" NEWSPAPER.

MR. DEASY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether certain statements contained in *The Echo* of the 2nd May have come to the notice of the Admiralty, these statements being to the effect that a midshipman named Dynley, of the ship *Garnet*, accompanied by some sailors, went to office of the *The Grenada People* newspaper, and informed the editor that he and his comrades had obtained the permission of the commanding officer, Captain Montague, to destroy the office and presses of the newspaper, and that they would do so that evening; that threats to the same effect were used by several of the officers and men of the *Garnet* to some of the people of St. George's; that Captain Montague afterwards wrote a letter to the editor of *The People*, that he was prepared to horsewhip him for criticising the conduct of the Governor of Barbadoes, Sir William Robinson, and that, on the night of the 11th February, Mr. Dynley and two of the crew of the *Garnet* took the sign board of *The People* office; whether the Admiralty has received any information of the matters stated; and, if the statements are correct, what steps are intended to be taken?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Admiralty have received a letter from the editor of the newspaper in question complaining of the conduct of certain naval officers; and the letter has been sent to the Commander-in-Chief of the station, who will report upon the facts.

MR. SMALL asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the attention of the Colonial Office has been drawn to a statement contained in *The Grenada People* and copied into *The Echo* of the 2nd May, that Captain Montague of the ship *Garnet* declared that he had at St. Vincent asked permission from Sir William Robinson, Governor of Barbadoes, to let his crew destroy the office of *The Grenada People*, and that Sir William Robinson had replied that he could not officially order but would be very glad indeed if it could be done; and, whether the Colonial Office will make inquiry into this statement?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: On the 29th of March we received a letter from a Mr. Donovan, who, I gather, is either editor or proprietor of the newspaper in question, making certain statements and inclosing a copy of his letter addressed to the Admiralty. We wrote to him pointing out that, in accordance with well-known Colonial regulations, he should forward his statements through the Governor, in order that the Governor may make any remarks he may think right. Pending any further inquiry, I may say, in justice to Sir William Robinson, that neither of Mr. Donovan's letters make the statement contained in the Question as to Sir William Robinson's reply to the alleged request of Captain Montague.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO."

MR. STOREY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is proposed to grant any allowance to the families of the captive crew of the *Nisero*?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I regret that there are no funds at the disposal of the Foreign Office to meet cases of this kind.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

MR. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether General Gordon's Mission to the Soudan originated in an unsolicited offer of service from himself, or was undertaken at the special request of Her Majesty's Government; whether any, and what, assistance has been given to him by either the British or Egyptian authorities to carry out "the effective measures" indicated in the Commission appointing him Governor General of the Soudan; and, whether, in the face of a victorious and rapidly-spreading Revolution, he was expected to effect the withdrawal of the beleaguered garrisons, and—

> "Establish an organized Government in the different provinces of the Soudan, for the maintenance of order, and the cessation of all disasters and incitement to revolt,"

by his own moral influence alone?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The whole circumstances connected with General Gordon's mission are to be found in the Papers laid before Parliament. I wish to make an explanation in regard to the Paper, Egypt No. 15, distributed yesterday evening. As I stated on the 2nd of May, that Paper contains the telegrams from General Gordon, which are referred to in Sir Evelyn Baring's telegrams, Nos. 19 and 24 in Egypt No. 13. Those telegrams were received at the Foreign Office on April 28, by post, in two covering despatches, which stand Nos. 1 and 3 in Egypt No. 15. It has been the practice of the Foreign Office, in regard to such despatches, to lay them, with the dates attached to the telegrams which they represent; and hence it is that these two despatches are marked "received by telegraph April 16," and "April 18," instead of April 28, which was the date, as I have stated, of the actual receipt of the despatches by post.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: The noble Lord says these telegrams were received only when they came under despatches by post. Were they not received at the dates marked upon them?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The hon. Member mistakes me. What I said was that the telegrams from Sir Evelyn Baring were received on the 16th and 18th April, but that the despatch transmitting the full text of the telegrams was only received on April 28. It is usual, as the House is aware, in Foreign Office Papers, to mark despatches containing telegrams with the date of the telegrams which they represent, and not with the actual date of the receipt of the telegrams themselves.

Mr. BOURKE: Are we to understand that these telegrams, although they were not received in text as printed, were received telegraphically from Sir Evelyn Baring on the 16th and 18th of April?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No; that is not quite it. The telegrams from Sir Evelyn Baring contained a summary of the telegrams from General Gordon, and those are already before Parliament. We have presented the full text as soon as we possibly could.

Mr. BOURKE: Substantially the telegraphic messages received on the 16th were the same as those received on the 28th?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I did not use the word "substantially." I will ask the right hon. Member to form his own opinion.

Mr. M'COAN: In reference to the second paragraph of my Question, I have carefully read the Papers, and have found no mention made that any assistance has been given to General Gordon to carry out the "effective measures" indicated in the communication appointing him Governor General of the Soudan. Am I to understand from the noble Lord that no assistance has been given? Nothing is disclosed in the Papers. I have also failed to discover anything in answer to the third Question, whether he would be expected to carry out those important measures involving a good deal of risk and some military action by the aid of moral influence alone?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The hon. Member is inviting me to enter into a premature debate on the Papers.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What reply Her Majesty's Government made to the telegram of General Gordon, dated April 11th, in which the following passages occur:—

> "You state your intention of not sending any relief up here or to Berber, and you refuse me Zebehr. I consider myself free to act according to circumstances. I shall hold on here as long as I can, and if I can suppress the rebellion I shall do so. If I cannot I shall retire to the Equator, and leave you indelible disgrace of abandoning the garrisons of Sennaar, Kassala, Berber, and Dongola, with the certainty that you will eventually be forced to smash up the Mahdi under great difficulties if you would retain peace in Europe?"

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The hon. Member will find the reply on page 15 of "Egypt No. 13."

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he is aware upon what General Gordon based the statement in his Proclamation of February 27th, that "British troops are now on their way, and in a few days will reach Khartoum?"

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government are not informed on what authority General Gordon made this statement.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any endeavour is being made to inform the Mahdi of the readiness of the Egyptian Government to evacuate the Soudan, and of the decision of Her Majesty's Government to recognize the independence of that country?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I would ask the noble Lord whether it is contemplated to take any such steps?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have answered the Question on the Paper.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Then, Sir, I beg to give Notice that I will ask the Question on Thursday.

BURIALS — NONCONFORMIST BURIAL AT NEWTON, LANCASHIRE — REFUSAL TO ADMIT CORPSE INTO THE CHURCH.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to a proceeding reported in *The Liverpool Daily Post*, of April 28th, which took place on the occasion of the burial of a Nonconformist named Goldsworthy, when the Vicar of St. Peter's, Newton, refused to allow the body to be carried into the Church, but directed it to be taken to the grave, where it was interred with the usual grave-side service; whether he will state if the action of the Vicar in refusing to admit the body of Mr. Goldsworthy into the Church was legal; and, whether he will cause inquiries to be made into all the circumstances of the case?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I must apologize to the hon. Member for not answering the Question. These are ecclesiastical matters of which I am not in charge.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Might I ask to whom I should address this Question? Who is responsible?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Either this transaction was contrary to the law or it was not. If it was according to the law, I do not think that my hon. Friend can apply to anybody; if it was contrary to the law, he can apply to the Courts of Law.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[BILL 119.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 1st May.*]

[FIRST NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Preliminary.

Clause 1 (Short title of Act) *agreed to.*

Extension of the Household aud Lodger Franchise.

Clause 2 (Uniform household and lodger franchise).

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS in moving, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 9, at beginning, to insert the words "Subject to the provisions of this Act hereinafter contained," said, that, whatever might be the opinion of individual Members of the House as to the merits of the Bill, there could not be the slightest doubt as to one question—namely, that it was extremely well drafted. No one could have the slightest doubt as to the meaning of the authors of the Bill. If hon. Members had had the experience he had had of seeing Bills drafted by the hands which he was quite sure had drawn up the present Bill they would know that the whole spirit of the Bill was to be found in the first three or four lines of the 2nd clause. If those three or four lines were practically passed right hon. Gentlemen opposite knew that the whole scheme of the Bill would be, in reality, confirmed. The object he had in moving to insert at the beginning of the clause the words "Subject to the provisions of this Act hereinafter contained," was simply to guard against its being said that if the first few lines of this clause were passed without some such words, when they came later on to the several Amendments that were to be found on the Paper, they might be told they were inconsistent with the first three lines of the Bill they had already passed; and by that means they might be shut out from modifying in any way whatever the principle inserted in the first three lines of the Bill. He looked upon this as a matter of very considerable importance. He was quite sure the Prime Minister did not wish to pass any part of the measure without its having received a full and fair consideration at the hands of the House; and he had no doubt, if the words he suggested were inserted, they would gain a very great point when they came to the beginning of the third line of the Bill—namely, "that a uniform household and lodger franchise at elections shall be established in all counties and boroughs throughout the United Kingdom." The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would then have carried the main principle he desired to establish. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) could not conceive any objection to the words he now proposed. If those words were not inserted he was afraid this would happen—that they would have to debate the clause at very much greater length than would otherwise be the case. At all events, if the interpretation he put upon the clause was a reliable one, and this Amendment were not inserted, the Committee might be shut out from considering many of the Amendments which were subsequently intended to be moved, and they would have no further opportunity of discussing them. He had no wish to take up the time of the Committee in arguing this point further; and he hoped the Government would at once meet him by stating that they had no objection to the insertion of these words. If the Prime Minister rose to say that he had any serious objection to the Amendment, then he was afraid he should be only more and more confirmed in the belief that the right hon. Gentleman did not desire that the Amendments later on the Paper should be thoroughly discussed. He proposed now, at the commencement of the clause, to insert the words he had placed on the paper—"Subject to the provisions of this Act hereinafter contained." If those words were inserted, they would, no doubt, be able to discuss modifications of the first three lines as they went on; but if they were not inserted, then he was afraid they would have to discuss those three lines at much greater length than would otherwise be the case.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 9, at beginning, to insert "Subject to the provisions of this Act hereinafter contained."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GLADSTONE: As far as I can make out, I am not aware that the adoption of the clause as it stands would exclude subsequent Amendments from the discussion of the Committee; but with respect to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman I must say that it appears to me to be open to serious objection. The right hon. Gentleman says that if the House should enact that a uniform household and lodger franchise at elections shall be established in all counties and boroughs throughout the United Kingdom it will be virtually establishing what is the principle of the Bill. No doubt that is so, and that is the principle for which we have contended through all the preliminary discussions, and which we have now to deal with in Committee. We do not believe, and we do not admit, that there ought to be any derogation from that principle. To establish a uniform household and lodger franchise at elections in all counties and boroughs is the very object for which the Bill is introduced. If, therefore, I should agree to insert the words "subject to the provisions of this Act hereinafter contained" I should distinctly convey by implication that the Government intend to derogate from the principle of the Bill. If there are to be derogations from the principle of the Bill, let us know what they are. We are totally ignorant of any derogation or departure that ought to be made from that principle. We have never for a moment either concealed or thrown into the shade the main and broad proposition contained in the Bill that it is our intention to establish a uniform household and lodger franchise in the counties and boroughs. That is the head and front of the offending of the Bill in the eyes of many hon. Members opposite; and it is the pith, and virtue, and credit of the Bill as it is understood on this side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman will see that his Amendment is distinctly a departure from the principle of the Bill. If we are expected to make Amendments in the subsequent clauses of the Bill, that will be virtually and tacitly a distinct departure from what we have always professed as the principle of the Bill itself; and, consequently, I am not able to agree to the Amendment.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: In order to save time, I may say that I have not entered fully into the effect of the words of the clause; but the Prime Minister has said frankly what it is. No doubt the clause does propose further Amendments in household and lodger franchise. It goes on to say—

> "After the passing of this Act every man possessed of a household qualification or a lodger qualification shall, if the qualifying premises be situate in a county in England or Scotland, be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote at an election for such county; and if the qualifying premises be situate in a county or borough in Ireland be entitled to be registered as a voter, and to vote at an election for such county or borough."

So that unless there is some modification not simply of the qualification of the voter, but also of the time that qualification is to come into operation, those questions will practically be settled by the first three lines. That is the proposition I lay before the House. Undoubtedly, Amendments as to when the Bill is to come into operation are of vital importance; and I, for one, am very doubtful, indeed, whether they can be introduced into the Act, unless some such words as "subject to the provisions of this Act hereinafter contained" are inserted at the commencement of the clause.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF desired to say a word or two on the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman; and he wished to do so because he had hitherto abstained from discussing the Bill, and he had no desire to be included in the body of hon. Members on the other side of the House, who seemed to be prohibited from discussing it altogether. He wished to state, in regard to the clause and the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman, that he, as representing a very large constituency, entertained no objection to the equalization of the county and borough franchise. He might say that he himself had no fear of it; and he did not see why hon. Gentlemen sitting on that side of the House, and representing county constituencies, should have any fear of it. The principles by which Party tactics were guided permeated all classes; and he could not help thinking that the manner in which the franchise was exercised in the large boroughs proved that to be the case. As a matter of fact, the agricultural labourers were in the main Conservative; and he would venture to illustrate his position. In the last Parliament he represented a borough which was largely composed of agricultural labourers—namely, Christchurch; and although his Successor, as a Conservative candidate, was not successful, and although the borough returned a Liberal, yet the Liberalism of the hon. Member was, in some respects, of a subversive character; and, politics apart, he thought the hon. Member was an ornament and acquisition to the House. He would take three boroughs which were, to a great extent, assimilated to counties; and he thought those three boroughs carried out his proposition—that the county franchise, reduced to the proportions of the borough franchise, contained all the elements of Party that were desirable. The three boroughs to which he referred were the Rape of Bramber, forming the borough of Shoreham, East Retford, and Cricklade. It would be found that Shoreham sent two strong Conservatives, one of whom was a gentleman belonging to an old family very much associated with Conservatism, and with the representation of that particular constituency. East Retford, on the other hand, was represented by two Liberals; and the other borough—Cricklade—returned one and one, a Conservative and a Liberal. Therefore, it was perfectly plain that these three constituencies were equally divided; and it might be assumed that if the borough franchise were introduced into the counties generally the representation of the country would be divided just as it was at the present moment. He must say, from the experience he had gained of the Parliamentary borough of Christchurch, that the landed interest had much more to fear from the tenant farmers than from the agricultural labourers. Agricultural labourers invariably followed their landlords rather than their masters; and it appeared to him that the agricultural interest would be as equally safe in the hands of the labourers as it was in the hands of the tenant farmers. Another allegation made against the agricultural labourers was that they were not sufficiently educated. He himself thought that education generally followed the franchise, and after the borough franchise was lowered in 1867 the extensive system of education which was now in force was made law. But there was another point, and it constituted the reason why he called on the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister to consider with more favour the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross). There was a very justifiable fear on that side of the House that it was the intention of the Government, or, at any rate, of their advanced supporters, to force on a Dissolution upon the Franchise Bill without a scheme of distribution. The desire of hon. Gentlemen opposite was, he was told, to drive away the present county Members sitting on that side of the House; and they hoped to be able to give effect to that desire by a Dissolution on the present Franchise Bill. As he had said, he doubted whether that could be carried out; but a Dissolution on the present Franchise Bill would create such great anomalies that he thought the Government should pause before they declined further to give some assurance that the anticipations of that side of the House, as to the intentions of the Government to dissolve on the Franchise Bill without a Redistribution Bill, were unfounded. Supposing for a moment that the Government were to dissolve on the Franchise Bill alone they would be creating greater anomalies than those which at present existed. [*Cries of* "Order!"] He thought he was quite in Order. They would be creating in the next Parliament not a Legislative Assembly, but a Constituent Assembly. By establishing a House of Commons elected upon a diminution of household suffrage without redistribution, they would elect a House of Commons that would be unable to undertake any legislative measure until a Redistribution Bill had been passed; and then it would be necessary to have a second Dissolution before the Redistribution Act could be applied to the work of Parliament. Therefore, on the hypothesis of not having a Redistribution Bill they would elect a Constituent Assembly, and not a Legislative Assembly. A Constituent Assembly ought to represent all interests; and, speaking not for the counties alone, but for the urban districts also, they would suffer still more if this Bill were passed without a Redistribution Bill. He would not detain the House long by giving illustrations; but he would point out what great anomalies would exist among the urban constituencies if they passed the present Bill without a Redistribution Bill, and by so doing double the electorate in the counties. At the present moment there were 42 boroughs with a population of less than 7,000 people, 30 with less than 5,000, 48 with less than 2,000, and altogether 230,000 returned 176 Members. On the other hand, there were 178 urban communities which were entirely unrepresented with a population of more than double that which he had mentioned, and which would, under this Bill, have a constituency of more than 500,000. Then would it be wise to pass a measure, without a Redistribution Bill, which would enable 176 Members to sit for comparatively small constituencies, while 178 communities with double the number of electors contained in these small boroughs would be thrown into the counties? How was it possible, under these circumstances, to get a fair Redistribution Bill? He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would help them out of the difficulty, and give them some assurance that if this Bill were passed both by the House of Commons and by the other branch of the Legislature it would not be allowed to come into force until some scheme of redistribution was established. It was for this reason that he supported the Amendment, which would delay the practical operation of the Bill until the House had an opportunity of considering the Amendment of the hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey). The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was, no doubt, at the head of a very powerful Party; but he was also the head of the Government of the country, and should be bound to take into consideration any reasonable arguments, if they were even brought forward by his opponents. He believed there were many hon. Members on that side of the House who were not opposed to a diminution of the franchise in itself, but who considered that no Reform Bill should be passed even to carry out the wishes of the Liberal Party unless, at the same time that the franchise was lowered, there was a large redistribution of seats.

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not wish to detain the Committee except to answer the appeal of the hon. Gentleman, who asks for an assurance that the present Bill, if passed into law, should not come into operation until a Redistribution Bill has also been passed. Now, it is certainly, in my opinion, a most unreasonable pledge to ask of the Government that the franchise should not come into operation until the enactment of a Redistribution Bill, because if such a compromise were made it is impossible to say what redistribution might be passed. It might be possible for persons to object to the Redistribution Bill, and by preventing it from being passed they might wreck the fortunes of the Franchise Bill also. I, therefore, think that this is a demand which ought not to be made upon Her Majesty's Government. Short of that I go entirely with the hon. Gentleman. The Government admit that it is desirable, and even in a certain sense urgent, that a Redistribution Bill should be passed. We have announced our full intention, as far as it depends upon us, that an effort shall be made to pass a proper Redistribution Bill before the Dissolution of the present Parliament shall arrive in the natural course of events. Well it seems to me that that is all that can be fairly asked of the Government. We go a great way to meet the hon Gentleman; but I will not undertake to say that the whole labour of the House upon the Franchise Bill should be lost until there is further legislation in reference to the redistribution of seats, because I hold that the Franchise Bill itself is a good Bill, although perfection may not be obtained, or anything like perfection until a Redistribution Bill is passed. As to the precise moment when this Bill is to come into operation I never said anything that would tend to make that a *sine quâ non* as to the provisions of the Bill. That is a matter which will naturally arise after the consideration of the first line of the clause.

Mr. WARTON said, he supported the Amendment, from which the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) and the Prime Minister, in the observations they had made, had wandered. He would venture respectfully to suggest the great importance of the words proposed to be inserted. He felt fully the force of what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman on the Front Bench—that these words were of the greatest consequence; and he trusted that earnest and persevering efforts would be made to have them inserted in the clause. He wanted the House to start fair in discussing the Bill in Committee. He thought nothing could be more unsatisfactory to the House than for hon. Members to be satisfied with an assurance given by the Government, and then to find that the Chairman of Ways and Means, in the conscientious discharge of his duties, was unable to give effect to that assurance. The way in which the House was treated not only in Committees of this kind, but upon the Estimates, was often productive of disappointment and difficulty. An assurance was given that a full opportunity would be afforded for discussing a particular matter afterwards; and then the Chairman, in the conscientious discharge of his duties, was compelled to take a proper view of an Amendment, and to rule out of Order a great number of points which, strictly speaking, were out of Order, but which the House had been led to believe, by an assurance given by some Minister in the course of the debate, would be discussed. He was not at all satisfied with what the Prime Minister had stated. The right hon. Gentleman told the Committee that he had looked over the Amendments. It was very kind of the right hon. Gentleman if he had done so; but the right hon. Gentleman was under the impression, having looked over them, that they could be discussed, in due course, without the insertion of the prefatory words moved by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross). But was the Prime Minister sure that the Committee would not be called upon to deal with Amendments besides those already on the Paper? If that were so, they might find themselves met, later on, by this argument—"I never foresaw these Amendments at all; I saw those which had been placed upon the Paper, and thought they might be discussed; but these raise entirely fresh matters." The consequence might be that, long before they get the Bill through Committee, one Member of the Government would rise up after another and tell hon. Members that it would not be in Order to discuss the questions they were anxious to raise. He contended that these words were necessary, because, without desiring to use harsh words, it seemed to him that it almost became an artifice to put in a Bill words that required consideration, and then to tell hon. Members afterwards—"You have passed those words. The whole spirit of the Bill is framed upon them, and all your arguments are inconsistent, and, therefore, out of Order."

The Chairman would be required to rule conscientiously that the Amendments were inconsistent, and that was the reason why he (Mr. Warton) wished to secure the insertion of these very proper precautionary words. He thought the clause had been drafted, so to speak, in a manner to deceive the House. The very phrase "uniform" was misleading in itself. The very construction of the clause was wrong, and they ought to have had household franchise in a clause separate altogether from any clause relating to lodger franchise. The effect of passing the very first line of the present clause would be that the Committee would be committed to the main principle of the Bill in consequence of passing two or three at the commencement of it without their importance being sufficiently impressed upon the Committee. He said this in a friendly spirit towards the Prime Minister. He confessed that he was not often animated by such a spirit; but he did say in a friendly spirit on this occasion that the right hon. Gentleman would save his own time and the time of the House if he would consent to the insertion of these words. It was his deliberate belief that such a course would very much tend to save the time of the House, and no one could doubt that the course proposed was a prudent one. If it were not assented to, the Committee would be compelled to dwell at very great length on every word of the clause, because every word in the clause would be then of the utmost importance; whereas if they were not to be absolutely binding they would be of less importance. Without they were to be taken as binding, it would be the duty of the Committee to discuss them with great completeness. He hoped the Prime Minister would, at the outset of the proceedings of the Committee, feel that it was always the best policy to treat his opponents with full consideration, and that it was not the best course to make vague promises which he could not keep, and to tell the House that future Amendments might be discussed, when the Chairman would be compelled to say that most of them were altogether irregular. He presumed that the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees, in the discharge of his duties, would properly rule that several of the Amendments already upon the Paper were not in regular form, and, therefore, could not be discussed, and that, in point of fact, they were beyond the principles of the Bill. If that were done, hon. Members who had been misled by the Prime Minister could only get up and say that the right hon. Gentleman had promised to discuss them. No doubt, the right hon. Gentleman had given the Committee a vague and general assurance that they might be discussed; but it was because he (Mr. Warton) had found from experience that such assurances generally betrayed those who accepted them, that he considered it would be better to insert words in the clause which would set the matter entirely at rest. Such a course would be far better than relying upon any promise whatever; and, therefore, he would say once more in the most friendly spirit that he thought it would be better for the Prime Minister to consent to the Amendment.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that, so far from thinking the Prime Minister wrong in refusing to extend the power of putting down Amendments, he was sorry the right hon. Gentleman had not limited it still more. It appeared to him, from what had already transpired, that there was an intention on the other side of the House to make second reading speeches in order to obstruct the passing of the Bill. He had simply risen to state why he should vote against the Amendment, and against every Amendment on the Paper, except clerical ones on both sides. He was for the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. Speaking as an advanced Radical, he was sorry that the Bill had not been made wider in its scope than it had been. He thought that many persons might have been given votes who had not been given them, and that others who were still left with more than one vote might have more than the one vote taken away. But the Prime Minister had never said that the Bill was perfection. The Prime Minister had simply submitted the Bill. At the last General Election the country distinctly endorsed the issue whether there should be an equalization of the county and borough franchise. That was the basis of the present Bill, and it was upon that basis they ought to vote. For his own part, he was ready to declare that he would not look into the merits or demerits of the Bill; but, in regard to the Amendments which had been put upon the

Paper, he should vote against every single one of them. As far as the Bill was concerned, he put himself entirely in the hands of the Prime Minister, on the understanding, of course, that the right hon. Gentleman did not, either from good nature or any other cause, yield one iota to Gentlemen on the other side of the House. If the right hon. Gentleman did that, he would promise to vote with him against every single Amendment, whether proposed by hon. Gentlemen opposite, or by hon. Gentlemen on the Liberal side of the House.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, the hon. Gentleman had promulgated some sentiments which, no doubt, would be approved by the Treasury Bench; but it would be very unfortunate and very unusual if hon. Members were to endorse the principle that no Amendments were to be allowed in any Government Bill, even although it might be a Franchise Bill. The reply he had expected on the part of the Government to the Amendment of his right hon. Friend was that they looked upon it simply as a qualifying Amendment, which would render it competent for hon. Members to bring forward subsequent Amendments, and give facilities for putting such Amendments in order, having regard to the context of the Bill. What they had a right to expect, and what the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister ought to have informed them, was that the Government would not raise the technical objection that for want of these qualifying words such Amendments could not be put from the Chair. Everyone knew that the words proposed to be introduced by his right hon. Friend were simply the common phrases of the draftsman of a Government Bill. It was seldom that a Bill was drawn without those qualifying words being introduced into it, and which they could not reasonably object to. There were, however, no such qualifying words on this occasion, because, as far as the Bill was drawn, it proposed and anticipated no qualifying paragraph or provision to interfere with the simple construction of the words of the clause. But the question was, whether the absence of these words was to be pleaded in bar of subsequent Amendments? If the Government would tell the House that they did not propose to take that technical objection, and would say that subsequent Amendments might be discussed without these words being inserted — that, in point of fact, hon. Members would not be precluded from urging that all the Amendments which appeared on the Paper, together with others which might be suggested, might with propriety be inserted in the Bill—if the Committee agreed to adopt them then, he thought hon. Members on that side of the House would be satisfied. He did not intend to follow his hon. Friend the Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) into the discussion which he had initiated, and which, probably, might more fitly be considered a question for second reading. The Prime Minister, however, had taken no objection to it himself, but had followed in the same strain. He would only say this—that his hon. Friend scarcely expressed, with accuracy, the position which many of the county Members took in regard to the Bill. Their point was that they would be voting for the Bill in the dark, unless they knew what steps would be taken hereafter to continue that distinction between the county and borough representation which in the most solemn manner the Prime Minister had announced his intention to perpetuate. They did not dispute the intention of the right hon. Gentleman to do so; but what they doubted was his power. They said that if the Bill was passed in the shape in which it now stood it might not be in the power of the right hon. Gentleman to carry out that pledge. That was their fear and their anticipation. They had no fear that the extension of the suffrage in the counties would produce any mischief, provided the relations between the county and borough representation, and the separate existence of the areas now familiar to all of them, could be by some means or other preserved and maintained.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON said, that, with all respect to his right hon. Friend, he thought his observations were not well founded, and that the insertion of these words was not necessary in order to admit Amendments into the Bill, although they undoubtedly would prevent the introduction of Amendments which were not within its scope. Reference had been made to an Amendment on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey), and the whole of the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Portsmouth had been directed to the question of redistribution. Now, whether the Amendment under consideration was adopted or not, the discussion of an Amendment such as that which stood in the name of the hon. Member for South Northumberland would not be precluded, for it amounted simply to this—that the Act should not come into operation as soon as it received the Royal Assent, but upon a given contingency. It was a very common thing in Acts of Parliament to fix the date when the Act should come into operation; and it was only another form of fixing the date to say, as the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Northumberland said, that the Bill should not come into operation before a certain event. It did not require the Amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman opposite in order to admit such an Amendment as that; but, of course, it would not be competent to introduce any Amendment which, at the present moment, was beyond the scope of the Bill. He, therefore, opposed the Amendment, because he could see no advantage that could be derived from its insertion.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition would excuse him, as one of the county Members whose constituents would be affected by the Bill, if he asked the Attorney General what this uniformity meant as to houses and as to lodgings, seeing that there was no uniformity already existing or established by law in the United Kingdom. Uniformity implied a standard, although there was no rental value attached as descriptive of the house or of the lodging. Was he to understand that the Irish standard of a lodging and of the Irish standard of a house was to be applied as a qualifying test to houses and to lodgings in the Metropolis and in England generally? He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would see that this was an important question. Until in an evil hour the late Mr. Disraeli, while still a Member of the House of Commons, advised the House to adopt household qualification without any rental standard, which meant the mere possession of a house without specifying what the house was to be in value, there had been an intelligible qualification. The lodging qualification was adopted in haste, in the absence of any adequate discussion upon an Amendment proposed by Mr. Kirkman Hodgson in 1867. The sudden adoption of household suffrage with no definition of the value of the house, together with the sudden adoption of the lodger franchise, with no proper definition of what was to constitute a proper and an adequate lodging, was the "leap in the dark" which was then taken. It gave to the Act a name, which it had never since lost; and when he saw the Committee about to take "another leap in the dark" in respect to uniformity of franchise between the counties and boroughs, he thought he was entitled to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether he took the lowest standard of a house and the lowest standard of a lodging, which lowest standard existed in Ireland; and whether he proposed, under cover of the words contained in the clause, to extend the franchise under this lowest standard to the counties of England and Scotland?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he ventured to hope that the Committee would be allowed to adhere to the clause as it stood. The matter stood in this way. The right hon. Gentleman opposite desired to insert the words "subject to the provisions of this Act hereinafter contained." But the right hon. Gentleman must be aware that without those words any Amendment could be moved upon the 1st clause unless it were absolutely to negative a clause which had already been passed. For instance, the right hon. Gentleman said he wished to have these words inserted because he wished to alter the words "after the passing of this Act." But the right hon. Gentleman had power already to move any Amendment upon those words, or to leave them out altogether if he desired.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that what he had said was that if the clause were passed with those words "after the passing of this Act" in it, it would shut out any Amendment as to the Act coming into operation at any other time; and he had mentioned as an instance the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that no consideration of that kind would arise on the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Northumberland. The Government could not accept the Amendment; and when the clause was agreed to, the only effect would be that it would prevent the consideration of succeeding Amendments that were contradictory to it. He thought the Government were entitled to know the character of the subsequent Amendments which arose out of this one, because, unless they did so, an Amendment upon the principle of the Bill might be moved such as might cause the measure to be given up. What the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) virtually asked was that the Government should not adhere to the clause after it was passed if subsequent Amendments were proposed in it. If the Committee did not insert these words the first two lines of the clause would run—

> "A uniform household and lodger franchise at elections shall be established in all counties and boroughs throughout the United Kingdom."

He was ready to admit that if they passed those two lines they could not afterwards move anything that would be contradictory to them; but they did not intend to move anything that was to be contradictory to them—namely, that there was to be a uniform household and lodger franchise in all counties and boroughs throughout the United Kingdom. Hon. Members on the other side of the House did not object to that principle; but, as far as he could see, there was no Amendment on the Paper which could be moved now without the insertion of those words. The right hon. Gentleman, from his point of view, desired that there might be power hereafter to move Amendments that might be contrary to the principle contained in the first two lines of the clause. As he had pointed out, those who had supported the first two lines were entitled to know what Amendments were going to be moved before they gave any implied promise of the kind, because, if the Government assented to these words being placed in front of the clause, they would admit that they were necessary, and they would certainly leave a door open for Amendments of which nothing was at present known. They could not, without knowing what Amendments were intended to be moved, take any course which would imply an approval of subsequent Amendments contrary to the principle of the Bill. That was the whole reason why the Government could not accept these words.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, the hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to him to have entirely mistaken the nature of the case. The hon. and learned Gentleman said the Government did not wish to commit themselves now to the acceptance of any Amendments which would induce the belief that they intended to accept any subsequent Amendment. The hon. and learned Gentleman went on to say, almost in the same breath, that the Government would be leaving the door open to the subsequent acceptance of Amendments. Now, those two things were very different. He could perfectly well understand the Government declining to perform any act of any kind that would be held by the Committee to bind them to the subsequent acceptance of any Amendment, specific or otherwise; but the hon. and learned Gentleman went far beyond that when he asked the Committee to support him in practically closing the door against subsequent Amendments, without those Amendments having been fully considered by the Committee. The hon. and learned Gentleman talked about any Amendment being now in Order which was not inconsistent with the principle of a uniform household and lodger franchise. He (Mr. J. Lowther) had himself an Amendment of the character referred to, which he had not yet put upon the Paper, because he did not wish to anticipate the action of the House prematurely in supposing that they would go as far in regard to the Bill as to reach the Committee stage at all. But, now the House had gone into Committee, he should, of course, in accordance with the understanding he had entered into with the House on the second reading, place on the Paper an Amendment, which he certainly thought was inconsistent with the principle of a uniform household and lodger franchise, in so far as he intended to propose that the representation should be apportioned to the voters in relative proportion to taxation, and that the old Constitutional doctrine, to which he had referred on the second reading—namely, that taxation and representation should proceed *pari passu*, should receive fair consideration. The hon. and learned Gentleman had put him on one side with great coolness, and told him that he must speak now or for ever after hold his peace. He was perfectly willing, if the Committee wished it, to give them even now some of the reasons for desiring them to adopt the course to which he had referred; but he thought that it would be far more in accordance with the general practice of the House, and also he thought more convenient to the Committee, if he were to defer the making of those observations until he had drafted his Amendment, or proposed a new clause, distinctly raising that issue. The Government apparently wished now to adopt the curious process suggested by the Attorney General of closing the door to any suggestions or Amendments, owing to the fear of the hon. and learned Gentleman that if they left it open they might allow a doubt to remain on any score. He wished to know if the Prime Minister deliberately accepted the statement that had been made, and whether he had finally made up his mind to close the door against any Amendments which did not happen to fit in with preconceived ideas, and which were to take effect in Clause 2? He would certainly accept the Prime Minister's statement in preference to the apparent qualification of it which his own Legal Adviser suggested he intended to make. What was the effect of the decision at which the Government had arrived? It was this. They were told that on Clause 2 they were to debate every conceivable Amendment or suggestion any hon. Member might desire to propound at any subsequent stage of their proceedings. Was that a course calculated to save time? Reference had been made to the important proposal of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey); but they were told in substance by the Attorney General that the discussion upon that proposal must be raised on Clause 2, or not at all. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I never said so.] He (Mr. J. Lowther) was glad that he had misunderstood the hon. and learned Gentleman, because he thought it was an error which was generally shared by the Committee. He was glad that he had been mistaken, for the very candid complacency with which the Prime Minister had received his remarks had certainly led him to fear that there was some such idea in his mind. He was glad to find that if there had been it had been given up. What was the objection to the words proposed by his right hon. Friend? His right hon. Friend simply proposed to carry out what it was now evident were the intentions of the Government. The Government apparently, after the disclaimer just interjected, did not desire to tie the hands of the Committee in order to prevent them from considering subsequent Amendments upon their merits. That being the case, he was at a loss to understand what objection there could be to the acceptance of these words. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) deprecated the making of vague speeches or second reading speeches, as he called them. Certainly, the speech of the hon. Member was not vague, although whether it might not more appropriately be delivered on the second reading was a matter he would not now go into. He would only say that he did not wish his own few remarks to be either vague, or to partake of the character of second reading speeches. He wished it to be understood that his point was simply this—that the Committee should be placed in a position by the Government to deal with any subsequent Amendment which might be ruled by the Chair to be legitimately in Order, and which might be put for the acceptance of the Committee. On the other hand, the Government wished to preclude the Committee from going into subjects which they had a perfect right to deal with. He hoped the Government would make it clear what the interpretation was which was placed upon the clause. From what the Prime Minister had stated, it might be inferred that, unless his right hon. Friend's words were accepted, it would be impossible to move Amendments if the clause were agreed to; but the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had given some reason to hope that he (Mr. J. Lowther) was mistaken.

MR. GLADSTONE: I really did think that the position was perfectly clear to all hon. Members who are acquainted with the character of the proceedings of the House in Committee. The Committee have not yet been permitted to consider what are to be the enactments of the clause. When the Committee are allowed to come to the words of the clause they will reject them, or will modify them, or will adopt them as they think fit; but what we are now dealing with is a preliminary Motion, which goes to provide that after we have considered them, after we have rejected, modified, or adopted them, there should be no result from our action at all; but that the clause should be still liable to be reversed on subsequent consideration. It is really a question whether a preliminary Motion of this kind is, by anticipation, to nullify—not to stereotype anything that has happend—but to nullify the work we are about to do. The right hon. Gentleman complains that the Government are endeavouring to shut the door. Whenever we adopt any proposal in Committee, we shut out something else; and the right hon. Gentleman asks us now to accompany our conclusion by saying that we may accept something else.

Sir JOHN HAY wished to put a question to the hon. and learned Attorney General. The hon. and learned Gentleman, in the remarks he had made just now, had omitted the word "lodger." He had spoken of a uniform household suffrage as being necessary; but the word "lodger" had been omitted. The word was in the Bill itself, but there was no provision for a uniform lodger franchise; and he confessed he viewed with some dismay the effect which the proposal might produce in Scotland. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would be aware that the provision for Scotland was different from what it was for Ireland and England; and it appeared to him (Sir John Hay) that to pass the clause as it stood now, and to extend to the Scotch counties a lodger franchise in the Scotch boroughs, would open the door to all the evils which had been so strongly repudiated in regard to fagot votes in Scotland. He would ask every Scotch Member if he did not agree with him [that if the present proposal really amounted to the extension of the lodger franchise in the Scotch boroughs to the counties all the evils of fagot voting would be again re-established in Scotland? He had noticed that the hon. and learned Attorney General had omitted, in the course of his remarks, the word "lodger." He had no doubt that it was by accident, but it was omitted in two or three instances; and instead of quoting the lodger clause the hon. and learned Gentleman only went as far as the household franchise. He was, therefore, desirous of ascertaining whether there was to be any change in the lodger franchise, or whether it was to be uniform both in regard to counties and boroughs. He awaited the answer with some interest.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that if he had omitted the word "lodger" the omission was altogether unintentional. The Prime Minister had mentioned it over and over again, and ample opportunities would be afforded for discussing the lodger question in connection with the point referred to by the right hon. Gentleman even if the words of this Amendment were not inserted in the clause.

Mr. SALT said, he thought the Amendment which had been moved by his right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire was necessary, having regard to the Bill itself. There was one point upon which he wished to ask for a definition. In Clause 7, upon page 3 of the Bill, a definition of the household and lodger qualification and other franchises, together with the application relating thereto, was given. Well, the definition of lodger and household qualification was taken from certain Acts relating to England, Scotland, and Ireland, which differed in each case. He did not know whether he was mistaken; but he wished to know whether it would not be necessary to insert some qualifying words in order to explain the word "uniform?" The Amendment of his right hon. Friend was merely a technical one, which would not take five minutes to discuss, seeing that its object was simply to make the Bill intelligible and complete. He certainly thought that the Amendment was necessary, unless the lodger franchise, in all parts of the United Kingdom, was made absolutely identical.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that even from the point raised by the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) the insertion of these words was altogether unnecessary.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he had entertained the hope that the Government would have accepted the Amendment; and he could not help feeling a suspicion that there was some reason for refusing to accept it. It was idle for the Prime Minister to say that anything contained in the words of the Amendment would virtually anticipate concessions. The words themselves were nothing but pure matter of formality, and it would be perfectly easy to insert them and leave the franchise as it was. There could be no reason why this simple and harmless Amendment should not be accepted by the Government in order, at any rate, to prevent hereafter any doubt arising as to whether any particular Amendment would be in Order or not. Surely, the Prime Minister had got at his back sufficient strength and numbers to enable him to feel sure as to what he could do in regard to the Bill; and the least that could be expected of him was a generous action in order to prevent the possibility of any doubt arising whether an Amendment could be moved or not. The Amendment itself consisted of plain and simple words which were usually put in in the drafting of a Bill. If the Committee were to discuss the Bill with temper and in a spirit of conciliation, it was highly desirable that an Amendment so simple and harmless as this should be accepted by Her Majesty's Government.

MR. GREGORY said, he also supported the Amendment, and wished to point out that, as the Bill was at present drawn, the provisions of one clause were contradictory to those of another, and unless full opportunity were afforded for the insertion of subsequent Amendments there would be great doubt as to the position in which the counties would be placed.

LORD JOHN MANNERS said, a statement had been made that the Bill, as far it went, made no provision for giving effect to a uniform lodger franchise. The Committee certainly expected an answer to that statement; and when they came to the words "lodger franchise" it would be a proper time for inserting any qualifying words to meet the case which had been mentioned by his right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay). Inconveniences would immediately arise, because they would have passed words declaring that a uniform household and lodger franchise should be established, without establishing any machinery for enabling lodgers to come upon the Register. As he understood the Attorney General, some words might be inserted qualifying the uniformity of the lodger franchise. But, surely, that would be a most inconvenient and most indecorous course, because the clause would have to run somewhat in this way—"A uniform household and a *quasi*-uniform lodger franchise at elections shall be established in all counties and boroughs throughout the United Kingdom." Surely, it would be a far better course to adopt the words of the Amendment of his right hon. Friend, which were not unusual in Acts of Parliament. The present discussion would then cease, and the Committee would proceed to the consideration of the rest of the clause.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON wished to put a Question to the Chairman upon a point of Order. His hon. Friend the Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) had pointed out that the wording of Clause 6 was inconsistent with that of the present clause. The words of the present clause were—

> "A uniform household and lodger franchise at elections shall be established in all counties throughout the United Kingdom."

Clause 6 modified that provision, and specified that the definition of household and lodger franchise should be in accordance with enactments upon those questions concerning the Three Kingdoms. He wished to ask the Chairman whether the 6th clause would be in Order, seeing that it materially modified the words and meaning of the clause now under discussion? Certainly, if Clause 6 were not out of Order, it would be competent for hon. Members to move Amendments modifying the provisions of Clause 2.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) wished to say, on the point of Order, that Clause 6 had no reference whatever to uniformity of franchise, but simply enacted that—

> "A man shall not by virtue of this Act be entitled to be registered as a voter or to vote at any election for a county in respect of the occupation of any dwelling-house, lodgings, land, or tenement, situate in a borough."

As there was nothing in a county which enabled a man to vote for a borough, so, also, it was provided that no voter should vote for a county in respect of occupation of property in a borough.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he had intended to refer to Clause 7, and not to Clause 6.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD asked the Chairman if he adopted the definition of uniformity implied by the Attorney General, because the whole discussion would turn upon what was uniform within the meaning of the clause?

THE CHAIRMAN: With regard to the hypothetical case put to me by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), I can only say that the question would be one for the Committee to decide, and not for the Chair.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he had only put it in reference to the power of moving Amendments.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not a point of Order, but a matter for the Committee itself to decide. It is not a point of Order at all.

MR. WARTON said, he was anxious to know what the Committee were really doing? The insertion of the words moved by the right hon. Gentleman was a matter of the highest importance. The Bill had been drafted in a clumsy manner, and the Government were now pursuing a course which could only result in the packing together of ideas that ought to be kept perfectly distinct. In his opinion, there ought to be a separate clause for household franchise and another for lodger franchise. It could not be imagined that both household and lodger franchise were uniform. There seemed to him to be an anxiety to draft the Bill so that it would upset the real meaning of the English language and make things absolutely unintelligible. Every hon. Member knew that household and lodger franchise were not uniform, but were based on different considerations and different qualifications. There appeared to be a wish on the part of the Government to deceive the Committee as to their object, and to introduce words into the clause without any proper consideration of their meaning, using their mechanical majority to enforce anything and everything. It was very clumsy drafting indeed to introduce the word "uniform" into the clause at all, because there was no such thing in existence as uniform household and lodger franchise. The household and lodger franchise were not uniform, and were not intended to be uniform. What was intended was that there should be some uniformity between household franchise in boroughs and counties and between lodger franchise in boroughs and counties; but to speak of a uniform household and lodger franchise was perfectly ridiculous, and the Judges hereafter would be very much puzzled to know what was meant by the expression "uniform household and lodger franchise." The difficulty resulted entirely from a bad habit of bringing proposals together in concentrated language, and in comparing things that ought to be kept perfectly distinct. It was very easy to see that the Committee were starting on this long and protracted inquiry with a disposition on the part of the Government to drive the Bill through, by means of their mechanical majority, at a pace which Members on that side of the House would not stand. He was glad to see the Lord Advocate in his place, and he hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would be prepared to answer the Question which had been put by the right hon. and gallant Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay).

MR. GORST said, he did not agree with the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) that there was any great danger of the Bill being driven through the House at an improper speed, seeing that they had already been engaged for an hour in discussing an Amendment which the Attorney General told them was of no practical importance or necessity whatever. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport would be aware that they had been discussing an Amendment which was not yet before them, and which he had no doubt they would discuss when the proper time arrived. He quite agreed with and endorsed the opinion which had been given by the Attorney General and the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) that the Amendment was of no practical importance or necessity. The clauses of an Act of Parliament were always to be read with reference to one another, and whatever was passed subsequently would be taken into consideration by the Judges, who would interpret the Act by reading the whole of its provisions together. If the Committee were satisfied that these words were not necessary, was it worth while to put the House to the trouble of dividing upon them? If, however, there was a desire to take the sense of the Committee upon these words, why not go to a Division at once, and then, when they had decided the not very important question now before them, they would be able with greater advantage to enter upon the more important subjects which were involved in subsequent Amendments? That would be a more business-like mode of proceeding. He desired that the Bill should be properly considered, but in a business-like fashion. They had now discussed the present Amendment for a long time, and he wished them to settle it at once.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he had not intended to address the Committee on this Amendment; indeed, he thought they were about to divide when his noble Friend rose to put a Question to the Chair. But he could not allow the remark, that the matter was confessedly of little importance, to pass without contradiction. It was not confessedly of little importance. But the question was, whether, by allowing the language of the Bill to remain as it then stood, discussion upon some points might not afterwards be burked? It might be that some hon. Members thought that the only principle affirmed by the Bill was that there should be an extension of the franchise. If the clause were drawn in the ordinary form, and not, as it appeared to him, with settled care to prevent discussion hereafter, it would not have been necessary to raise this question; but it was because it had not been so drawn that an attempt was made to obtain a ruling from the Chair. There appeared reason to apprehend that Amendments might be ruled out of Order, not because they were inconsistent with the principle of the Bill—the Prime Minister knew that—but because they were inconsistent with the word "uniform," whatever it might mean. Some hon. Members, while willing that the lodger franchise should be extended to the counties, believed that it would be necessary to adopt machinery proper to that particular franchise; but they feared that the moment the word "uniform" became part of the clause it would render any modification impossible. But for the ruling of the Chair, it might have been argued that, inasmuch as the word "uniform" had been passed, no Amendment that interfered with the supposed uniformity was admissable. Had it been clear from the first that the Committee would be allowed to discuss Amendments interfering with the uniformity of the subject, then he agreed that the Amendment of his right hon. Friend might have been unnecessary; but it was because they thought it was otherwise that the Amendment had been proposed.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 149; Noes 263: Majority 114.—(Div. List, No. 85.)

MR. CUBITT said, he inferred, from the remarks made just now by the Prime Minister to his right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) to the effect that the lodger franchise was the very essence of the Bill, that he could not hope for the right hon. Gentleman's support to the Amendment he was about to move, which was to leave out from the first line of Clause 2 the word "uniform." But, whatever the Government might consider to be the essence of the Bill, he believed the Prime Minister would concede that the House, in consenting to its second reading, did not go any further than this—that they agreed to establish a household franchise in counties similar to that existing in boroughs. Therefore, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would deem it a fair subject for consideration whether that household franchise in counties and boroughs should be necessarily absolutely uniform. Before the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 there was an absolute and positive separation between the county and the borough franchises; the county franchise being simply an owner's franchise, and the borough franchise being simply an occupation franchise, the qualification in both cases having been originally very low. But the Act of 1832, with regard to boroughs, established a £10 occupation franchise; but with regard to the county franchise a much more serious step was taken. The Government included in it another qualification, which he might call a sort of hybrid modification between the freeholder and occupier; they proposed to include copyholders and leaseholders in the county franchise. The Chandos Clause provided that tenants at £50 a-year should be included in the county franchise. From the moment the occupation franchise was extended to counties—from that day there had been constant proposals to lower the franchise. From £50, which was the franchise of the Act of 1832, they had gone to the present franchise fixed by the Act of 1867 at a £12 rating, and now it seemed they had arrived at household franchise. It was interesting to think how fast they went in matters of this kind. A great change had taken place since his Friend and former Colleague (Mr. Briscoe) was returned to that House. That Gentleman had described to him the manner in which his first election was conducted. He said that all the freeholders of the county of Surrey went down to vote at Guildford; that they went there in postchaises; that two only could travel in a chaise, and that they drank only port. The cost of all that came out of his hon. Friend's pocket; and the story of his election would show how rapidly they had since travelled, and though they had levelled many mountains and filled up many chasms, he feared they might now reach an arid plain on which there was neither water nor shade. If the Bill passed in its present form, the question must soon arise whether they had not reached such a degree of uniformity between the county and the borough franchise as would make it impossible to maintain the distinction that was left? It seemed to him that the lodger and service franchise had been unnecessarily introduced into the counties for the purpose of keeping up this uniformity. The experiment of the lodger franchise had, as he believed he could show, been from one point of view a complete failure. Was it, then, necessary to take these two franchises into the counties? And if they were introduced, could they put a stop to freeholders in boroughs voting for the county? But these questions imported a difficulty already alluded to. They must not look at this Bill alone as about to pass into law; they must remember that there was a larger Bill behind it. However, he asked, what was to be the position of freeholders in boroughs under the Bill? As the Committee would know, certain places in the Kingdom were called counties of cities, in some of which—not in all—freeholders had the right of voting for the county. They were Lichfield, Bristol, Exeter, Norwich, Nottingham, Haverfordwest, and Berwick-on-Tweed. East Stafford, with a population of 138,439, and an electorate of 11,728, included four boroughs—Lichfield, Tamworth, Walsall, and Wednesbury—in respect of which, and putting aside for one moment how many of these would be disfranchised by the Redistribution Bill, there would be this anomaly, that the freemen of three of the boroughs would continue to vote for the county, while the freeholders of Lichfield would vote for the city. Again, under the Bill, Bristol and West Gloucester would have an identical franchise, the only difference between the constituencies being that a certain number of freemen would continue to vote for the city and none for the county. He believed the Committee would see that the distinction between the county and borough franchises could not be maintained if the Bill became law. Bearing in mind what the Prime Minister had just told them was the essence of the Bill, some would say this was a step towards the establishment of electoral districts. ["Hear, hear!"] An hon. Gentleman below the Gangway cheered that statement; but he could assure him that this was not the opinion of the Prime Minister nor of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, as would appear from what they had stated in that House. The right hon. Gentleman, when he introduced the Bill, said—

> "I am not personally at all favourable to what is called the system of electoral districts, or to the adoption of any pure population scale. I cannot pretend to have the fear and horror which some people have with regard to the consequences of electoral districts. My objection is a very simple and would be a practical one. In the first place, electoral districts would involve a great deal of unnecessary displacement and disturbance of traditions, which, I think, you ought to respect. But my second objection is—and I regard it as a very important one—that I do not believe that public opinion at all requires it, and I doubt whether it would warrant it. Next, I should say that in a sound measure of redistribution the distinction between town and country, known to electoral law as borough and shire, ought to be maintained. Although our franchise is nearly identical, that is not the question. The question is, whether there is not in pursuits and associations, and in social circumstances, a difference between town and country, between borough and shire, which it is expedient, becoming, and useful to maintain?"—(3 *Hansard*, [285] 129.)

Such was the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman when he introduced the Bill; and it likewise received the assent of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, who, on the Motion for the second reading of the Bill, expressed himself thus—

> "Speaking for myself, I may say that if I believed this Franchise Bill was introduced merely to prepare the way for a reconstruction which would involve the destruction of the separate political existence of all but the largest cities and counties, and the division of

> political power between the inhabitants of the great cities and the rural populations scattered over areas of great extent—if I believed this, and that an attempt was to be made to introduce some uniform system, such as that of equal electoral districts, then I should not be prepared to support this Bill."

Now, comparing these statements of the Prime Minister and the noble Marquess with what he had endeavoured to show—namely, the almost complete identity of franchise contained in the Bill—it seemed to him that they were coming to electoral districts of wide area and sparse population in counties, and of small area and dense population in boroughs. Then they had this, that the amount of representation would vary as the distance from the seat of Government. He thought this was a fair description of the proposal of the Bill, and that the distinction between the county and borough in future would have no other existence than in their old historic names. He came now to the question as to whether it was necessary to include a lodger franchise in the Bill in order to get uniformity. He believed he should be able to show that the lodger franchise, as he had already stated, would be a failure. But, first of all, a word or two as to the Party bearing of the matter. As far as he knew, nothing had been proved definitely as to the Party character of the lodger franchise; but, wherever it had been exercised, it had probably gone to increase the majority rather than to alter the opinion of the constituency.

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY rose to Order. He asked whether the right hon. Gentleman was in Order in the observations he was then making with respect to the lodger franchise?

The CHAIRMAN said, he was not prepared to rule that the right hon. Gentleman was out of Order.

Mr. CUBITT: The lodger franchise came before the House originally as one of those fancy franchises, many of which, the Prime Minister in his speech said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had killed with a phrase; but it had been so favoured, that the right hon. Gentleman included it as an occupation franchise under the new borough franchise. It was proposed, in 1859, by Mr. Disraeli, and it had been proposed in various Reform Bills brought before the House and generally received with favour; the discussions which took place upon it were not as to whether the lodger franchise should be allowed, but as to the restrictions to be placed upon it, and as to how the claims under it were to be made. Mr. Disraeli, on the second reading of Lord John Russell's Reform Bill of 1860, spoke with favour of the lodger franchise, which was not included in it. In the same year, Sir George Lewis said—

> "The persons in lodging-houses who would obtain the franchise would belong mostly to the working classes—persons flitting about from one place to another, and less fitted, in many respects, for the exercise of the franchise than householders subject to residence and paying rates."—[3 *Hansard*, [157] 2180.]

So the question of the lodger franchise went on, until Mr. Disraeli introduced it, in 1867, with the words—"There is no doubt a wish on both sides to establish this franchise." In that year, the lodger franchise was established without any debate as to principle, but simply upon debated Amendments. He (Mr. Cubitt) asked the Committee to consider what the result of that franchise had been, and he thought it would rather startle some hon. Members to hear that in the whole of the borough constituencies of England, which contained more than 1,500,000 electors, there were only 29,918 lodgers on the Register. In Scotland, according to the Return of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), there were 323 lodgers; 173 in Glasgow, out of 63,716 electors; and 50 in Edinburgh, where there was an electorate of 28,931. In Ireland, there were 1,213 lodgers, 1,082 of whom were in Dublin, where there were 13,580 electors. Returning to the lodger franchise in England, he found what he believed would create surprise—that was to say, that of the 21,918 lodgers on the Register, nearly 16,000, or three-fourths of the entire number, were in the Metropolitan districts; and in looking through the Returns relating to the other great towns he found that the number of lodgers on the Register was almost ridiculous, as would be seen by the following table:—

Liverpool ..	379	Lodgers,	63,436	Electors.
Manchester ..	115	"	52,831	"
Leeds.. ..	120	"	50,675	"
Birmingham..	72	"	63,221	"

In the other towns, with the exception of Devonport, where there were 430 lodgers and an electorate of 5,421, the number of lodgers did not reach 200. The largest number of lodgers on the Register in the Metropolitan area were in Westminster, and he thought he could give a good reason why the franchise had been chiefly exercised there. In 1865 there took place a great Party conflict in the City of Westminster, and it was the duty of the political associations to put as many lodgers on the Register as possible. The lodger franchise was, in short, an agent's franchise, and it was almost impossible for a lodger to get on the Register without the assistance of a political agent. The Prime Minister, on the 12th of March, 1866, in introducing his Reform Bill, said—

> "Now, I can give no information, and I believe that the right hon. Gentleman was unable to give any in 1859, as to the number of persons who would, perhaps, be enfranchised under the title of lodgers; but this I may say, that, in the first place, my firm belief is that it will be a small one; and, in the second place, my firm belief likewise is that this what I now speak of is a middle class rather than a lower class enfranchisement. The operation of claiming, and of claiming too, year by year, is one that must be very burdensome to working men; whereas young men, such as clerks and men of business, familiar with the use of pen and ink, if educated and intelligent persons, and desirous of obtaining the franchise, will estimate the trouble far more lightly. We calculate, therefore, on a certain amount of middle class enfranchisement by the provision I have described; but I should be misleading the House were I to pretend to entertain the opinion that any large number of the working class, or any very large number even of the middle class, will come upon the Register by virtue of that which we term a lodger franchise."—(3 *Hansard*, [182] 47-8.)

That was the opinion of the Prime Minister in 1866, and an examination of the Return of the hon. Member for Salford would show that, to a certain extent, it was a correct opinion. He repeated that the lodger franchise was an agent's franchise. It had been fenced round with many restrictions, which made the exercise of it exceedingly difficult. There were extant no less than five forms of claim in connection with it—namely, a new lodger form of claim and declaration; an old lodger form of claim and declaration; a form for new and old lodger as joint tenants; and a form for successive occupation. Those forms required the signature of the claimant and the signature of a witness, which in itself had been a great incentive to forgery, and a good deal had gone on in connection with the lodger franchise, which had at last been the cause of Parliamentary interference. The Committee would remember the Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act of 1870 which was brought in by Mr. Martin, the then Member for Cambridge, and supported by the right hon. Gentleman the present Head of the Local Government Board. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee; and hence arose the difficulty that very little record remained of what was said at the time —the debates on the clauses of the Bill were not reported. However, the Act dealt with the lodger franchise, and it contained a penal clause with regard to lodgers which it was important the Committee should bear in mind, as throwing considerable light on the working of this franchise. The clause inflicted fine and imprisonment for not exceeding one year for making false claims. Now, Parliament had always been unwilling to enact franchise penalties without grave consideration; and therefore it would be clear to the Committee, from this clause having found its way into the Statute Book, that the lodger franchise was open to some grave drawbacks. Were it not so, the provision in the Act he was quoting would not have been passed; although he might add that since that event took place the evils in connection with lodger franchise claims had not been cured. The registration, as a matter of fact, came on at a time of the year when nearly all the Members of that House were taking their holidays, and thus the reports of what occurred in the Registration Courts did not come before them. If they did, hon. Members would see that the time of the Revising Barristers was taken up with the settlement of fraudulent lodger claims. One or two cases had also been before the Police Courts, and a conviction had taken place at the Central Criminal Court. And yet such a point had been reached that they were asked to look upon the lodger franchise as a model franchise. Again, they had heard a great deal of the redistribution of seats which was to follow the passing of this Bill; but they had not heard much about the third Bill which the Prime Minister announced, and it was that Bill to which he now desired to direct the attention of the Committee. In his introduction of the present measure the

Prime Minister made a statement to the House, which, with the permission of the Committee, he would read—

"Sir," said the right hon. Gentleman, "as to registration, all I will say is this—that our Bill is framed with the intention of preparing a state of things in which the whole occupation franchise, which, I believe, will be about five-sixths of the franchise, shall be a self-acting franchise, and the labour, anxiety, and expense connected with proof of title, which is, after all, according to our view, an affair of the public and the State rather than of the individual, will, I trust, be got rid of. But, at the same time, our Bill is not a complete Bill in that vital respect, and we look to the introduction of another Bill for the purpose; with this we shall be prepared immediately when the House has supplied us with the basis on which it wishes us to proceed."—(3 *Hansard*, [285] 124.)

Now, he would ask the Prime Minister, or the Attorney General, how it was proposed to make the lodger and service franchise a self-acting franchise? If no answer could be returned to that question, he thought they were entitled to ask why the Bill in its present form had been placed on the Table? He had consulted many agents and Gentlemen in that House upon the subject, and they had failed to tell him how this franchise could be made self-acting. He would refer to Clause 9 of the Bill, to which attention had been called on the second reading, and which, in his opinion, was of importance inasmuch as it showed, so to speak, which way the wind was blowing. The clause was, in part, as follows:—

"In Scotland, Section fifteen of the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868, shall apply to counties as well as burghs, and in the application thereof the word 'tenant' shall include any inhabitant occupier within the meaning of this Act, and it shall be the duty of every person rated in respect of any lands and heritages which comprise any dwelling-house when applied to by the assessor to give an accurate written list of the names and designations of all men other than himself, being inhabitant occupiers of any dwelling-house forming part of such lands and heritages, and if he fail to do so he shall be liable on summary conviction to a penalty not exceeding *five pounds*, and the proviso in Section two of the Act for the Valuations of Lands and Heritages in Scotland, passed in the Session of the seventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, Chapter ninety-one, shall be repealed."

And the clause subsequently provided, with regard to England and Ireland, that—

"If any overseer makes default in giving such notice as last aforesaid, or any person rated or rateable as aforesaid, makes default in furnishing the list so required to be furnished by him, such overseer or person shall on summary conviction be liable to a penalty not exceeding *forty shillings*."

Now, if it were necessary to introduce the new penalties provided in that clause, he thought it not unfair to say that under the so-called self-acting Registration Bill there would be many summonses before the Police Magistrates, and that, instead of subscriptions to Registration Societies, there would be penalties for misdemeanours. He would make no apology for having detained the Committee at length upon this important question, because he considered it necessary that it should be discussed fully before the Bill passed into law. In conclusion, he would ask Her Majesty's Government how they could arrive at uniformity of franchise in boroughs and counties without making absolute the identity between them, and whether they did not propose to introduce the lodger and service franchises into counties for the simple purpose of enabling them to establish electoral districts?

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 9, leave out "uniform."—(*Mr. Cubitt.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the right hon. Gentleman is quite correct in stating that this question is one of considerable importance, and that I have described it as the essence of the Bill. I appreciate, then, the importance of the Amendment, the adoption of which would alter the Bill in its very essence. The right hon. Gentleman seems to think that because the Amendment is important it was necessary to handle it at very considerable length. ["Oh!"] That is what he himself said. But I do believe, although the Amendment is important, that the considerations connected with it are of a simple character. I decline to go into the question of the 9th clause of the Bill, for it is a most inconvenient method of dealing with a Bill to discuss any clause other than that with which the Amendment may deal. I think the right hon. Gentleman has stated his case very fairly, and he has not at all disguised the feeling in his mind that an error was committed when the occupation franchise was introduced in 1832, and which was found to work in such a way that a large extension of that franchise was made in 1867. Having done so much, we have a large number of persons who are not included in the occupation franchise of the counties. Yet we have included them in the boroughs, and have had experience of their capacity to exercise the franchise with benefit to the country. The question now is, whether, having admitted the principle of the occupation franchise, having subsequently extended it, having reached a point at which a gross anomaly exists, and there being no suspicion of unfitness attaching to the parties, we can stop there? We think not. There is, I think, a great mistake pervading the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman. I agree with him in desiring to maintain the distinction between shire and borough in our representative system; but I think he is wrong in supposing that that distinction rests mainly upon distinctions of franchise. He puts this question at the close of his speech—"Will you, after establishing a uniform occupation franchise in boroughs and towns, be able to maintain any distinction between the franchise in counties and the franchise in boroughs?" In the first place, I see no reason why that distinction should not be maintained. Looking at the spirit of this country and of this Parliament, it appears to me that the right hon. Gentleman is scarcely justified in his remarks as to the rapidity with which changes of this kind go forward. I regard the period of 20 years that has passed as one of probation, and I say, on the contrary, that these changes were adopted very deliberately and after full experience. But I do not see any reason to believe that a uniform occupation franchise would destroy the distinction between counties and boroughs, which rests upon the property qualification in counties. But, even if you did so, still, I say, you would not destroy of necessity the distinction between borough and shire, because it does not rest so much on what disqualifies a man as on the man himself. It is in the difference of pursuits and habits of life, the different conditions on which property is held, the differences between class and class, upon which, in my opinion, the distinction rests, more than upon any artificial conditions created by the Legislature, and I know not why these should not be for a long time, or permanently, maintained as the distinction between counties and boroughs in our representative system. We are dealing with two classes of people whom we are going to enfranchise. We are dealing with the artizans now scattered over the counties who form the bulk of our borough constituencies, and with whose exercise of their power you are satisfied. We have also, as has been observed by the hon. Member for Portsmouth to-day, had quite sufficient test and specimen of the action of the peasantry under the present Parliamentary franchise to know that we are perfectly safe in their emancipation. And I must say there are questions connected with the condition of the rural labouring population, such as have recently been discussed by the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), with regard to which I may say that if it be not a blot, yet it is a defect, in our representative system that those persons have not a larger influence than they have in this House for the representation of their peculiar interests. The lodgers in the Metropolis and in other great towns are mainly of the labouring class. In the counties they will consist in a much larger proportion of persons not belonging to the labouring class, but to a class whose feelings are much more associated with the Party opposite in political principles than they are with the feelings of those who sit on these Benches; and, therefore, it is rather hard that objection to the extension of the lodger franchise should come from Gentlemen opposite. This matter lies really at the root of the Bill. If the right hon. Gentleman had shown there was some modification of uniformity which it is desirable to introduce there would have been something to argue about. But he has not attempted to do anything of the kind. He has met us with objections of the most vague and general kind—objections which go against the occupation franchise in counties root and branch. His speech, if he will allow me to say so, was a speech against the fundamental provisions of the Bill; and, certainly, I do not think that any of those who have voted for the Bill in its previous stages will be inclined to admit the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. DAWSON said, he wished to point out that the lodger franchise was of great importance in Ireland, where the artizans chiefly resided in lodgings. It was desirable, if the lodger franchise were extended over the whole of Ireland, that the provisions with regard to it should be the same as in England. In England the lodger franchise could be obtained by written application; whereas, in Ireland, personal application was required, which had prevented many persons desirous of exercising the franchise being placed on the Register. There would be considerable disappointment in Ireland unless that assimilation took place, and he trusted that the Prime Minister would see that the obstruction he had mentioned was removed.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the right hon. Gentleman appeared to suppose that under this Bill there would be instituted uniformity of franchise, and it was with some regret that he (Mr. Arthur Arnold) heard the same term used by the Attorney General. He thought that some error might be avoided if during those discussions they did not speak of uniformity of franchise, because the Bill proposed nothing of the sort. When this Bill passed there would be four different franchises in the boroughs and seven in the counties, and he thought that state of things ought to satisfy the right hon. Gentleman. Although he was strongly in favour of uniformity of franchise, after the appeal of the Prime Minister he did not intend to propose any Amendment of that character. The reference of the right hon. Gentleman to the lodger franchise, taken in connection with his remarks on registration, pointed out that the remedy for the failure of the lodger franchise was to be found in an alteration in the Law of Registration. He hoped these words would be retained by the Committee.

Lord JOHN MANNERS said, the present consideration of this measure showed how completely the Committee were inconvenienced by the absence of any statement by the Government as to the mode in which they intended to proceed in regard to redistribution. His right hon. Friend objected to this uniformity in counties, and regarded that as a necessary step to electoral districts; but the Prime Minister differed from that altogether, and the right hon. Gentleman made an essential distinction between shire and borough. But that essential difference existed, according to the right hon. Gentleman, in the very nature of the men who dwelt in shire and borough. In the counties there were men brought up under different conditions, and who constituted a separate body from the borough electors. That might be true if they could find a county which was essentially rural; but the right hon. Gentleman had said that a great number of places would under the operation of this Bill become virtually urban districts, and they knew it would be so. It, therefore, came to this—that the right hon. Gentlemen said he wished to maintain this distinction between county and borough, and that the only mode of preserving that distinction was by preserving a distinction between the character of the constituencies of the counties and boroughs. With respect to the question of the lodger franchise, the Prime Minister had assured them that it would not be the working classes who would come in, in the counties, under the lodger franchise. But the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson) said he sincerely trusted that the lodger franchise would be extended to the counties in Ireland, because that would bring upon the Register a great number of artizans and labourers in Ireland. Then they had an hon. Gentleman opposite, one of the foremost supporters of the extension of this measure to Ireland, assigning opposite reasons to arrive at the same conclusion. The Prime Minister took no note of the important point submitted by his right hon. Friend, who asked how were the lodgers under this Bill to be brought on the Register? To that question the right hon. Gentleman gave no answer, or, at best, it was a negative answer—namely, that the point was to be considered under Clause 9. Clause 9 was a clause of penalties, and it was material that the Committee should not in a hasty manner assent to something in Clause 2 which might result in the imposition of serious penalties under Clause 9. Therefore, from that point of view alone, he thought his right hon. Friend had done well to call attention now to the very important question of how the lodgers were to be brought upon the Register in the counties; and he was sorry he had not received any explanation on the part of the Government.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, the answer was that that question did not properly arise under this clause, and the Government would be perfectly ready to deal with it when it arose. But he might state now that the county lodgers would be put on the Register in the same way as in boroughs. The number of lodgers in counties was very small.

Mr. DAWSON asked whether lodgers in Ireland would come on the Register in the same way as lodgers in England?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE replied, that that would be arranged afterwards.

Lord JOHN MANNERS said, it appeared from the answer of the right hon. Gentleman that very few lodgers would come in for the franchise, because they would come on the Register in the same way in counties as in boroughs; but his right hon. Friend had shown that in respect to the generality of boroughs very few lodgers had hitherto come on the Register.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, the Government had not at all explained the necessity of the word "uniform." According to the Prime Minister it was not part of the scheme that the franchise in the county and borough should be uniform. There were different classes of franchise existing; but why was it necessary that the Committee should pledge themselves, before they had considered how the lodger franchise and the other franchises were to work in the counties to which they had not yet been applied, by the word "uniform" to identity between county and borough? That seemed to him to be taking an unnecessary step in the direction of electoral districts, which it was said the Government did not propose to advocate, and with respect to which they felt great difficulty, because they heard such different views from different Gentlemen, and because the Bill before them did not disclose the whole scheme. They wanted to know why this word "uniform" was put in, in order that they might feel sure that it meant something?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that in respect to the household franchise and the lodger franchise, the Government did intend to make the Bill uniform. Therefore, it was a question of enactment, and as they proceeded they should enact what they meant.

Mr. SALT said, there was a point which he wished to raise distinctly now, and which he should be sorry to leave unnoticed. This word "uniform" was to a very great extent the essence of the Bill itself, and no doubt it was extremely captivating to many hon. Members. It was an idea put forward with much plausibility, and not without reason, that as a householder in one constituency had a vote, a householder in another constituency should also have a vote; and that was the simple meaning of the Bill as it stood. With regard to what the Committee were now discussing, the words under consideration were not uniform franchise in a general sense, but uniform household franchise. The point he wished to raise, and which had not been raised in the present discussion, was this—and it was a point of principle which he thought should not be lost sight of—this Bill was brought forward as a very complete Bill to do one thing—namely to establish uniform household franchise, and that had frequently been said to be the cause of the popularity and the strong support which the Bill had received; but, if that was so, why during the last 50 years in which Reforms Bills had been discussed, had there never been a uniform lodger franchise proposed? He thought there was a reason for this. He asked himself the reason why all the statesmen who had brought forward Bills on the responsibility of the Government on former occasions, had for years maintained a marked difference between the household franchise in the boroughs and in the counties? For this reason. It was because they wanted to create a variety of constituencies and a variety of representation. The effect of this Bill was not merely to create a uniform franchise throughout the country, but to create a uniform household franchise without bringing forward any means by which the variety of constituencies and of representation might be maintained. He believed that to be a matter of the greatest importance. To illustrate what he meant he would take some other franchise than the household or the lodger franchise. They might have taken a uniform household franchise of £25; but everybody would have said, very truly, that would be absurd and monstrous; but it was just as absurd and monstrous to create a uniform franchise in one way as in another. That seemed to him to be the fault of the Bill, not that it did not do what it professed to do, but that it did it without replacing a system which had always been supported by statesmen who had dealt with the question of the franchise. Then they were told that the variety of constituents would be retained by the variety of inhabitants living in the country and in the towns; but as the Bill at present stood a large number of the inhabitants in the counties would be swamped by town constituencies. As soon as they came to mere household franchise they not only created uniformity, but they also destroyed one of the main things upon which it was now said they were to depend for a variety of representation. His main difficulty about this Bill was that it did not replace that essential diversity between the household franchise in the counties and in the boroughs. Then they were also told, with considerable truth, that the individual in the county had as legal a claim to the franchise as the individual in the town. What they had to consider was how they could get a better representation returned to the House of Commons.

MR. GORST said, the Amendment was, no doubt, one of great importance; but he wished if possible to elicit a little more information with regard to it. The Prime Minister had said truly that this word "uniform" was necessary, because uniformity was the essence of the Bill. It was perfectly clear that the Government proposed a uniform franchise in counties and in boroughs. Uniformity applied to the household and the lodger claim, only it did not touch any other franchise. The Government proposed, then, that the household and lodger franchise should be uniform in counties and boroughs—that was, that all the incidents of the household franchise in the counties should apply to the boroughs, and all the incidents of the franchise in the boroughs should apply to the counties. He quite understood that; but then the right hon. Gentleman appeared to have some alternative scheme which at present he did not understand. The right hon. Gentleman and those who supported him appeared to dissent from the idea of uniformity in the county and the borough; but then they did not state what the alternative scheme was which they would propose. He had listened carefully to the speeches in support of the Amendment; but he had not been able to arrive at an understanding of what was proposed by it. Until he heard some clearer definition of what the Amendment was to lead to, he should be inclined to prefer the more simple plan of the Government. This Amendment went to the vitality of the Bill, and those who were not prepared to accept the simple scheme of the Government ought at least to state what they meant to do.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he did not know what the proposal of his hon. Friends might be; but his proposition was to get rid of the Bill altogether, for a more objectionable Bill it had never been his misfortune to see. This was the first time he had addressed the House upon this Bill; but he had addressed the House on several other Reform Bills, which were all as unpopular as this was. The Prime Minister had told them that this Amendment went to the root and principle of the measure, and he supported the Bill upon the idea that it was necessary to extend the operation of the existing franchise. He should like to ask the Prime Minister how long that had been his idea, and how it was that it was only now that he had come to the conclusion that it was necessary to bring in such a Bill, and how it was that he allowed the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) to come down last year with a proposal——

THE CHAIRMAN: I must remind the right hon. Member that the question before the Committee is the retention of the word "uniform."

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, last year the proposal of the hon. Member for Salford was for uniformity of suffrage; but the House was counted out, as there were not 40 Members present. He thought it was quite germane to the subject to ask the Prime Minister why he was so indifferent last year, and yet this year he made this Bill the principal measure of the Session? At a meeting held not long ago, the Attorney General said there was such a thing as a policy of incidence, and that led to this Bill being made the principal measure of the Session; and he would adopt the language of the hon. and learned Gentleman. With regard to this question of uniformity, having had some experience in this House, he would venture to say that the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War were the last men in this House who should propose any such policy, because, during past years, they had been entirely opposed to such a policy. The Prime Minister had stated the other day that when he was a Member of the Peelite Party, that Party was a pure and high-minded Party. He was very sorry that the right hon. Gentleman should have left that Party——

MR. DAWSON rose to Order, and asked whether uniformity of franchise, or uniformity of conduct on the part of the Prime Minister, was the question before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: The right hon. Gentleman is wandering from the question.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that if the hon. Gentleman thought that those who supported uniformity were not pure and high-minded, he was entitled to hold that opinion; but his point was, that when the Prime Minister was a Member of the Peelite Party he was opposed to uniformity of franchise. He had a seat in this House in 1859, and then a Bill was brought in by the Conservative Party proposing uniformity of franchise; but the present Prime Minister opposed it, and he not only spoke against it, but he turned the Government out upon it. So did all the Members of the old Whig Party and the Members of the Peelite Party. Lord Cardwell, who represented the Peelite Party on that occasion, said the proposal would lead to electoral districts. So it was held by Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston. The present Prime Minister voted against the Bill; and now, without giving any reasons whatever, he had leapt from one side to the other, and introduced this measure. Passing from that point, his principal desire was to state his objections to the introduction of the word "uniform" in this clause. His first point was that it must necessarily lead to electoral districts. The moment there was uniformity of franchise on one side, how could they say they would not give electoral districts? He had higher authority than the Government for that view. In a speech delivered in this House upon a Bill for establishing uniformity of suffrage, Lord Russell, that celebrated Member of the Liberal Party, said—

> "The principle of the Bill is only an argument and a step to further change. It will clearly lead to electoral districts, for you have taken away that which is the greatest impediment to the country in regard to electoral districts — the difference between county and borough. I believe the principle of the Bill will lead to such discontent that the only remedy for the evil you have inflicted and the mischief you have done will be to resort to electoral districts, which I consider a total suppression of the existing representative system."

The proposal of Lord John Russell, when Leader of the House, was not one of uniformity, but diversity, of suffrage. Nor was that the principle proposed in the unfortunate Bill known as the "leap in the dark," which was carried in 1867, and which he had opposed as strongly as any measure he had ever opposed. On the contrary, it was kept back as a species of reserve to be sprung upon the House in a time of political exigency. In regard to equal electoral districts, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, in a speech he had delivered some years ago, stated to his present constituents the reasons why he refused to give his vote to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the present Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. The Attorney General said if this franchise were conceded—that was, uniformity of suffrage—numerical representation was the certain consequence. The distinction between county and borough must be removed, and equal electoral districts must follow. He would like to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman, if he still adhered to that opinion, and if he believed that uniformity of suffrage must lead to equal electoral districts, why did he not go below the Gangway and endeavour to induce the Government to adopt that view? The hon. and learned Gentleman had declared that he was quite willing to surrender the representation of the borough of Taunton whenever he was called upon to do so by the necessities of the case and for the sake of patriotism. It would appear that he had already done so, because it would be seen from the newspapers that the hon. and learned Gentleman was a candidate for another constituency. His (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck's) objection to the Bill was that it must lead to universal suffrage. He recollected a speech delivered some years ago by an authority, whom the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would respect, on this very question of uniformity of suffrage—namely, the late

Mr. Sidney Herbert. In opposing the principle of that measure very strongly, Mr. Sidney Herbert said that it was only the question of the turn of the screw. Whenever they got one point of the screw turned on they found they had to go to a lower point. The Prime Minister founded the principle of uniformity, not only in his opening speech, but in the speech which he had made a short time ago, on the question of the fitness of the capable citizen to exercise the franchise. The right hon. Gentleman said that if the capable citizen was fit to exercise the franchise in one district he was fit to exercise it in another. He should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman where the definition of capable citizenship was to begin and where it was to end? Was it to be what was called a householder?—for many of them knew that many of these voters were not householders at all, but merely occupants of a single room, which, under certain conditions, gave them a vote. Why were such persons to be entitled to a vote, and other persons who were far more entitled to be excluded? Why were domestic servants disallowed a vote? They were going to bring in a service franchise in regard to the occupation of tenements in a certain way. Why were domestic servants to be excluded? Were they not flesh and blood, and quite as capable of exercising the franchise as the agricultural labourer, who, they were told, was in such a deplorable condition? Then, again, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman, why exclude the soldiers in our Army, who served the country well; or our gallant sailors? It came at once to this—the question of capability founded itself on such a state of absurdity that it was impossible to arrive at any logical principle in regard to it. In his opinion, electoral districts must follow universal suffrage, a state of things which was no doubt desired by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, because he saw that on a recent occasion, when haranguing a Radical Club at Chelsea, the right hon. Gentleman said that he not only advocated universal suffrage, but equal electoral districts. They all knew that those opinions were supported by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, and by a large number of hon. Members opposite, including the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who had said as much that day, and by a considerable number of Members who sat below the Gangway on that side of the House. There was no finality and no standpoint whatever. By adopting this measure they would at once be landed, as Lord John Russell told them, in a sea of troubles, and it would be impossible to bring them into a safe harbour. It was upon logical grounds that he supported the Amendment of his right hon. Friend, and he trusted that it would receive such support from hon. Members as would fully justify him in having it brought forward.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS said, it did not seem to him to be an expedient course to take a Division on this question, because it really was the whole Bill over again. Now, nobody was more opposed than he was to household suffrage either in counties or boroughs. He thought the Bill of 1867 was about as mischievous a Bill as was ever passed in that House; but, at the same time, it had become the law of the land, and he did not wonder that an attempt was now made to extend its provisions to the counties. The present measure was to follow out the real *bonâ fide* intention of that Bill, which was to make a raid upon the seats of the county Members, and, to use slang phraseology, was intended to "square" the borough Members who sat on the other side of the House in order to enable them to go back to their constituents unchanged. It was a sort of Kilmainham Compact, that would leave the seats of hon. Members opposite untouched at least for another Parliament, if they would help the Government in carrying death and destruction into the ranks of the county Members. He was not surprised that that should be the principle of the Bill, because the strength of the Liberal Party had always been with the Members who represented the boroughs; and if there was one thing that hon. Members shrank from more than another it was political annihilation. They knew very well that there were many Members sitting in that House, who, if their own special seats were taken away from them, would never sit again for any other constituency as long as they lived. Therefore, if the Government proceeded on the principle they were adopting in regard to this Bill, and promised a uniformity of representation without a redistribution of seats the hon. Members to whom he referred might be able to go down to their constituents for a year, or two years, on exactly the same constituency as now, and it was a boon for which they were ready to sacrifice everything else. That was the whole object of the Bill. The object of the Bill was to make an attack upon the seats of the county Members who sat on the Conservative side of the House. It virtually said—"You have already got two seats out of three;" and if there was another General Election this year, as he hoped there would be, instead of having two out of three, they would have three out of four. They would virtually keep the borough seats as they were, and prevent the winning back of a great many seats which were lost by the Conservatives in 1880. That being the object of the Bill, how could they carry it out except by retaining the word "uniform?" The whole Bill would be destroyed if that word were left out. After the Division which had taken place upon the second reading, and the important Division which had taken place as to the reconstruction and distribution of the suffrage, he thought it would be an unwise proceeding to waste the time of the House by dividing upon this particular word. They all knew the object of the Bill, which was to secure the borough Members in their seats and to get rid of the county Gentlemen who sat on the Conservative side of the House.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I think there is a great deal in what has been said by my hon. Friend the Member for Knaresborough (Mr. T. Collins) as to the real object of the Bill. There can be no doubt that there is great force in those observations, and also in the remarks which have been made by other hon. Members, that a uniform household and lodger franchise is the point which has been pressed upon us by the Government, and which may be regarded as the principle of the Bill. Therefore, to discuss that point now would be to invite a repetition of the decision which the House has already pronounced. But, for all that, I think the discussion raised by my right hon. Friend the Member for West Surrey (Mr. Cubitt) has been a very desirable discussion in drawing attention to certain important points relating to the question. I wish to ask, however, why it is necessary for the Government to commit themselves to this word "uniform" at the very outset? Why do you not leave any possibility of making different arrangements, if they should be necessary, for those classes of voters who would require somewhat different terms in the case of counties and in the case of boroughs? My right hon. Friend has pointed out with great force that the question arises in a great measure upon the lodger franchise. If you are going to enfranchise all the lodgers in the country, you will find that the difficulties which already beset you in connection with the voting of the lodger in the towns will be extensively multiplied and increased. I wish to know if we are to hold ourselves precluded by the introduction of the word "uniform" in the fore-front of the Bill from considering and discussing modifications which may be necessary with a view to the introduction of the lodger franchise in the counties? My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) asks what can be proposed against it? What my right hon. Friend says is that we are promised a self-acting register, and it would be very desirable that there should be a self-acting register if we can see the plans of the Government beforehand; but, in the absense of those plans, it would be difficult to come to a decision in regard to the position of the lodger in the county. That is one of the points in regard to the Government scheme which makes it difficult for us to decide upon it. We do not wish to commit ourselves upon one or two matters of an important character, which hereafter we may find to be governed by other considerations. I would not advise my right hon. Friend to go to a Division. What seems to me to be the feeling generally entertained is that he should reserve what he has to suggest in regard to the lodger franchise until a later period—that he should rest satisfied with the good service he has done in entering his protest and in raising this discussion, and that we should accept these words with the understanding that the question may be fairly raised again in regard to household and lodger franchise, notwithstanding that we may have committed ourselves by assenting to the word "uniform." It seems that the word "uniform" has been put in in order to do away with the semblance of a distinction between the counties and boroughs

—perhaps unnecessarily put in—and, therefore, leading to the conclusion that my right hon. Friend has done good service by the course he has taken in calling attention to the matter; but, as I have already said, I would not advise him to go to a Division.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I am anxious that there should be no misunderstanding. The Government intend by the Bill that as far as household and lodger franchise are concerned to establish uniformity in reference to both the boroughs and counties; but they have not the slighest desire to shut out any fair Amendment which can be moved in accordance with the Rules of the House. I hope there will be no misunderstanding as to the intention of the Government not to deviate in the slighest degree from the meaning which they attach to these words.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) would excuse him, as one of the county Members who were to be affected by the Bill, if he asked the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General what his uniformity meant? Was it houses, or was it lodgings, with regard to which uniformity was to extend according to law throughout the United Kingdom? At the present moment uniformity implied a standard, although there was no rental value attached either to the house or to the lodging. Was it intended that, in future, the standard should be taken at the lowest—for instance, the Irish standard of lodgings and the Irish standard of houses? Was that standard to be applied as the qualifying test to houses and lodgings in the Metropolis and in every other part of England? Until, in a fatal hour, Mr. Disraeli, when he was a Member of the House of Commons, advised the extension of the household standard, which merely meant the possession of a house without specifying what the house was to be, matters were well understood. The lodger standard seemed to have been adopted in haste, and there was no adequate discussion upon it. It was adopted upon an Amendment proposed by Mr. Hodgkinson, in 1867; and the sudden adoption of household suffrage with no definition of the value of the house, together with the sudden adoption of the lodger franchise with no definition of what properly constituted adequate lodgings, constituted the "leap in the dark" which was taken in 1867. It gave the Act of 1867 a name which it had never lost. And now, when he saw the Committee about to take another leap in the dark in respect to the counties in which the majority of the people lived who would be affected by the present Bill, he thought he was entitled to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General whether he took the lowest standard of a house and the lowest standard of a lodging, which lowest standard existed in Ireland, and whether he proposed, under the cover of the words which appeared in the clause, to extend that lowest franchise to the counties of England and Scotland?

MR. WARTON said, he did not know whether he would be in Order in referring to a statement made by the President of the Local Government Board in answer to the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson). It would be in the recollection of the Committee that the hon. Member asked the right hon. Gentleman a question as to registration —Whether it was not the case, that while the voter in Great Britain would not exercise his vote until he was registered, in Ireland the voter would do so as soon as he was entitled to be registered? From the answer given by the right hon. Gentleman he did not think he could have read the clause they were now considering, because it certainly made a curious distinction between the votes to be obtained under the clause and now. It seemed to him to be one of the numerous traps which were provided for hon. Members in the clause, because they were told that whereas in Great Britain the right to vote was to be obtained, the vote was not to be exercised until the voter was registered. The words were "when registered to vote at an election for such county;" whereas, in regard to Ireland, the words "when registered" were not used; but, instead of them there were the words "shall be entitled to be registered as a voter." He presumed that it was, in point of fact, a certain price paid to hon. Members below the Gangway, that the Irish voters should be able to exercise their votes before the rest of the electors could exercise theirs. Under the clause a voter in Ireland would exercise the vote when he was entitled to exercise it; whereas, in England, he could only exercise it when registered.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, the hon. Member had been discussing words which came later on in the clause.

Mr. WARTON: Quite true.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he would be quite ready to explain the meaning of the words when the Committee reached them; but he would only say now that the hon. Member had misunderstood their purport. The hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) had also misinterpreted the meaning of the clause, because he assumed that the franchise in Ireland would be of a different description from that in England, which was not the fact.

Mr. NEWDEGATE begged the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. He had assumed that it was the same franchise, but applied to a different class of tenements.

Sir JOHN HAY said, the Lord Advocate had not answered his question with reference to the Scotch lodger franchise, and he wished to point out that the words in the 2nd clause were different from the expression which had been used by the Attorney General. The 2nd clause established a uniform household and lodger franchise throughout the United Kingdom, and provided that it should be identical in character in the counties and boroughs of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. If that was clearly the meaning of the Government he was prepared to accept it; but it was scarcely the meaning of the words inserted in the first line of the clause, from which it appeared quite evident that there was a difference at present existing between the lodger franchise of Scotland, England, and Wales. There were, in fact, three kinds of lodger franchise and one of household franchise in the Three Kingdoms, and, as there was a difference now, they could not be uniform, unless they were going to be made uniform in all the Three Kingdoms, in accordance with the words set forth in the clause. He should like to have an explanation from the Attorney General, if it was intended to make the franchise uniform throughout the United Kingdom? He was prepared to assent to the proposal, but he did not understand the first part of the clause to establish that condition.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, he did not quite understand what the right hon. and gallant Gentleman wished to suggest in regard to the Scotch franchise.

Sir JOHN HAY asked if there was not a difference between the franchise established by the Act of 1868 and that established by the Act of 1867?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, the Act of 1867 was very similar to that of 1868. In the case of lodgers there was the rental provision of £10; and he did not know in what respect it was suggested that there was any difference.

Mr. DAWSON said, the lodger franchise was settled on a fixed money value, and in Ireland the franchise was based upon a £10 rent in regard to lodgers, and a £4 rent in regard to householders. With regard to the charge of want of uniformity raised by hon. Members, they might put their minds at rest. There was only one kind of uniformity he had discovered in these debates, and that was the uniformity of raising endless discussions and taking no Division upon them. The suffrage was not uniform at the present moment, but, under this Bill, it would be made uniform.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he had no intention of continuing the discussion, which had apparently satisfied the Committee as to the decision it ought to arrive at, or rather as to the prevailing disposition of forces in respect of the franchise. He wished, however, to draw attention to another point of more importance, which he thought the Government, would admit was fully deserving of the consideration of the Committee. He asked the Committee to bear with him for a few moments while he laid it before them. As he gathered from a statement made a short time ago by the Prime Minister, that was the last opportunity he would have of bringing it before the Committee. The point to which he desired to draw the attention of the Committee was how far the adoption of the words "uniform franchise" would preclude the subsequent adoption by the Committee of Amendments which had for their object the giving of greater electoral weight to the various voters in accordance with the stake which they had in the country. One point he wished to dwell upon briefly was how far it would be practicable, without going outside the scope and intentions of this Bill, to incorporate, for the purposes of this section, a portion of the statute commonly known as Sturges Bourne's Act. That Act was the 58 *Geo.* III., c. 69, and it clearly laid down the manner in which the votes could be apportioned to the stake the voter might have in the community. He had been told before—and he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had made himself responsible for the assertion—that this was an old musty, fusty statute, that it was passed in the year 1818, and the hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to consider that that fact alone pointed it out for the condemnation of Parliament. He would remind the hon. and learned Gentleman that, although the statute had been the law of the land for a considerable number of years, no serious attempt had ever been made to repeal it, or to infringe upon its principle. Of course, he was not referring at that moment to those provisions of the statute which enabled votes to be given by proxy, and by other machinery, which he might have asked the Committee to incorporate in the present Bill; but he was referring rather to Section 3 of the Act of 58 *George* III., c. 69, which enabled every voter, or rather, to use the words of the Act—

> "Every person who shall be rated for the relief of the poor shall be entitled to give one vote for every £50 valuation."

Without troubling the Committee in any detail with the merits of the clause, he would point out that, although a plurality of votes might be accorded to every voter, yet it was provided that no person should have more than six votes. Some people might say that that was a very reactionary provision, and that it ran counter to the modern doctrine of the equality of every voter in the eye of the law, and that it was a provision which could hardly seriously be made to Parliament. He asked the Committee for a moment to consider what their object was in dealing with the question of the franchise. He knew there were those who were of opinion that the great object was that one political Party should have a preponderance of the votes of the electors. He would not weary the Committee by arguing with any such persons. He would rather assume that the object of Parliament was to secure some just and equitable method of arriving at the real wishes of the population of the country, due regard being had to the stake in the community which each voter possessed. He knew that some of his Friends on that side of the House said—"We entirely agree with you. It is quite right; but we do not believe that such a provision could ever be passed." Now, he contended that that was timid language, which he personally could not endorse. He thought if any Member of the House entertained a strong conviction on any particular point it was his duty to bring that point before the Committee, and not to scamp his task. He was aware that there were those who said that votes should not be accorded to property at all—that every man had an inherent right to a vote, and that the amount of property he possessed had nothing to do with the matter. But he would remind the Committee that that was not the language used by Her Majesty's Government. The Prime Minister, in introducing the Bill, laid stress on his own opinion that regard should be had to property vested in the inhabitants of a constituency as well as to the numerical strength of the constituency. Throughout all the discussions which had taken place upon the various Reform Bills it had always been contended that representation should be accorded to a constituency not solely on the ground of a certain number of houses being situate in it, or on the number of persons entitled to record their votes, but that property should also be included as a consideration. He desired to know on what principle the Government proposed to consider the allocation of electoral weight with respect to property? Did they intend to adopt the principle held in the Southern States of America in former days, when a certain number of votes was accorded to each State in respect of its local population, but the local population were not allowed to record their votes? He understood the Prime Minister to contend that it was quite right that regard should be had to the property situate in a constituency, but that the owners of that property should have no share in the disposal of the votes. The right hon. Gentleman was establishing a doctrine that one set of persons was to pay the piper while another set were to call the tune. That in plain language, was the object of the Bill. He did not now wish to enter into the question which was generally known as the representation of minorities. He held strong views which he had not hesitated to utter in that House during the last 17 years. He hoped that subject would come before the House under abler hands than his own, and that the Committee would have an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon it. He would say this in passing—that he could not see any more equitable manner of representing the interests of property, and it might be of minorities, than by the adoption of salutary provisions, which were not novel or crotchety inventions of his own, but which, for a number of years, had formed part of the law of the land, and had been found to work with justice to all persons concerned. He had constantly expressed his opinion against the various Reform Bills which had been introduced. He had not hesitated to denounce what had been termed the "leap in the dark" in 1867; and one of the grounds on which he denounced it was that it failed to make adequate provision for the fair balance of power, which he contended ought to be preserved between the conflicting claims and interests of all classes and sections of the community. On the second reading of the Reform Bill of 1867 he had ventured to make some remarks strongly condemnatory of the provision known under the name of the dual vote. Why had he denounced the dual vote? He had denounced it because he regarded it as an imposture and a sham. It did not go anything like far enough. It was all very well as far as it went; but it was altogether a meagre instalment of what was required to meet the exigencies of the case. The dual vote was a very different thing from the system of voting which he now ventured to urge upon the Committee. The dual vote allowed an elector to be placed on the register not only in the capacity of a freeholder or of an occupier, but, in addition, it gave him a separate vote as a taxpayer, or as the holder of Government Stock. That, he thought, was a very puny provision. He had not hesitated to condemn it at the time, and he had never regretted the attitude he took with regard to that or any other provision of the Bill of 1867. All he proposed now was that the voter should be entitled to vote in accordance with his stake in the country, provided always that the number of votes possessed by an individual did not exceed the number at present provided by the law in regard to the election of Poor Law Guardians—namely, six votes. He suggested that a voter should be entitled to a plurality of votes, not exceeding six altogether, in proportion to the taxation he contributed to the State. There would be one great advantage in the adoption of that principle. It would enable the House at large cordially to adopt the principle of household suffrage both in the town and in the country, a principle which, as it was provided in the present Bill, they would only be induced to accept with the greatest reluctance. He confessed that he himself had never been able to see any charm in a difference of suffrage between town and country. His idea had always been that every elector should have a fair share of electoral power accorded to him, whether he happened to live in a county or in a borough. He had been charged with opposing the adoption of household suffrage, and he should continue to oppose any scheme which did not make adequate provision for the maintenance of that fair balance of power between all classes and sections of the community which he considered to be necessary. There were several methods of obtaining that end. It might be possible to say that nobody should have a vote at all—that only a privileged few should possess the electoral franchise; or they might say that all persons should possess the electoral franchise, but that there should be a different weight accorded to different voters in the ordinary scale. That was what he thought would be most equitable under all the circumstances of the case. He hoped the Government would not shelter themselves under the plea that this would be going back from the great principles already established. He ventured to say, on the other hand, that if the subject was to be fairly considered by Parliament, apart from the prejudice of mere political opinions, he was at a loss to understand on what grounds it could be seriously contended that this was an objectionable principle to adopt in future. The Prime Minister might, perhaps, say that it might be the establishing of inequality. The right hon. Gentleman presumed to say that the other night in very decided terms; but, in his (Mr. J. Lowther's) judgment, the people of England were by no means enamoured of uniformity. The last thing the working classes of this country entertained an idea of was the establishment, on a dull level of mediocrity, of uniform laws. It had been the boast of Englishmen that the highest prizes of life were open to every man, and that, notwithstanding the condition of life in which a man was born, he might, by application, and industry, and ability in that sphere of life, raise himself above the scale in which he was born. He would now conclude his observations by expressing a hope that the Committee would fully and fairly consider the subject; and he was sure it was one which ought to receive full attention at the hands of each of the Parties in the State.

MR. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman began by addressing a question to the Government—namely, whether, in our opinion, it would be competent to him, if we passed this clause as it stands, at a subsequent date to move an Amendment for the introduction of what I may call plural voting in a rough way? I am quite prepared to answer that question at once. I have not the least doubt that it would be competent to him to do so, because the word "uniform" manifestly refers to uniformity between counties and boroughs, and does not, I apprehend, contain any limitation of the franchise, provided it applies to the counties and boroughs alike. But while I say that the right hon. Gentleman will be able to make that proposal at a future date, I venture to add a respectful hope that if, and when he does make it, he will bear in mind that he has already made his speech, and that it will be unnecessary for him again to entertain us with those most interesting references to his personal history, and to the gallant manner in which, on all occasions, he has maintained his principles, and which will be indelibly recorded on our memories.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, his hon. Friend the Member for North Warwickshire had asked the simple question, "What is a house?" What was meant by a house? What was the meaning of uniformity if every house to which it applied was different? That would destroy all uniformity. Some neighbours of his lived in an old railway carriage. Would they be considered householders? There were a great many people who lived in tents. Would those Ishmaels be considered householders? Others lived in caravans. Would they be householders? The point was clearly of great importance, especially with regard to Ireland, because in that country, notwithstanding the remedial legislation of the present Government, the majority of the people lived in mere hovels. Was a house that was unfit for human habitation to be considered one which would give the franchise to the occupants? If a house had no chimney, was such a place to be considered a house? That was a question which the hon. Member for North Warwickshire had asked, and he hoped the Attorney General would have the courtesy to answer it.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he observed that there was a difference between the Scotch and the English Acts as to lodgers. In the Scotch Act it was provided that the lodgings must be a part of one and the same dwelling house; but that was not so in this Bill. He did not know whether there was any dispute about that; but the question was whether, under the term "uniform franchise," these two conditions of lodger franchise, which were re-enacted in the Bill, could, in strictness, be described as uniform?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): That really is the sense.

MR. CUBITT said, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment; but the question had not been answered as to the way in which the self-acting register was to be prepared for the lodger franchise. The Prime Minister had stated that the Bill had been prepared by the Government; but the Attorney General had not answered that question.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. WARTON said, he proposed to add the word "franchise" after the word "household," in order to prevent confusion of ideas with regard to the nature of the uniformity. [MR. GLADSTONE: Agreed.] He did not like too ready an acquiescence until they knew exactly what they were about; and he did not wish to take advantage of the Prime Minister's acquiescence too quickly, but to treat him more generously than the right hon. Gentleman generally treated hon. Members on this side. He was not sure whether the Prime Minister saw the consequence of what he now proposed. His object in moving this Amendment was to move another Amendment shortly, to which, perhaps, the Prime Minister would not so readily accede; and that was after the word "and" to insert "a uniform," so that the whole would be a uniform household franchise and a uniform lodger franchise. That he thought would be clearer than the present mixture of household and lodger franchise. Although the Prime Minister acceded so readily to this Amendment, he must point out that in so doing they would cut away the ground from the hon. Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton), whose Amendment was misplaced. Therefore the Prime Minister might again be in error in acceding too readily to this proposition. But at present it would be sufficient to move his Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 9, after "household," to insert "franchise."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question, "That the word 'franchise' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON proposed to add after "lodger" the words "and freehold." The Committee had heard so much about uniformity, and the Government had stuck to it with such tenacity, that he hoped they would now assist him in making the Bill more uniform and more complete. Everyone who had listened to the speeches by which the Bill had been introduced had, he believed, been satisfied of one thing—namely, that the basis and foundation of the Bill was the assimilation of the county and borough franchises; and everyone outside the House believed that this Bill would really do what the Prime Minister had said it would do—namely, assimilate the two franchises. In fact, it would do nothing of the kind. It left anomalies as great and as grievous as they were before; and as some of these anomalies, and this one especially, could be easily removed, he hoped the Government would be willing to accept his Amendment, for it carried out the spirit of their own Bill. Precisely the same argument could be adduced for the claim of the borough freeholder to be registered on the borough list as had been adduced for the lodger or occupier who resided outside the old borough lines to be registered on the county list. Let them consider the present state of things. An occupier of a tenement outside the borough limit which gave him a vote for the county, and owning a freehold within the borough limit, was disqualified from voting for the borough; whereas, if it had been just the other way—if he had occupied a small tenement within the borough boundaries, and had a freehold outside the borough, he would have been able to vote for both county and borough. The principle of the Bill, as had often been stated by the Prime Minister, was that every capable man who had a qualifying possession within a constituency should have a vote; but he made no provision for the qualifying freehold, which gave a vote within the county, to give a vote within the borough. Under this Bill, the occupier of land in a county, who had a freehold in a borough, and who, therefore, had an interest in the borough, was a capable citizen of that borough; but if he did not reside upon his freehold he was disfranchised. This Bill retained old anomalies and disfranchising conditions. The principle he proposed to introduce into the Bill existed in Ireland, where the freeholder in a borough, though non-resident, voted in the borough. The borough freeholders were generally urban voters—people belonging to the borough, and had little to do with the county. Therefore, it was proper that they should vote in the borough. Besides, it was a case of give and take. The occupier in the county, who had a freehold in the borough, would be introduced into the borough as a voter. Each constituency, whether county or borough, would be self-centred; every capable citizen with the qualifying condition would vote for every place where he had a qualification. There would be no disfranchisement in this at all. On the contrary, it would make the franchise uniform, and give equal rights inside and outside the boroughs; and, therefore, it seemed to him to be a principle which should be supported on every ground, but especially upon the ground upon which this Bill was brought before the attention of the House—namely, the assimilation of the county and borough franchise.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 9, after "lodger," insert "freehold."—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'freehold' be here inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, this Amendment was a very important one; but the Government could not agree to it. By accepting it they would disfranchise a great number of voters, because, if they gave a freehold vote in the borough, the principal persons who would be entitled to vote would be resident householders. Dealing with them first, they now had a vote for the county if they had a freehold qualification in a borough; but this proposal would deprive them of that vote. It would disfranchise the whole of them. If a freehold gave a vote for the borough, it could not give a vote for the county; and, therefore, what the hon. Member proposed as a sufficient qualification for the borough would prevent the owner of it voting for the county. If a man had two such qualifications he could not choose between the two; therefore, they must determine, in the sense placed before the Committee, whether they would allow the vote to be a qualification for the borough or county. If they gave the borough vote for the freehold situated in a borough it must cease to be a county qualification; and so they would disfranchise every county voter who had a freehold qualification within a borough. Then, that equally applied to the non-residents, because if a person resided elsewhere, if he had a voting qualification for the borough, they could not say that he was to have a vote for the county simply because he was non-resident. The result of this Amendment must be this—no freeholder in a borough could have a county qualification; and there were in England and Wales 112,000 county voters, whose freehold qualifications being situated in boroughs, who would be disqualified. The Government were not prepared to disfranchise even those 112,000.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, non-residents would vote under his Amendment, just as they do now, only they would vote for the borough instead of for the county.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) asked whether the hon. Member was going to give non-residents votes for boroughs under this clause?

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Certainly. They have votes now for the county.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he could imagine nothing more likely to create "fagot" votes than to give the 40*s*. non-resident freeholder a vote in the borough.

MR. ECROYD said, there were in his district a great number of working men who had become the owners of small houses, and who were deeply interested in the point under consideration. He entirely agreed that it would be a mistake to give to non-residents a vote for the borough; and, therefore, in a later Amendment which stood in his name he had introduced the words—

> "Subject always, in the case of boroughs, to such conditions as to residence within, or within a certain distance thereof, as are now by statute or shall be under the provisions of this Act prescribed."

There were only two courses which could be taken with any justice in dealing with this Bill. Either a man who was both an owner and an occupier in a borough might be stripped of his ownership, or, on the other hand, a man who was both an owner and an occupier outside the borough, might have a property vote conferred upon him in addition to the vote he enjoyed; and he believed that if hon. Members would, for a moment, consider what would be the position of many of the best class of working people if this Act were passed, they would see that it was one which could not be tolerated by the country. Suppose two brothers were joint owners of a freehold situated in a village three or four miles from a town, one of them living in the village adjoining the freehold, and the other in the borough three or four miles away. One of them would be unable to vote, whilst the other would be entitled to vote in right of this property. Could anything more monstrous be imagined? He would take, as another instance, the case of a man living in a borough who was the owner of a freehold house within the borough, which he let. Under this Bill he would have a vote in the borough as an occupier, and one in the county as an owner; whilst his brother, living, say, a mile outside the borough, and owning a similar or a more valuable property, would have only one vote. Of these two men, whose circumstances were precisely similar, one would thus be endowed with twice as large a share of political power as the other. That was an injustice so monstrous that in his county division it would create something approaching a political insurrection. He had not spoken to one workman who did not firmly believe that, though he might live outside a borough, this Bill would give him both an ownership and an occupying vote, and thus place him in a position in all respects equal to that of his neighbour inside the borough. The confusion which would follow from any other course would make it impossible to work out the measure; and the consequence would be that before very long there would be a great agitation against the ownership vote being left to the people resident in boroughs. That might or might not be a result contemplated by the authors of this Bill; but a settlement which would deal out equal justice between these two classes of people was one which could not be long delayed. This proposition was, therefore, one of the most important points to be considered in this Bill, because they were now at a place where two ways parted, and the decision they should arrive at would probably determine the future course the country would take—whether they should have one vote for one man, and abolish the second or ownership vote now enjoyed by inhabitants of boroughs, or whether they should proceed towards the equal enfranchisement of owners outside boroughs, and the continuance in both boroughs and counties of that political distinction between those who were and those who were not owners of rateable property which had been one of the greatest and best moral influences operating upon the working classes. He believed it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of this decision; and he hoped it would not force upon the cream of the working class the idea that they were to be reduced to the level of the most worthless and improvident amongst their neighbours. He could not conceive anything more calculated to uproot the good work of inducing these men from their youth to save money and become owners of property than to destroy this distinction; and he earnestly appealed to the Committee to pause before coming to a conclusion which would have that effect.

MR. GORST said, he thought the hon. Member for Preston would have convinced the Attorney General that this Amendment was not to be disposed of in the summary manner he had imagined. It was impossible, at this time of the day, to do adequate justice to an Amendment of this importance; and he hoped the Government would consent now to report Progress, in order that this matter might be properly discussed at the next Sitting. The Attorney General had objected to this proposition on the ground that it was a disfranchising proposition; and when he found that it was an enfranchising proposal he found fault with it for that reason. He thought it was desirable to report Progress, and at the next Sitting they could consider more fully this Amendment, which he hoped the hon. Member would press to a Division. He moved that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

MR. GLADSTONE said, he was sorry that Progress had been moved now; but it was not worth while considering the matter, and he should consent.

MR. WARTON asked when the right hon. Gentleman intended to put this Bill down again for Committee, as it was necessary that hon. Members should have time to consider what Amendments they would put on the Paper?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he would put the Bill down for Friday morning; but he was not quite certain whether it could then be taken.

Motion *agreed to*.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Friday*, at Two of the clock.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

MOTIONS.

——o——

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.—RESOLUTION.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present, MR. BROADHURST, in rising to move—

> "That, in view of the painful and unnecessary hardships inflicted upon large numbers of people in this Country by the Law prohibiting Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, it is the opinion of this House that a measure of relief is urgently called for,"

said, he felt that in making the Motion some explanation was due to the House of the manner in which he became associated with it. It had for some time past been very ably dealt with by the hon. and learned Member the Recorder of the City of London (Sir Thomas Chambers); but after some length of time and after the continual pressure of friends, and especially of his constituents, he at last consented to take charge of the question. To show the House the interest his constituents took in it, he would that state last winter a requisition in its favour was sent to him signed by 25,000 of them, of whom more than 10,000 were women above 18 years of age, and representing not only the working classes of the borough of Stoke-upon-Trent, but also the middle classes, besides many Town Councillors, Aldermen, and members of Local Boards. Another reason for his connection with the subject was to be found in the Petition which he had the honour of presenting to the House yesterday, signed by 115 delegates representing the trades of the country at the last annual Trades Union Congress. There were really 170 signatures; but some 55 failed to sign the proper paper. In the hurry of their week's work they failed to get near the Petition, and they signed letters instead, expressing regret that their names were not attached to the original document. But for this circumstance the original Petition would have contained 170 signatures of the leading working men of the United Kingdom, representing altogether something like 500,000 of the people of this country. At the outset of his speech he wished to state that he did not profess to represent every working man's opinion in the country. He never did profess to. There were a great many opinions in the country he would be very sorry to represent; and he would be glad to transfer them to hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, or anywhere else, who chose to espouse their views. As Representative of Stoke-upon-Trent, he had endeavoured to represent the constituency as a whole, and not any one class. His own opinion as to the importance of the subject was that, with the exception of the Franchise Bill, then before the House, there was a more general consensus of opinion upon this than upon any other. So far as signatures to Petitions were concerned, his experience showed that the possibility of obtaining them was only limited by a person's time and opportunities; and, indeed, he had never met a person who declined to sign one in favour of the proposed alteration. ["Oh!"] He did not say that no such person existed; but, whereas 2,000,000 people had petitioned in favour of the Bill, not one-tenth of that number had petitioned against it. Three hundred and fifty Town Councils had at different times sent Petitions in favour of the amendment of the law. One hundred and thirty Boards of Guardians in the country had petitioned in its favour. The Town Council of Edinburgh had petitioned 11 times, and the Convention of Rural Boroughs had petitioned 11 times. He mentioned signatures of Town Councillors and members of Local Boards especially because they might be taken to represent the highest and best form of Conservative feeling in the country. By this he meant Conservative, not in a political point of view, but Conservative in its best and highest sense; and he would say this especially with regard to Boards of Guardians, than whom there were no representative Bodies in the country more capable of giving expression to what was desirable on a subject of this kind. Coming to another form of organization, the Liberal Associations of the country, no less than 225 of these Associations had passed resolutions in favour of these views. He thought that it was known to most people that His Holiness the Pope and the greater number of the leading Catholic clergy, as well as the more prominent laity of the Catholic Church, were in favour of this alteration in the law. The general interest in the subject was very great. As regarded Scotland, in the City of Glasgow 42,000 people had signed Petitions for the change in a short time last year, and over 300 Scotch ministers had expressed themselves in its favour, while the leading organs of the Scotch Press were also favourable to it. In England itself, as apart from any other portion of the United Kingdom, he thought it was safe to say that public opinion, if not unanimous, at least came nearer to being so than it had done upon any great question that had engaged public attention for many years past. Many also of those who sat on the other side of the House were in favour of it; so that this Motion was no outrage upon Conservatism. What had been the result of the attempt to create a feeling adverse to this proposal? The most supreme efforts had been put forth to elicit opinions in opposition to it; but they had met with most signal failure, and had by no means repaid the labour and expenditure employed. He had been told that the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Cambridge University had called upon the clergy of the Church of England to come to his assistance and place notices upon their church doors in opposition to this measure, calling upon the people to use their best efforts against it. What had been the result? After months of labour about 12,000 signatures had been obtained, many of them under questionable circumstances. A very remarkable Circular had also been issued on the subject marked "Confidential," and addressed to Members of Parliament, from a special meeting of C. E. W. M. S., which he was told meant the Church of England Working Men's Society. It said that he (Mr. Broadhurst) could not be accepted as representing the working classes on this question, and it requested Members to vote against the Motion. It was especially requested that there might be no mention of the Church of England Working Men's Society, or of any Church Society. It was signed on behalf of the Society by S. Powell, Secretary, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, W.C. He had given these particulars because that was rather an out-of-the-way place for an institution of that kind. The Bishop of Lichfield, of whom he wished to speak with great respect, had made a great effort to stir up the people in defence of the law as it at present existed; but after going through the whole of his district he had succeeded in getting something like 8,000 signatures, or less than one-third of the number of signatures in favour of this Motion, obtained within the boundaries of his own constituency, and of grown men and women. It had been stated that this was not a working man's question at all, but that it was simply for the convenience of a very few rich people. He was sorry to hear such prejudice expressed on the Conservative side of the House against justice being done to people who were rich. His own Liberalism knew of no distinction between rich and poor in matters of justice. It would be a bad day for the country when Parliament legislated for the convenience of either rich or poor; the ground of its action should be justice, and not consideration for any class of people. He was not prepared to admit that this was a rich man's question only. Undoubtedly, rich people had the good sense to make these marriages in the interest of their own happiness and that of the bereaved children; but such marriages were far more numerous among the working classes than among the upper or the middle classes; and that was some justification for the position he occupied. The difference between rich and poor in these matters was very great. The rich man's resources enabled him, if he was a widower, to obtain proper treatment for his children; and, as a rule, if he married again, the opinion of his class prevented his second wife from ill-using her step-children. These advantages the poor man did not possess. He, perhaps, had to leave his home before dawn, and all day his children were in the hands of the step-mother, and infancy was often a barrier to their communication with others. No one was more likely to be a second mother to the children than the sister of her who bore them; she often became so during the long illness of the mother; and to wrench her from the children was often to them as a second death. Not only in the interest of the children themselves, but in the interest of humanity, the House should not stand for one moment between the Resolution and the hopes of these poor people, but should concede their reasonable and just demands with as little delay as possible. Hundreds and thousands of these marriages were already contracted, and thousands more would be contracted if the law was amended. He sincerely hoped that the House would pass his Motion. Society did not condemn these marriages, whilst every sensible person in the country—he did not use the word "sensible" in an offensive sense—approved of them.

Parliament ought to be abreast of the opinion of the country, and the expression of a decisive judgment on the part of this House would probably have great weight with the other House, and induce it to yield to the claims of common sense, justice, and humanity. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution which stood in his name.

Mr. HENEAGE, in seconding the Motion, said, he regarded the prohibition of these marriages as most unjust and inexpedient. The law was contrary to Divine law and to natural law. There was nothing in the Old Testament or the New Testament against these marriages. Within the last few weeks unanimous testimony had been given by Professors of Greek and of Hebrew as to the interpretation of the controverted passages in favour of these marriages, which, indeed, had always been approved by Jews and by Mahomedans. The Roman Catholics did not say that these marriages were against the Divine law, but simply that they were against the moral law, which could be dispensed with at the pleasure of the Pope. The Protestants, whether Churchmen or Nonconformists, desired this amendment of the law. The marriages were legal in the other English-speaking nations of the globe. Cardinal Newman wrote that if he looked upon this question as one affecting the rich he should, perhaps, think the marriages inexpedient; but in the interests of the poor he thought they were expedient. ["Read on!"] The Cardinal spoke further of the danger of relaxing the sanctity of marriage; but that had nothing whatever to do with the subject before the House. If these marriages were expedient they ought not to be prohibited because of the inexpediency of any other marriages which nobody contemplated. We had two laws in two different parts of the Empire; and a marriage in Canada might be repudiated here without any redress for the woman; although the law of Canada had received the assent of the Queen. Looking at the question from a social point of view, he maintained that the objection founded on alleged intimacy and relationship was all nonsense. There was closer relationship between first cousins, particularly where two brothers had married two sisters; and, as a rule, they would be well known to each other. In the case of a husband and his wife's sister, they might not even know each other until they attended the wife's funeral. This was not a question for the small social circle of London; it was a question for the nation at large, and for the English-speaking people of the Colonies. It had been stated that if they altered the present law, and allowed marriage with the deceased's wife sister, the number of divorce cases would be increased. He did not know whether that would be so or not, but he would point out that two wrongs did not make a right; and if that House had passed a Divorce Law, which was against the teachings of the Bible, that was no reason why they should try and keep another law in force which was also opposed to the language of the Bible. The present law upon this subject was, in his opinion, a disgrace to a civilized country, and ought to be abolished. He seconded the Motion of the hon. Member for Stoke.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in view of the painful and unnecessary hardships inflicted upon large numbers of people in this Country by the Law prohibiting Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, it is the opinion of this House that a measure of relief is urgently called for."—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

Colonel MAKINS in rising to move, as an Amendment—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the Laws relating to Marriages within the prohibited degrees,"

said, he did not think that any apology was needed for bringing this subject before the House. The question had exercised the public mind ever since the passing of the Lyndhurst Act half a century ago; and he quite admitted that any hon. Member was at liberty to take it up. The hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) had stated that a large number of Petitions had been presented in favour of the Bill. That was perfectly true; but he would remind the House that a very large number had been presented against the Bill, and it should be remembered that it was always easier for those who were attacking an existing law to get up Petitions than those who were supporting it. It was not correct to say that there was a general feeling in favour of the measure. No resolution had been passed by any meeting of representative clergy or by any well-known sect in this country in favour of legalizing marriage with the deceased wife's sister. He was sorry the hon. Member for Stoke had stated that Liberal Associations approved of the Motion; because hitherto the question of the Marriage Laws had not been regarded as a Party question. It was a mistake for the hon. Member to drag in those Associations in support of the measure. The hon. Member claimed to speak on behalf of working men, but showed that upon this subject he had no right whatever to represent those working men who belonged to the Church of England. He was prepared to state that most of the working men who were members of the Church of England were utterly opposed to the measure. The hon. Member had further claimed to speak not only in the name of the working man, but of the Pope. He did not know what authority he had to speak for the Pope; but this he did know—that a very large number of Roman Catholics were utterly opposed to the measure. Then the hon. Member for Stoke claimed that the measure for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister was a measure of justice to the people as a whole; but he forgot that gross injustice would be done to those who did not desire it if it passed into law. If they altered the law, the sister of the deceased wife would not have that protection which she now enjoyed, and the opposite to that which the supporters of the Motion desired would be effected. The hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) was fully persuaded that the Divine Law was in favour of the Bill. Seeing, however, that all Christian Bodies ever since the institution of Christianity and other bodies before the institution of Christianity maintained the present law upon the subject, he failed to see how the hon. Member came to the conclusion that the Divine Law was in his favour. The Roman law was against such marriages. They were not known in the days of the early fathers. St. Basil said—"Such marriages are not known among us." It was said that it was not intended to extend the proposal. But the hon. Member for Bolton (Mr. Thomasson) desired to extend it by inserting the words "and with a deceased husband's brother;" and the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) desired to extend it to "the relations" of the deceased husband or wife, thus opening the door as wide as he possibly could. Hitherto the matter had been in the hands of private Members, and he did not see much prospect of their being relieved of it; but the question was of so much importance that if legislation was undertaken at all it ought to be undertaken in connection with the whole Marriage Law and by a responsible Government, whom he did not see just now on the Bench opposite. Both the Proposer and Seconder of the Motion had ignored the canons altogether. If they were to remove the prohibition against those marriages they would place the clergy in a most awkward position. Taking the 99th and the 26th canons together, no clergyman would be allowed to marry those persons or to admit them to the Holy Communion. The table of prohibitive degrees as it stood was perfectly logical, simple, and intelligible. It dealt with 20 cases of affinity and 10 of relationship by birth; and if they took one of the degrees of affinity what was to become of the others? The principal persons in favour of the proposal were the paid officials of the Society, those who had contracted those unions or who hoped to contract them, and the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) and the school to which he belonged. In that hon. Member's hands the Motion would have found a more congenial home. The hon. Member had referred to the Colonies. But it should be recollected that in the Colonies there was no State Church, there was no Canon Law, and they were not under the same difficulties in dealing with the question as we were. The members of the Liberation Society were also supporters of the proposal, for they saw in it a great weapon against the Church. On the other hand, the religious communities were opposed to it—the synods and conferences of the Church and the diocesan conferences. The Scotch Assembly had passed very strong resolutions against it, and the Scotch Episcopal Church had issued a pastoral letter condemning it in the strongest manner. The hon. Member for Stoke said he represented the working men; but he did not say much about the working women or the women at all.

MR. BROADHURST said, he had distinctly stated in his opening remarks that a requisition asking him to take charge of the matter had been signed by 10,000 women over 18 years of age in his own constituency.

COLONEL MAKINS said, he was speaking of women generally, and he had no hesitation in saying that the proposal was utterly repugnant to their views. He had received letters from women of all classes, especially those of the lower middle class, telling him that the effect of the passing of the measure would be to drive them from the homes in which they now lived very much to the benefit of the children of their late sister. What did the proposal come to? To the selfish gratification of a few against the interests of the many; but they would never be able to transform legal concubinage into holy matrimony. Then there was another very serious question involved, and that was the condonation of the past breaking of the law. What the hon. Gentleman proposed was the secularization of marriage. He would legalize that union, but he could not convert it into holy matrimony. He should be sorry to see the state of things existing in the United States of America introduced into this country. He supported the present law, because it maintained domestic happiness and domestic purity. Whatever Forms of the House were at his disposal he would use to delay and defeat the Bill. He did not enter into the Scriptural argument, for that had been already fully stated, and it was not so well suited to that House. This, after all, was in some sense a legal question; and all the Lord Chancellors in recent times — Lords Hatherley, St. Leonards, Cairns, and Selborne, together with the present Lord Chief Justice of England, were opposed to this Bill. He ought, perhaps, to make an exception in favour of that great ecclesiastical lawyer, Lord Westbury, and Lord Bramwell was also in favour of the Bill. The Bishops and clergy of the Church of England and all diocesan synods and conferences had condemned this Bill, and this showed that opinion was not all on one side. This was a matter of great social importance, and one which, if dealt with at all, ought to be dealt with by the Government, and not by a private Member. The Government required evidence on the subject, and therefore it was that he proposed that a Royal Commission should be appointed. He concluded by moving his Amendment.

COLONEL MILNE-HOME, in seconding the Amendment, said, the subject brought forward by the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) was one fraught with the deepest possible interest to those whose position and circumstances it chiefly concerned; but it went further, because any alteration in the Marriage Law affected family life, and what affected family life affected the whole community. He at once admitted, so far as his own individual opinion was concerned, that nowhere, either in the Levitical or the Biblical law, were they told that this prohibition was to hold good. At the same time, if they were to follow out the very letter of the Scriptural law, almost anyone might be a Mormonite except a Bishop or a Presbyter. The law of the Bible was certainly made for the nations of the day; but the principle of the Bible was handed down for us to act up to according to the lights of our generation, and according to the progress of civilization and Christianity. He thought we were following out that principle as laid down in the Bible, and more particularly the New Testament, by restricting ourselves in the way the law restricted us now. A very large majority of the Church of England considered that marriage with a deceased wife's sister was religiously wrong. The Roman Catholics, he understood, were divided in opinion. The Presbyterians in Scotland and elsewhere were chiefly in favour of retaining this prohibition. But whether the majority of all classes of religious sects were in favour or not, this was a Christian country; and we were bound in common charity to respect the opinions of our religious brethren. We should, therefore, err, if we erred at all, on the right side, by keeping the law as it was—unless there was tremendous reason shown for the change. He submitted that they had had no such reason put before them tonight. Having conceded the theological point, he would take his stand only upon the social ground. He considered that for all classes in the community it was better to keep the law as it now was; and in this view he was supported by not a few of the clergy, though there were clergymen of the Church of England who did not take the extreme view of this question which was laid down by his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Makins). They must take into consideration in this question the wage-earning as well as the wage-paying classes; and when he saw the name of the hon. Member for Stoke down as the champion of this movement he felt considerable qualms of conscience as to what course he was to take. He had invariably voted against any change in this direction; and the only thing that would induce him to alter his views was the persuasion that such a change in the law would be really a benefit to the working class. It seemed to him that those who were in a different position to them were bound to give up something for their benefit. Widowers in all classes were to be pitied, but chiefly those among the working classes, because when the wife was taken the housekeeper was taken also, and that meant terrible inconvenience in the home. That was more noticeable, perhaps, in the community in which he lived than in any other, as married soldiers had no end of privileges and allowances; but when the wife died all those allowances and privileges went. The soldier, who was a widower, had immediately to become a member of his company's mess; and, in addition, to pay someone to look after his children. But the question arose, would the Resolution, or a Bill like it, if carried, be a remedy for all this? He thought that the sisters-in-law of men in the position of working men were generally either married themselves or were in service or otherwise employed, and were not at liberty to come and take charge of a household. One great argument against the hon. Member for Stoke was that the sisters-in-law were not available. The real remedy was to take steps to improve the dwellings of these people. ["Question!"] That was the question; the reason of all these discomforts of the working classes was that they were so badly housed; and it was an insult to the pure-minded among them to come to the House and ask for a Bill which they themselves did not want. He had endeavoured to find a Return of the number of these illicit marriages; and the only one he could find showed that in a cycle of 12 years the number of what he might call rich marriages was 1,608, against 40 poor ones. That seemed to show either that the poorer classes preferred to remain as they were, or that they were not in a position to break the law. It also showed the sad fact that the richer classes did not scruple to break the law. The recent alteration in the law in Canada had been mentioned, and some hon. Members had seemed to consider it a very great argument; but it seemed to him no argument to say that because her children go wrong the mother country should do likewise. It had been said that it would be very awkward for persons so married coming home to this country from Canada, in that they would have no *status* as married persons. But Lord Cairns had said in the other House that the domicile of Canada legalized the marriage all over the world. If, however, people domiciled in Great Britain crossed to Canada, and took advantage of the law there, they must not be surprised if the law of their domicile took effect when they returned. As to foreign countries, these unions were permitted in France, Germany, and Russia, but only by a dispensation from the Church. That seemed to imply that the parties had done something wrong, as a dispensation was simply a pardon for an offence which was considered morally wrong. It was well known that in those countries divorce was rifer than it was in England. Whether that fact arose from the different conditions of the marriage law it was not for him to say; but it was for hon. Gentlemen who came and asked for the removal of the restriction to prove that family life in those countries, in America, and in the Colonies, was purer, and holier, and happier than it was in England. He believed that in America there was a growing dislike to such marriages. He thought that in what he had said he had shown that there was no desire on the part of the working classes for any change in the law. The hon. Member for Stoke would, in his opinion, defeat his own object if a law were passed founded on this Resolution. At present the sister-in-law could enter the widower's household, and help him in its management, and she was undoubtedly the right person to do so. If a Bill were passed founded upon this Resolution, the sister-in-law would, in the pithy words of the Archbishop of Canterbury, have to "pack up her traps and begone." Then the children ought to be considered. If the marriages in question were allowed new families would spring up, and the children by the first marriage might be left out in the cold. He was amazed at the support which the proposal had received in certain quarters. If the people who were in favour of it would only compare the state of society in foreign countries where the prohibition was not acted upon —in the United States and in our Colonies—with the state of society at home they would soon change their views. Many persons forgot that if the restriction on marriage with a deceased wife's sister were done away with, it would be impossible to stop there. What would there be to prevent a man from claiming to marry his mother-in-law, his brother's widow, or his step-daughter? The restriction, according to so learned an authority as Lord Cairns, dated from the earliest times of Christianity. Surely he could rely upon the Conservatives lining the Benches on his side of the House to vote for its retention. This was a moribund Parliament. Large numbers of people were soon to be admitted to the franchise for the first time. Would it not be well to wait and see what the new electorate would say on this subject? Some day, perhaps, we should have female suffrage. By all means let the House wait for that day before attempting to alter the present law, for he felt certain that the women would vote for the retention of the marriage law of England in its present integrity.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the Laws relating to Marriages within the prohibited degrees,"—(*Colonel Makins,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE: Sir, I suppose it is not expected that we should discuss in detail the Amendment which my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Makins) has proposed. It is an evasive and dilatory Amendment, asking the House to decline to pass an opinion on the main subject of discussion, and an Amendment which I think my hon. and gallant Friend would be the very last man to put forward as a substantive Motion for its acceptance. I do not think there is anyone in the House who would be more reluctant than he to throw open the whole question of the prohibited degrees in the Marriage Law. I turn at once from that large subject to the single question contained in the Resolution; and, with the indulgence of the House, I will give a few reasons why I intend to vote in support of this Resolution. It has been practically conceded that, so far as the maintenance of that restriction finds its authority in an appeal to Scriptural rules, there is no ground for the restriction. ["No, no!"] It is of no use to contradict me by "No, no!" It is practically conceded by the Mover of the Amendment, and it is conceded in terms by the hon. and gallant Member for Berwick (Colonel Milne-Home). I think there is no more remarkable evidence of the slavery into which the intellect is sometimes brought by the will and the sentiment than the fact that there are people to be found in this country, honest and intelligent people, who contend that these marriages are forbidden by Holy Scripture. There is no difficulty with regard to the argument. The prohibition is generally supposed to be found in a single verse of Leviticus. As to that verse, there is no material discrepancy or dispute respecting translation, and there is no ambiguity in its phrases. If it be interpreted by those rules which all men, with one accord, would apply to the construction of any other authority in any other verse, it clearly gives, not a prohibition, but a permission to these marriages. It is one of the universal canons of interpretation that a particular prohibition implies a general permission. Therefore, as the verse in question says that a marriage is not to be contracted during the lifetime of the sister, it follows that such a marriage is permissible when that life is at an end. ["Hear, hear!"] But my hon. Friends around me rather rely upon the interpretation of another text to be found in the Old Testament, and to be found twice in the New Testament—a text in metaphorical language, which speaks of the twain being one flesh. It is scarcely possible, with due reverence and propriety, to discuss and point out the consequences of such a construction as is put upon that text; and I will content myself with this answer—which I confess appears to me overwhelming—that to say that that text was meant to convey a prohibition of a marriage of this kind is to be guilty of the grossest disrespect and irreverence to the writer of the Sacred Book in which it was found; it is to contend that a prohibition is intended to be conveyed to the world by the text, but that the inspired writer so ill set down the command it was his duty to give to the world that for 2,000 years the people to whom that command was supposed to be addressed unanimously misunderstood it, and disobeyed it. It is impossible to find in the Old or New Testament any further authority than these. But we have been told that if we cannot appeal to Scripture to support this prohibition we shall find it in the social condition of life, and in the mischiefs that would follow from the permitting of these marriages. It is, I think, a little too much forgotten that the existence of this prohibition is the cause of very serious social mischiefs. If my hon. and gallant Friend behind me quotes a Return stating that 1,600 marriages of this class have occurred within a certain time among wealthy persons, while only 40 marriages of the same kind have taken place among the poorer class, I want to know what is the explanation of that discrepancy? Is it to be supposed that in this class, where the reasons for such a union are far stronger than they are in the class to which hon. Members of the House belong—is it to be supposed that there, where circumstances press more strongly in support of such a marriage, the alliance is not made? The explanation is, I fear, a different one. The wealthy man can take the second wife away and marry her abroad. He brings her back to this country, as one knows in the circle of one's own acquaintances, with undiminished respect and acceptance. [*Cheers, and* "No, no!"] I do not believe there is a Member of this House who does not know within the circle of his own acquaintances at least two or three instances in which such marriages have taken place. At all events, the rich man can do that, and the poor man cannot go abroad and solemnize the marriage; and I believe the result is too often not that the union does not take place, but that the union takes place unhallowed by any ceremony of marriage whatever. There are these mischiefs now; but it is said that there will be serious social mischiefs if this alteration in the law be made. It seems to me, I confess, that my hon. and gallant Friends who are putting this argument forward are giving a most strange and grotesque representation of the social and domestic life of the English people. The ideal state of things seems to be this—that the wife throughout the married life is anxious and suspicious in regard to anyone who comes into the circle of the home life, in the fear, not that the affection of the husband may presently go out and result in unfaithfulness, but that, at some future time, when the wife herself has gone, he may contract a second marriage with that person. The idea seems to be that the English wife is so keenly jealous and suspicious, and has so little confidence in her husband's love, that she cannot reconcile herself to the presence of her own sister in the home, but for the consolation she finds in the fact that in 1835, almost by an accident, this prohibition was put upon the Statute Book. I say, almost by an accident, for in Committee of the House in 1835 the only Division that took place on the subject was a Division in which the majority was against the prohibition of these marriages; but those who were putting forward the Act of Parliament of 1835 pleaded that it might be allowed to pass in that year, and suggested that an amending Act permitting these marriages should be brought in in the following year. It seems to me that the view which has been taken is an entire misapprehension of the condition of the domestic life among us. We should be in pitiful case indeed if that condition of anxiety, jealousy, and suspicion which has been pictured was the real condition of the English home—

> "In love, if love be love, if love be ours,
> Faith and unfaith can ne'er be equal powers;
> Unfaith in aught is want of faith in all."

I do not believe that the wife, at the time when her health and capacity exist for managing her children, and when she is able to render all the satisfaction to her husband as when he took her for his wife—I do not believe there is this constant suspicion and anxiety on her part that in some future time, after she is dead, he will marry another. But there is a time when feeling becomes deeper. There comes to many women a time when they know of their sentence to go from the husband they love and the family they have taken care of, and when there is an interval between the season of active joyous interests in life, and the time when the final parting is made; and I do not believe that the tone of feeling of women at that time is jealousy or suspicion of the sister who may take her place. Women are not so selfish as men are. I do not believe that a woman could do the cruel and wicked act that men are every day committing, when they, by the terms of their wills, endeavour to prevent the wife from ever being happy again in married life. I believe that to the woman it would be a consolation, and not a vexation and a sorrow, to think that the children whom she loves, and is leaving behind her, should find their most proper protector, and the husband should find his best companion and helpmate in her own sister, who would bring back to them the memory of her who had gone. With regard to this matter, I would like to say a few words on the reference that has been made to the canons of the Church, and on the observations made by my hon. and gallant Friend as to the retrospective effect of the Bill to be introduced. Assuming that Parliament passes an Act to abolish this prohibition, it will be on this ground only—that the prohibition ought never to have existed; and if we make a declaration that the prohibition ought never to have existed and ought to be removed, it would be a monstrous thing to leave the stain of illegitimacy upon hundreds of thousands of persons with regard to the marriage of whose parents we admit that that marriage is not forbidden by the law of God, and ought not to be forbidden by the law of man. It is said that such marriages are forbidden by the canons of the Church; and, no doubt, one of the canons ecclesiastical does contain a prohibition in a very peculiar form. It declares that these marriages are forbidden by the Word of God; and it declares that, as I believe, without the smallest foundation. The canons are a series of orders issued by the authority of the Crown, with the concurrence and advice of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and they are not binding by law upon the laity of England at all. They are constantly and habitually disregarded by the Bishops and clergy themselves. The 99th canon, which has been referred to, comes in the middle of a number of others which are simply concerned with the procedure of the Ecclesiastical Courts; and the only reason why those canons has been allowed till this day to exist, and remain in what I suppose I must call the Rule of the Church of England, is that the clergy have habitually disobeyed the Royal Order which was made when those canons were promulgated—namely, that each clergyman should read them once a-year at the afternoon service, one-half of them on one day, and the other half on the next. If the clergy obeyed that Royal Order I undertake to say that those canons ecclesiastical would not remain in existence for 12 months. There is only one other point on which I will ask the House to allow me to say a word or two, and it is that which touches the part of the question which is the most serious and the most important. Sitting here, and seeing the Prime Minister in his place, I have been reminded of the remarkable letter the right hon. Gentleman wrote in the year 1863 to the late Bishop Wilberforce, and which was printed in one volume of the life of that Bishop lately published, in which the right hon. Gentleman spoke at some length to that illustrious Prelate of the position which the Church of England ought to take with reference to matters which affect Nonconformists in this country, and I have always thought that in that letter the right hon. Gentleman gave counsel so wise to members of the Church of England that the letter, if it stood alone, would justify the confidence which has been habitually and consistently placed in him by very large bodies of Churchmen. Sir, I am very anxious indeed with regard to the relation of this Motion to the position and character of the Church of England. I am a Churchman—a Churchman bound to the Church by ties of allegiance a great deal deeper and a great deal stronger than those which attach me to any political Party. The Church is a great institution—one of the greatest institutions we have in this country. It is higher in authority than Parliaments or Thrones; it will survive them all; and I think with great anxiety of the future of the Church and its relations to the State. I believe that disestablishment would be a national disaster, and that disendowment would be a national crime; but there is one event possible which would be far worse for the nation and for the Church than disestablishment, however complete, and disendowment, however rapacious—and that is that the Church should be degraded into a Department of the State, and placed under the control of the House of Commons and under the supervision of an Erastian Home Secretary. But I confess that I think that is the direction in which those who are now professing to lead Churchmen in this matter are unknowingly but most steadily going when they assert a claim to make the law of the Church—because they call it the law of the Church—the law of the land, and when they claim that those who do not belong to the Church itself shall yield obedience to that law simply because it is the law of the Church, and because in theory every man in the nation is a member of the Church. They forget that the natural and necessary corollary and consequence of that claim on their part is that the people over whose reluctant conscience they are attempting to place that yoke are entitled to turn round, and will turn round, and say—"You insist on the theory that we are members of the Church; and, because you insist that we are bound by its law, we in our own Parliament will regulate the rules, the ritual, and the doctrine of the Church itself;" and thus, in attempting to stretch the authority of its own rules over the people at large, the Church will have succeeded in reducing itself to a position which I think will be most disastrous to it and to the State as well. Now, I have not made these observations upon this matter without a feeling of very strong personal responsibility. There has been no personal interest or personal influence pressing me in the direction in which I am going. On the other hand, I have been warned by those whom I count among my best friends, and who are perfectly capable, if they choose, of giving effect to that warning, that the penalty of the course I am taking may be a penalty very serious to my political future. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, I can only say that that is the warning which has been given to me, and hon. Gentlemen opposite may not be so well able to judge as those who sit on the Opposition side of the House as to what the force of that warning may be; but a matter of that kind is a matter with which I have nothing whatever to do. Whatever may happen as to that, I have striven to study this question, and to come to a clear and conscientious conviction and result upon it; and I have come to a definite and clear determination that I must give my vote in support of the Motion. I shall give that vote most clearly and confidently, believing that I am doing nothing that will, in the least degree, derogate from the authority of any Divine law, or from the reverence due to it; that I shall be assisting the social purity and domestic happiness of the people; and, still more, that I shall be rendering true and loyal service to the Church which I desire most faithfully to serve, and whose work and whose influence are, in my belief, the most precious of our national possessions.

Mr. THOMASSON was understood to support the Resolution, and to argue in favour of a Motion which he had put upon the Paper, and which, by the Rules of the House, he was precluded from moving, to the effect that in the opinion of the House a marriage with a deceased husband's brother should be rendered legal.

Mr. C. PHIPPS said, he sincerely trusted that before this debate came to an end some hon. Member of his own profession would get up and answer the arguments which had been put to the House by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke). For himself, it would be impossible for him to look at this question as one of merely legal argument. He could not help thinking that it was far more a social question than a legal one, and that it was a matter affecting the welfare of the whole community. In common with many—in fact, in common with every Member of the House—he had listened with very great interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst). He had listened with interest to that speech, because he willingly admitted that the hon. Member of all others was the exponent of the wants and wishes of the working classes; but on this question the House had to consider not only the interests and the desires of those who laboured by their hands, but also of those who laboured by their brains. The hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) asked for justice on behalf of those who worked from dark in the morning until after sunset; but he (Mr. C. Phipps) would ask the House to take into consideration not only those, but also that very numerous class, who, although perhaps they did not leave their houses at quite such an early period in the morning, were still practically removed from their children the whole of the day. The hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), so far as he could make out, supported the view he took by the opinions of Professors of Greek and Hebrew; but the question had been before so many learned men, not only Professors of Greek and Hebrew, but also Professors of the English language, that it was quite unnecessary for him (Mr. C. Phipps) to say a word about the archæological view. Again, as to the Scriptural view, he could very well leave that to the care of the theologians. It appeared to him that the question before them was rather what was to become of their sisters-in-law; or, if hon. Members did not like that way of expressing it, he would put it in this way—the question was what was to become of the women with whom, for many years, they had probably been accustomed to live on the same terms of intimacy as they had with their sisters? The hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) said that, in many cases, the relations between the husband and sister-in-law were of a most strained description, and that, in many cases, the husband was absolutely ignorant of his sister-in-law. Well, he quite admitted that that occasionally might be the case; but, so far as England was concerned, he submitted with all due deference to the House that the contrary was generally the rule. It appeared to him that when death might have removed the wife, no one was so likely to take proper care of her children, and to have a knowledge of them and affection for them, than the sister; and if this Resolution were carried, and if on the top of the Resolution a Bill embracing its principle were passed, they would practically remove the very woman who would be most likely to take proper care of the children. For one case where such a Bill would bring any relief, it appeared to him that there would be 99 in which it would inflict a positive hardship; because he could not imagine that there were any number of men who would willingly submit their sisters-in-law to the taunts and inuendoes and whispered asides which would take place through their living in the house after the death of their wives. They had been told that this change in the law had been asked for by the people at large, and that he entirely denied. There was another question which agitated a great number of people, and that was the question of Sunday Closing. For a good many years he (Mr. C. Phipps) had followed the fortunes of Sunday Closing; and he should just like, in order to show that a measure legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister was not asked for by the public generally, to compare the Petitions received in favour of that proposal with those received in support of the Bill for Sunday Closing. He would take the last Report on Petitions. In that he found that those against any change in the law as to marriage with a deceased wife's sister numbered 179, containing the total number of 11,641 signatures; the number of Petitions in favour of the Bill being five, containing signatures of those connected with the movement in favour of the proposed change in the law. When, however, he came to look at the number of Petitions in favour of Sunday Closing, he found that no less than 5,084 had been presented, containing a total number of 429,177 signatures. That, to his mind, effectually disposed of the question as to whether any change in the law was earnestly required. He was bound to say himself that the signatures upon Petitions he viewed with a great deal of distrust; but he certainly believed that the number of Petitions was something of a criterion, and he had often heard it stated, both in the House and elsewhere, that the proper gauge of public feeling was the agitation in the way of Petitions, and the signatures which were attached to them. It had been said that one reason why they should alter the law was in consequence of the number of irregular marriages—or he would not call them irregular marriages, but irregular unions—which were constantly taking place in their midst. He very much regretted that, through an accident, he was unable to give some very interesting figures which he had recently come across; but he remembered this with regard to them, that the number of people who had married their deceased wife's sister was extremely small as compared with those living with other people outside the pale of the law. Well, there was another point which struck him very forcibly. If these marriages were very much desired by the people at large, certainly they would have seen and heard a great deal more about the question in the House of Commons than they had. The question, he believed, was first brought before the House in the year 1841, in which year the introduction of a Bill was refused. In the Parliament of 1847 a Bill on the subject was twice read a second time; in the Parliament of 1853 it was once read a second time; and on the next occasion it was brought forward it was rejected on the second reading. In the Parliament of 1857 it was twice read a second time; in the Parliament of 1859 it was twice rejected; in the Parliament of 1866 it was rejected once; and in the Parliament of 1868 the second reading was carried four times. There was, however, one remarkable fact about the Parliament of 1868, and that was that the majority commenced with 100 and dwindled down to 35. In the Parliament of 1874 the subject was negatived on the second reading; and here they were in the year 1884 of the Parliament of 1880, and this was the first time the matter had been brought before the House. Something had been said about America. America had been brought into the question, and allusion had been made to the Law of Divorce, and the estimable manner people lived together in that country. There was one thing that he did not think they had properly taken into consideration, and that was the very extreme facility with which the people living in America were able to obtain divorces. Directly the parties became tired of each other, or directly one person got tired of the other, there was no occasion to wait, as they had to do in England, for freedom by death, but a divorce was obtained. If they made the alteration in the law which they were to-night asked to make—an alteration on behalf of the deceased wife's sister—he wanted to know where on earth they were going to stop? It appeared to him that there was no half-way house in this matter. If an alteration were made they must pass on *ad infinitum.* He could not help believing that the people who supported this proposal had really not thoroughly thought the thing out; they had not placed themselves in the position of the widower, or in the position of the wife or the wife's sister. A good deal had been said about the male population; but very little attention had been paid to the female population in this controversy. As to the agricultural population, he in common, no doubt, with many other Members of the House, mixed a great deal amongst people connected with agriculture. He regretted that he was not in a position to speak with authority with regard to the females in the big towns; but this he could say, without the slightest hesitation, that the proposed change was not asked for in respect of the female agricultural population. Ever since he had had the honour of a seat in this House, he had always endeavoured to discuss the questions of the day—that was to say, not only agricultural questions, but all kinds of social questions—with his constituents and other people. He had brought this question on over and over again; but he never heard on one single occasion any call for the change. He opposed the Motion of the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) because he believed it would be attended with untold misery to the helpless wives, and untold sorrow probably to their sisters. He opposed it because it was an agitation promoted in the interest of the few. If it were an agitation brought before them by what they could believe the majority, he granted that, to a certain extent, the ground would be cut from under the feet of those who opposed the alteration in the law; but the agitators were in a minority, although, unfortunately, that minority was a wealthy one. The agitation was a paid one; and he had no hesitation in saying that the people—he had almost said sinners, but those people to whom the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) referred as bidding defiance to the law—were, in the great majority of cases, wealthy persons. Why did these people bid defiance to the law? Why, because the were wealthy and able to do it. He opposed the present proposal, because, as he had said, it had not been properly thought out, and because he believed that the more it was studied the more it would be repudiated by the nation as a whole.

EARL PERCY said, that hon. Members who opposed this Motion had been met with the taunt that they had no theological argument to bring forward in support of their opinions. Well, to bring forward theological arguments on the floor of the House in favour of their view was a disagreeable task; but sooner than it should be said that there was no theological argument in favour of the view he and his Friends entertained, he was prepared, with the permission of the House, to say a few words on that point. He was met at the outset by a very great difficulty—namely, that the views on theology entertained by hon. Gentlemen opposite were of such a peculiar nature. The hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) had taken occasion, in the course of his argument, to declare that the proper interpreters of the Old Testament were the Jews and Mahommedans, for the reason that upon the Old Testament those people founded their systems of religious belief. But he (Earl Percy) would have thought that the Christian religion was, at least, equally based on the Old Testament as the religion of the Jews or the Mahommedans. He would state this—and he regretted anyone should be found in the House, calling himself a Christian, who could seek to controvert it—that to the Christians was given a light by which to interpret Holy Scripture—both the New and the Old Testaments—which had not been given either to the Jews or the Mahommedans; and he believed it a very bad sign when hon. Gentlemen got up and declared——

MR. HENEAGE said, the noble Earl (Earl Percy) had not quoted him correctly. What he had said was, that the Professors who had given their opinions were backed up by practices of the Jews and Mahommedans, who based their religion on the Old Testament.

EARL PERCY said, if that was the hon. Member's statement, he had, he thought, also said that he believed the Jews and Mahommedans were the best judges of what the Old Testament meant, because their religions were based upon that. He (Earl Percy) disputed that altogether, and maintained that Christians were the best judges. Then the hon. Gentleman had said that Roman Catholics were not against these marriages. He (Earl Percy) was prepared to say this, that the Roman Catholics had always declared such marriages to be invalid and to be illegal by the law of the Church; and if they would ask Cardinal Manning, they would find he would make a similar statement. It was perfectly true that dispensations had been given to enable a man to marry his deceased wife's sister; but dispensations had also been given for men to marry their nieces; and would hon. Gentlemen say that marriage with a niece was right in ordinary cases? The truth of the matter, so far as his point was concerned, was that Roman Catholics held that the Pope had power to dispense in certain cases with that which was the ordinary rule and law of the Church, and that it was the ordinary rule and law of the Church that these marriages should not take place. He did think, therefore, that those Gentlemen who taunted the opponents of the proposed change in the law for not bringing theology in support of their view should have informed themselves upon these very elementary points before they made the charge. The hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), in his speech, continually spoke of Protestants and Nonconformists, as though drawing a distinction between them, and probably his Nonconformist Friends would hardly thank him for thinking there was any difference between the two—for thinking that Nonconformists were not members of the Protestant religion. That, however, was simply a question of a phrase, and he (Earl Percy) now came to another part of the argument. The hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke), in his very eloquent speech, had referred to a text, and had chosen to interpret that in a particular sense. He had told them that they were not to use words except in their precise and literal meaning; and because the prohibition was not mentioned in the text they were to suppose that no prohibition existed—that, in fact, they were not to argue by analogy in this case, but were to hold what was not expressly allowed as forbidden. The hon. Gentleman quoted from other texts in the New Testament, which he objected to being taken in their literal meaning, saying that they could not mean what they said, that man and wife were one flesh, but that they must be taken in their general sense. Well, whether that was a fair mode of dealing with Bible criticism, he (Earl Percy) would not stop to inquire; but he would say that Biblical criticism was not based on any texts. He was well aware that they could prove anything from a text, and his view was that the theological argument was not based on any text of Scripture, but upon the general principle that ran through the whole of Holy Writ from the first chapter of Genesis to the last chapter of Revelation. That principle was that man and wife were one flesh, that the relations of the husband were the relations of the wife, and that the relations of the wife were the relations of the husband—that the relations of the husband were near of kin of the wife, and the relations of the wife were near of kin of the husband. Throughout the whole of Scripture this class of union was the type and figure of the higher and more sacred union, and a breach of this union, whether it were by the ordinary course of immorality, or whether by these illicit and forbidden communications, were symbolic and typical of greater crime. That was the principle that ran through the whole of the Bible, and that he held to be by far the strongest argument which could be offered against the Resolution—far stronger than any social argument could be—that so far from saying that they dare not support their view by theological arguments, he declared that, in his opinion, those were the only arguments that were worth discussing at all. The view which he entertained was the view not entertained by many hon. Gentlemen opposite, and he was afraid was not shared by some of those who were as willing and as ready as any of his Friends could be to take for their own personal guidance the law of the Church. They thought that in legislating for a great country, where many individuals were not of the same faith as those who sat on the Opposition side of the House, they should not subject them to laws that they felt binding on their own conscience. He should like to read to the House a passage from the speech of one for whose opinion the House had the greatest respect, and of whom it could not be said at any time, as had been said by the hon. Member for Stoke of many hon. Members who were opposed to him were remarkable for—namely, that he was wanting in common sense. The speaker to whom he referred said—

> "But are we, who have realized the results of Christianity, to go back from Christianity to conscience? This, which is sometimes called the light of conscience, sometimes the light of nature, and which in no two countries or ages has ever been alike, has been of gradual growth and training from the infancy of mankind until it has reached the highest level on which Christianity is placed; and if we are to go back from that level, I ask where are we to stop? And I say that while I have a superior I should not be content to adopt an inferior standard. The law of the land, not in an arbitrary manner, but on principles based on Divine revelation, has adopted our present prohibitions in marriage; and I oppose the present measure because I see that it is part of a system which I do not say is intended to be so, but which in its working is certain to be, most pernicious to those results which the Christian religion has wrought out for mankind."

Mr. BROADHURST said, the noble Earl (Earl Percy) was mistaken in declaring that he had charged hon. Members who differed from him that they were wanting in common sense.

Earl PERCY apologized if he had misrepresented the hon. Member (Mr. Broadhurst) on that matter; but, however that was, the words he had read were the words of the present Prime Minister. He would make no apology to the House for quoting one more passage from the right hon. Gentleman. He had said—

> "The best social result of Christianity is the perfect equality of man and woman as to the facility of contracting marriage. This Bill meddles for the first time with that equality. The hon. Member proposes to authorize the marriage of a man with a deceased wife's sister, and, therefore, with his wife's niece; he legislates for the man, but he does not propose, on the other

hand, that the aunt may marry her husband's nephew. Is this a small change? When was woman first elevated to an equality with her stronger companion? Never till the Gospel came into the world. It was the slow but certain, and, I thank God, hitherto unshaken, result of Christianity, not considered as a system of dogmas, but as one of social influence, to establish a perfect equality between man and woman, as far as the marriage tie is concerned. The hon. Member now proposes to change this fundamental law and principle, and I have a right to ask him how far he intends to proceed, and whether he intends to have one marriage code for men and another for women?"

The right hon. Gentleman further said—

"When we are told that it is a matter of doubt, it appears to me to be so only in the sense that everything is a matter of doubt to those who may have an interest in disputing it, or who may desire to do so. Any man has a right to say, 'It is a matter of doubt because I doubt, and as I doubt it I am entitled to call it doubtful matter.' Even the great principles of Christianity embodied in the Common Law are principles which may be called in question by the licentiousness of individual minds. Private opinion may question the authority of the universal voice of Christendom on this matter; but it questions it exactly on the same grounds that it may question the whole results that Christianity has brought to mankind—that everything that Christianity has elevated out of the region of private opinion, and made part of the common property and intelligence of mankind."

It was not usual to quote at such length in this House; but he thought that when they found a passage so forcible and eloquently expressed, tending to support the view which they entertained —a passage from the speech of the Prime Minister—when they thought, alas! of a new light which in these latter days had dazzled the right hon. Gentleman's eyes, those who supported the right hon. Gentleman would excuse him (Earl Percy) for having brought an extract forward.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, the Motion asked them to record their disapproval of the existing law. One hon. Member had told them that that law had been on the Statute Book for centuries, and another had told them that it had been in force for the last 50 years. Therefore, he thought it worth the while of the House for a moment or two to consider not only when the existing Act was passed, but the circumstances under which it was passed, and why it was passed. With all deference to the hon. Members opposite who expressed an opposite opinion, prior to 1835 marriages of the kind they had been discussing were only voidable in this country after a suit was instituted in the lifetime of both of the parties; and if no proceeding was taken during the lifetime of both the husband and wife they were perfectly valid, and the children were legitimate. In 1835, however, a certain noble House in this country, to which he would not further allude, found their succession to the Peerage very seriously compromised by the existence of the law as it then stood, and Lord Lyndhurst brought in a Bill solely—when it was brought in—for the purpose of dealing with the question of these marriages so far as proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Court were concerned. He brought in a Bill to provide simply that any proceeding for invalidating these marriages should be instituted within two years after the marriage of the parties, or six months after the passing of the Act. There was no attempt in the Bill, as brought in, to deal with the marriages in the future; but two very distinguished Prelates of the English Church—the then Bishop of London and the then Bishop of Exeter—in Committee of the House of Lords raised the question as to the prohibition of future marriages; and if he were allowed to use such an expression in connection with those distinguished individuals, and that branch of the Legislature, practically a bargain was struck between Lord Lyndhurst and the Episcopal Bench, they sanctioning and condoning such marriages in the past, and he being prepared, at their instance, to insert a clause, making such marriages null and void in the future. That was a singular contract, so far as the Ecclesiastical Law was concerned, because, if these marriages were incestuous, it was beyond the power of the Legislature to make them valid. When the Bill came down to the House of Commons, the then Member for Bridport proposed that the clause prohibiting these marriages in the future should be struck out, and accordingly, by a majority of 12 in Committee, the clause was struck out. Therefore, at that stage of the proceedings in the House of Commons, the House declined to declare these marriages null and void in the future. Sir William Follett, who had charge of the Bill, on Report moved the reinsertion of the clause; and he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had it from those who were Members at the time, that a strong appeal was made to hon. Members by those interested in these marriages, on the ground that it was necessary to avoid prejudicing the other portions of the Bill in the House of Lords. They were appealed to, to allow the Bill to pass in a form in which it would secure the assent of the House of Lords, a distinct pledge being given to them that, in another year, a fresh Bill would be introduced to deal with future marriages. Under these circumstances, the House of Commons, by a majority of 58 votes, restored the clause. He thought that when the history of that legislation was told, it did not appear very creditable to those who had to do with it. It did not stand on very high moral grounds, and did not seem to him at all calculated to enhance the purity and sanctity of marriage. But a succession to a Peerage was secured, a noble Duke was made legitimate, and, as a compensation for that, an injury was inflicted upon a large section of the people of the country. As far as that Act ratified the past it was a distinct violation of the Canon Law, if the Legislature of that day thought the Canon Law binding. Then, the next stage of the history of this controversy—and he was going to allude to it because an hon. Member opposite had endeavoured to impress upon them that this question had never been thought out, and that it was inexperienced men who, in 1884, had discovered that these marriages were regular and proper—was the Royal Commission of 1847. There having been a good deal of dissatisfaction, and some of the clergy then in charge of parishes in large towns having themselves discovered the evil results of the Act to which the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth had alluded, and having called the attention of those in power to the evil that this legislation was producing, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the Law of Marriage. And he should like to call the attention of the House to the names of the Commissioners, for he believed that when he had stated them hon. Members would agree that such men were perfectly capable of thinking out the question, if anyone was. They had had allusion to-night to the present Bishop of Lichfield; but it was another Bishop of Lichfield who was appointed on this Commission—the Bishop of 30 or 40 years ago, who was not only one of the ripest scholars, but one of the ablest and most impartial men who ever adorned the Episcopal Bench. He referred to Dr. Lonsdale, who was at the head of the Commission. Associated with this Prelate was a distinguished Member of the Conservative Party, a man know as a lawyer and a statesman—Mr. James Stuart-Wortley; Dr. Lushington, the eminent ecclesiastical lawyer; Mr. Justice Vaughan Williams; and the Lord Advocate. The Report which these distinguished men, after receiving an immense amount of evidence, presented, was a conclusive proof that the question had been fully thought out in 1847. One of the first questions to which the Commissioners addressed themselves was the point the noble Earl opposite (Earl Percy) had dealt with with so much force, and which he rebuked the supporters of the Resolution with being ignorant upon—namely, the law of the Roman Catholic Church. The Commissioners found that in the Roman Catholic Church these marriages were prohibited as a matter of discipline; but the prohibition might be, and was, dispensed with by the Pope. The noble Earl would admit that Cardinal Wiseman was acquainted, at all events, with the elementary principles of the law of the Roman Catholic Church. He (Mr. H. H. Fowler) would give two or three questions and answers from the evidence of Cardinal Wiseman. He was asked—

> "Q.—Taking the question first with reference to the Scripture, is such a marriage held by your Church as prohibited?
>
> "A.—Certainly not; it is considered a matter of ecclesiastical regulation.
>
> "Q.—When you say that such a marriage is 'unlawful,' do you mean unlawful by the law of the Church?
>
> "A.—Yes.
>
> "Q.—And when you think proper to dispense with such unlawfulness, you think proper to dispense with the regulations of the Church, and not with a portion of Scripture?
>
> "A.—Certainly.
>
> "Q.—With respect to marriages of this description, do you find amongst Catholics that those persons who have contracted such marriages are received with the same kindness and good feeling as persons who have contracted other marriages?
>
> "A.—With a dispensation, certainly; as it is not thought disgraceful the moment the Church has given a dispensation."

["Hear, hear!"] The noble Earl (Earl Percy) said "Hear, hear!" but this statement of Cardinal Wiseman's was not the impression the noble Earl wished to convey to the House. The argument the noble Earl had conveyed to the House, and which he had rebuked the supporters of the Resolution for not accepting, was that the Roman Catholic Church disapproved of these marriages, because they did not rest on Scripture. They had heard it said to-night that there was hardly any other country where these marriages were allowed; but the Commissioners, on the other hand, said that in all Protestant States, with the exception of some of the Cantons of Switzerland, these marriages were permitted; and, as to America, they quoted from one of the most eminent Judges in America, Mr. Justice Storey—one of the most eminent Judges that either America or this country had ever produced—to the effect that in most of the American States marriages of this kind were not only lawful, but were deemed in a moral and religious and Christian sense exceedingly praiseworthy, although in some few States the English prohibition was in force. The Commissioners, after finding that these marriages were approved of among the Jews and the great body of Protestant Dissenters, and that there was great difference of opinion on the subject amongst the clergy of the Established Church, came to this practical conclusion—

> "Some persons contend that these marriages are forbidden, expressly or inferentially, by Scripture. If this be admitted, *cadit questio.*"

And the Commissioners added—

> "We consider that the feeling against these marriages is in a great measure founded rather on a vague and uninformed assumption that they are prohibited by God's Word, than on a mature examination either of the Scripture or the law of the Church."

The Commissioners unanimously — Bishops and Judges—were

> "Constrained to express our belief that the Statue has failed to attain its object, but also to express our doubt whether any measure of a prohibitive character would be effectual."

That being so, they were met to-night by two classes of argument, which were mutually contradictory. The first speaker on the other side of the House (Colonel Makins) did not lay much stress upon the Divine Law, but had rested a great deal of his argument on the Canonical Law. The second speaker put the whole question entirely on social considerations, and gave up altogether the religious argument which the noble Earl had galvanized into life again. What he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) contended was, that the House of Commons was not a competent Body to expound texts of Scripture. He was not going to presume to express an opinion upon them; but, at all events, so far as the meaning of Scripture on this subject was involved, there had been the greatest difference of opinion between the most eminent men in all ages on the question. He maintained that the allegation of a Divine Law, the existence of which was disputed by one half of Christendom, was too slender a basis on which to rest a restriction which imposed on the nation the special opinions of one section of the community. In the Church of Rome there was evidently a difference of opinion; for, whilst Cardinal Manning was against these marriages, Cardinal Newman, whose opinion was entitled to great weight, and whose mind was singularly free from any bias in favour of advanced or free legislation in Church matters, had stated distinctly in the passage quoted by the hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) that if he looked on this question as it affected the poorer classes, he was in favour of a relaxation of the law, but as it affected the richer classes, he was in favour of the law as it existed. One hon. Member had referred to the opinion of the Church of Scotland. Dr. Chalmers was in favour of these marriages. Dr. Norman Macleod was of the same opinion. Taking everything into consideration, he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) was of opinion that it was the duty of the Legislature to leave the matter to individual conscience. A man might think these marriages wrong, but he was not bound to contract them; and, under any circumstances, he had no right to impose his opinions on other people who did not share them. In "another place," Lord Houghton had quoted the opinion of the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Philpotts, who, shortly before his death, said that if the law did not interfere with the Church of England he had no concern with it, and if the law gave the right to contract such marriages with Dissenters he had not a word to say against it. That was the opinion of the Bishop who, of all others, they might say was responsible for the law; and, that being so, they must, he thought, regard this question solely from a social point of view. That point of view was a ground upon which it was very difficult to found prohibitory legislation. What a number of gentlemen or the Legislature might think of social considerations was apart from moral considerations. If these marriages were morally wrong, nothing could set them right; but if they were not morally wrong—and there were a large class of individuals who thought them right—it was very thin ice to tread on to say that, because they themselves might not think them right, therefore they were to be forbidden. No stronger argument had been used against the Motion than that, which had been fairly put, that the residence of the sister-in-law would be interfered with if these marriages were allowed. But the law could not prevent affection springing up between these parties. It did not—experience showed that it did not. The legal prohibition was powerless. If they said that, because these people could not marry, they should never entertain an affection for each other, their argument would be strong—he did not say it would be unanswerable; but the mere fact of their passing an Act of Parliament saying that they should not marry, did not, and would not, prevent them from entertaining that very affection, the very existence of which, it was said, the law should prevent. All that the law could do was to give a conventional sanction to what was the true position of the parties. The position of any lady residing in a widower's house was a difficult and delicate one; and the argument used on this head as to the sister-in-law would apply in the same way to cousins, and even to strangers. If they allowed the parties to be placed in circumstances that permitted affection to arise, they had no right to crush that affection, but the converse. If the affection did not arise—and in the majority of cases it did not, for he was willing to admit that the class he was talking about was a minority, even where the circumstances would permit of these marriages—where was the difficulty? Someone talked about slander and insinuations cast at people—about the mean whisperings of the envious tongues of neighbours; but that was not a ground for passing legislation. They must not interfere with the rights of persons because some people might, under certain circumstances, make offensive references to them. They could not put a man and his sister-in-law on the same footing as a man and his sister. Human nature was stronger than the canons of any Church, stronger than any Act of Parliament. They could not upset the conviction which prevailed amongst a large number of the people that the best step-mother for motherless children was the sister of the mother who had gone. The main strain of the argument to-night was in reference to the poor, and they had been told that the proper remedy was some gigantic scheme for housing the poor—that by providing the poor with additional accommodation in their dwellings they could grapple with the difficulty. Well, those acquainted with the matter—and no one better than the hon. Member for Stoke—knew that with the poor this was a question of the gravest character. In the homes of the working classes there were not arrangements which enabled the relationship of a widower with the sister-in-law to be defined and guarded as it could be in other classes of life above them; and, no doubt, where the deceased wife's sister went to reside with the working man, and he wished to marry her and she wished to marry him, it was in the interest of morality as well as in the interest of the children and of the man that that marriage should take place. But there was another consideration. He had been dealing with the religious and social questions; but there was the question of the anomaly in the law as between the Mother Country and the Colonies. There could not be two codes of morality, one for Melbourne and one for London. There could not be two laws for people under the same Sovereign. Her Majesty reigned ever 9,000,000 square miles, and yet it was only in 120,000 of them that these marriages were forbidden. If the Crown had given consent to these marriages in the Colonies, there could be no argument based on moral considerations why the Crown should not give consent to them in this country. Assertions had been made—and some hon. Members had spoken incorrectly and unfairly—as to the morality of America and our Colonies. Vague assertions were made which were incapable of proof. In reply to them, he ventured to say that the relations between husband and wife, and between man and woman, were as pure and as high in the Colonies as they were in Great Britain itself. Endorsing every word of that section of the speech of the noble Earl (Earl Percy) containing the extract from the speech of the Prime Minister, showing what Christianity had done for woman, he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) believed that no Christian people had ever recognized the ideal of womanly purity and conjugal sanctity as had the Anglo-Saxon race, and wherever that race prevailed these marriages took place; and there was not a tittle of evidence from either Legislature, Judge, or Representative in any Colony or in any State in America, to show that these marriages had produced immoral results. Under these circumstances, he submitted that the Motion was a just and a wise one. He was glad that the debate had been conducted, so far as those who had opposed the Motion were concerned, with a moderation in tone and language very different from what they had been accustomed to out-of-doors, and very different from that which they found in the various leaflets by which hon. Members had been annoyed and disgusted. The question was a very difficult and a very grave one, on which feelings were very strongly excited on one side or the other; but those who, on conscientious grounds, maintained the restriction of the present law, had no right to apply to those who differed from them language imputing one of the foulest crimes that human nature was capable of. He saw the word "incest" used in connection with the proposal to legalize these marriages. The Bill was called the "Sisters' Marriage Bill" and the "Incestuous Marriage Bill." ["Hear, hear!"] The hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) cheered that term. Let him tell the hon. and learned Member that the word implied the deepest moral degradation—[Mr. WARTON: Hear, hear!]—and that there were men, and women too, who were in favour of the relaxation of the law, and who had themselves contracted these marriages, who were as incapable of this moral degradation as the hon. and learned Member himself, or as any Member of the House. The hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) asked them, to-night, whether they knew in their own individual circles cases which would be affected by a Bill to legalize these marriages? While the hon. Member was speaking, he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had thought of one case, that of a friend of his own, who was now dead, and as all the other parties concerned were also dead, he might be allowed to allude to the case. His friend was a man of eminent attainments and of eminent public service; and if he were to mention his name—which he should not—many hon. Members would join in testimony to his virtues and great public service. This gentlemen, shortly after his marriage, was confronted with the calamity that his hon. Friend alluded to—he saw the mother of his young children destined to an early death from pulmonary consumption. On her death-bed she asked him, almost in *articulo mortis,* after they had received their last Communion together, to promise her, if ever he took another wife, he would endeavour to secure her sister to be the mother of her children. He gave the pledge, and many years after that, having waited in vain for the necessary alteration in the law, he was compelled to expatriate himself at the zenith of his position, to seek another domicile, not in a foreign country—startling irony of the situation—but still to remain a subject of the Queen in one of our Colonies, where he fulfilled his pledge to his dying wife. When he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) recalled to his memory this friend, and men like him, his indignation deepened to disgust at the prurient insinuations with which this controversy had been defiled. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had told them again and again, during the present Session, that the true protector of the rights of minorities was the House of Lords; but in that House a majority of the temporal Peers, ranging from Princes of the Blood to the last addition and greatest ornament of the House, had been outvoted, and might be outvoted again, by a clerical caste. But the noblest tradition of the House of Commons was the readiness with which it used its vast, and, when it was in earnest, its resistless power to prevent oppression and redress injustice, no matter how few or insignificant were the oppressed. He knew it was a minority for whom he was pleading. If it were a majority, all the arguments of the other side, theological, canonical, clerical, ecclesiastical, and social would have been long since scattered to the winds. It was a minority who asked for this relief—he came to-night to appeal to the House on behalf of a minority of pure men and pure women. [*A laugh.*] The hon. and learned Member for Bridport might laugh; but let him get up openly and say that these people were not pure. He repeated, he came to the House to appeal on behalf of a minority of pure men and pure women who were smarting under these restrictions. He appealed not only on their behalf, but on behalf of innocent children whom a merciless sacerdotalism branded with the stigma of illegitimacy; and he trusted that the House, on the first occasion of its dealing with the question, would, notwithstanding the inarticulate objections of hon. Gentlemen opposite, record by a large majority its conviction of the impolicy, the injustice, and the cruelty of this probihition.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE: It was with sincere regret that I heard the latter part of the speech of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). Much as I differ from his arguments, I thoroughly appreciate and admire his logic. I accepted what he said as to the moderation with which the debate had been conducted by those opposed to the proposed alteration of the law, and I was prepared to pay him a similar tribute; but in the latter part of his speech he used words which stir up some of the most bitter feelings of ecclesiastical hatred. He spoke of a sacerdotal caste, and he used such phrases as "intolerable" and "merciless sacerdotalism." I believe the hon. Member belongs to a denomination of Christians which is not mine. I believe that we have broad differences between us. Those differences might hereafter come up in salient antagonism; but I should be ashamed of myself if I were ever to use towards that form of Christianity which is dear to him phrases of contemptuous hostility analogous to those which he has just thrown upon my Church. So much for that part of the hon. Member's speech, of which I am glad not to think any more. The hon. Gentleman told us, with very thrilling pathos, an anecdote of a dying wife who invited her husband to make her sister the future guardian and nurse of her children. The story, as he told it, was very effectively rendered; but it was a story which must be judged, one way or the other, by facts and not by diction. Such an alliance as that was either right in the eyes of God and expedient in the eyes of man, or it was not. If it was right, it did not require a power of narrative like that of the hon. Member's to recommend it to the House; but if it was wrong, all his gifts of thrilling narration could not make it tolerable. The hon. Member dwelt on the history of Lord Lyndhurst's Act; and, while striving to make the House believe that the present law was not the ancient law of England previous to the year 1835, the hon. Gentleman gave copious anecdotes of the genesis of that Act. I cannot follow him in seeing much importance in the *minutiæ* of its Parliamentary history. The important matter is, what was the Act which received the Royal Assent? On this head I want to bring before the House very distinctly that, whatever may have been the Amendments in Committee to the Bill, one thing is certain, and that is that Lord Lyndhurst's Act, in its ultimate form, is now the law of the land. Another thing is equally certain—namely, that Lord Lyndhurst's Act, in that ultimate form, simply re-enacts and carries out the ancient law of England, with this difference, that marriages which were once voidable are now void. So the controversy is narrowed up to the question, What is the difference between marriages voidable and void? I will give the answer in the words of a lawyer to whom, I think, even the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) will bow—I mean the late Lord Chancellor (Lord Cairns); and I could call even upon the hon. Member to confess that the description of Lord Lyndhurst's Act which he gave is quite the description of it that an impartial critic would give after hearing the words I am about to quote. Lord Cairns, speaking in the House of Lords on the 11th of June, 1883, said—

> "My Lords, is that a true description of this measure"—namely, the proposed Bill for legalising marriage with a wife's sister—"that it puts things exactly in the position they were in before Lord Lyndhurst's Act passed? I speak with some knowledge of the law, I hope, and I assert that nothing more inaccurate could be said. I say it is perfectly inaccurate so to represent this matter. I say that before Lord Lyndhurst's Act passed these marriages were illegal and void. This has been so decided by your Lordship's House as the highest tribunal in the realm. They were technically spoken of

> as voidable, no doubt. That is to say, the sentence of the Court was needed to declare that they were void. But, as Lord Brougham said, they were voidable because they were void."

I appeal to Lord Brougham, who was no reactionary Tory, no opponent of Reform, and whose name I should have thought was venerated by hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Benches opposite—I am satisfied with Lord Brougham's view of the state of the law. Then the hon. Member dwelt a good deal upon the Report of the Royal Commission. I was in the House of Commons at the time when that Address was carried, asking for the Royal Commission, and I acquiesced in its appointment. But I do not pretend to say that I think the decision to which the House came to was quite the wisest that might have been arrived at; and I am glad to think that my countrymen have virtually come to my conclusion. If ever a document was proved to be a dead letter it was the Report of that Royal Commission, in spite of the eminent men who sat upon it. The inquiry, however, brought out one or two interesting facts, one of which was that, while the Commissioners professed to have found traces of 1,608 alliances of the kind, they balanced the statement with the pregnant fact that it was discovered that only 40 of these unions had been formed among the poorer classes. Lord Hatherley afterwards took very great interest in this question, and he made an inquiry in Westminster. He found that in the two parishes of Westminster there were 60,000 inhabitants, of whom 40,000 were poor people. Only one marriage of this sort could be found amongst this large population. Of course, the audacious lawyer was called to account, and the friends of the wife's sister found out the stupendous fact that Lord Hatherley's estimate ought to have been doubled, for not one, but two such marriages could be found amongst the 60,000 inhabitants of Westminster. My hon. Friend and Successor the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) took care not to tell us how many of that large body of themselves—Memorialists in Stoke—have contracted this alliance, or how many are persons who employ themselves in the very common amusement of talking about and interfering with their neighbours' business. In the course of my connection with Stoke I heard of two marriages of this kind, and I came directly across a third. The gentleman who had contracted an alliance with his deceased wife's sister was so pleased at my not shirking my convictions on this question during my first candidature, that when I went a second time to the borough, to return triumphant, I found him one of my most active supporters. Such is my experience of Stoke. In fact, what I have never found, and what no one has ever found, is anything like a consistent growing feeling in the country in favour of the proposed alteration of the law. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) certainly astonished me by some of his arguments. He began by asserting that the only theological argument against permitting marriage with a deceased wife's sister was a certain verse in Leviticus, of which there was only one interpretation. However, there happen to be two quite different interpretations of it; there is the marginal interpretation, and there is one of the text, and I invite the hon. and learned Gentleman to read the margin as well as the text. Then his "only one interpretation" totally and absolutely ignores the verses that precede the 18th verse of Leviticus 18—those from the 6th to the 17th verses of that chapter—which lay down the table of prohibited degrees, not by specifying every degree, but by specifying one or other of all the analogous degrees in the person of one sex or of the other—prohibiting marriage with the daughter in the name of the mother, or with the wife's sister in the name of the brother's widow. So understood, the prohibitions are identically the prohibitions in our authoritative Table, and that is the ground on which we say these marriages have the law of Scriptural prohibition. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) talks of the great purity of private life in America. That is not a question on which I wish to enter; but I only point out that in the year 1860 there was one divorce amongst 59 marriages in Massachusetts. In 1878, in the same State, there was one divorce in 21 marriages. In Vermont there was one divorce in 14 marriages; in Rhode Island, one divorce in 12; and in Connecticut, one divorce in 11 marriages. Deducting the Roman Catholics, who do not admit divorce, there was in Massachusetts, amongst Protestant marriages, one divorce in 14 marriages, and in Connecticut one divorce in eight marriages. That is the state of things in the country we are called upon to take as our example. We know that in America, and in Germany, and in Holland, and in Denmark, and in all countries where the wife's sister can be taken to wife, the brother's widow can be taken to wife, that an own niece can be taken to wife, and that an own aunt can be taken to wife. [*Laughter*]. Hon. Members may think it very amusing, but I see nothing amusing in a statement so very appalling to all sound common sense and elementary morality. In France, by the Code Napoleon, alliance with near relations, either by affinity or consanguinity, was prohibited; but in 1832, in the early reign of Louis Philippe, an Act of the French Legislature was passed, allowing all these marriages with sister-in-law, niece, or aunt, subject to dispensation, not from the Church, but from the Head of the State; a thing which, I believe, is a mere formality. I ask the House solemnly to pause and to consider well whether it will or will not, by a Resolution which, though barren in itself, still has a certain dynamic effect in the country, take a first step towards a state of things from which I am persuaded the majority even of the hon. Gentlemen who support this Resolution must recoil with horror. I have but one thing more to say. The hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) wanted to make out that all the Professors of Theology in the various Universities were of one way of thinking, and that his own, upon this question. He strove to base his assertion on some misleading statements of a pamphlet which has appeared under the Earl of Dalhousie's name, and as to which I advise examination before it is relied on. Let me tell the House that I directed letters of inquiry to the 41 British Revisers of the Old and New Testaments, and that I hold replies from 29 of them. Of these 29 Revisers, 20 are opposed to those marriages, while only seven are favourable to them, and two are ostensibly neutral. But I gather that one, at least, of these two is really opposed. I will not keep the House from a Division; but I trust that, whatever the result, it may not be the first step to national demoralization.

Sir PATRICK O'BRIEN said, it was not his intention to detain the House more than a few minutes. Before giving the reason for, he might say with truth, the only political recantation he had ever made during the long period he had had the honour of a seat in the House of Commons, he had, in the first instance, to regret that upon a question which, of all others, ought to be taken out of the demain of religion and theology, the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope) had followed the example of his Dissenting Brother (Mr. H. H. Fowler) by drawing upon the floor of the House a false scent upon this subject. Grand and eloquent as were the sentiments expressed in the earlier part of the hon. Member's (Mr. H. H. Fowler's) speech, the hon. Member, in his observations, betrayed something which approached very nearly religious bigotry and intolerance. He (Sir Patrick O'Brien) was aware that the most liberal men in England were necessarily Dissenters. On one subject, however, it was not true that Dissenters were the most liberal of men, and that was the subject of religion. Upon that subject Dissenters were the most intolerant people he had ever met. Upon the present occasion, however, he did not mean to dwell upon theological questions. The religion to which he had the honour to belong allowed a dispensation in the case of a marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and, therefore, as an obedient servant of the Roman Catholic Church, he assumed there was no innate immorality in such a marriage. The Church of England, which was represented by the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope), had forgotten to tell them that, when the particular form of worship now known in the country as the Doctrine of the Church of England was first instituted, the reason that a row was made about these particular marriages was that Cranmer and others did not want to acknowledge the Papal supremacy. They denied to the Pope of Rome the power of dispensation, and they made a difficulty as to Henry the Eighth's marriage with his brother's wife, Catharine of Arragon; and they had continued the row they had with the Church of Rome to the present day. Many years ago he heard a great countryman of his—Richard Sheil—speaking of a man who was lately the Lord Chief Justice of England — Cockburn — say, after hearing a speech of the noble Lord, "his Christianity is unattached." However right Sheil might have been in reference to Cockburn at that period, he was right in stating that Christianity, or any form of religion, ought not, upon questions of this kind, to enter into their consideration. He agreed with every word which had been said by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Berwick (Colonel Miine-Home). He agreed with his hon. and gallant Friend in what he said as to the effect of such marriages as were contemplated upon social institutions; there was no man in the House who viewed with greater abhorrence the idea of such marriages being contracted; but this was an age of opportunism. It was not sufficient to say that a few men of high position and of high social connections objected to marriage with a deceased wife's sister as likely to break up their arrangements. Hon. Members ought to picture to themselves the case of a man in one of the large manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who, perhaps, had but a very small lodging, and who might be left wifeless with three or four children to take care of. When his wife was removed, the person a man looked to to nurse his children was necessarily the person who was best known to them, and dearest to them, and that was the wife's sister. Owing to the crowded state of the dwelling, it was very possible that, in some cases, immoral consequences might ensue upon the deceased wife's sister being in the house unless marriage with her was allowed the man. [*A laugh.*] It might be a matter of laughter to hon. Gentlemen, but it was no laughing matter to the unfortunate artizan who found his wife removed from him. It was for the House to say whether, for social sentimental reasons, and to please a few in high stations, it would sacrifice the interests of the masses of the people. He maintained that, if the House laid claim to represent the nation, it ought not to regard the sentiments of a class, but ought only to look to the interests of the masses of the people. He disliked the whole question; but, for the reasons he had assigned, he intended to vote for the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst).

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 238; Noes 127: Majority 111.—(Div. List, No. 86.)

Main Question put.

Resolved, That, in view of the painful and unnecessary hardships inflicted upon large numbers of people of this Country by the Law prohibiting Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, it is the opinion of this House that a measure of relief is urgently called for.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDER (NO. 3) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade, under "The Electric Lighting Act, 1882," relating to Saint James, Westminster, Saint Martin-in-the-Fields, and Saint George, Hanover Square, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and Mr. JOHN HOLMS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 195.]

TRAMWAYS PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 4) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under "The Tramways Act, 1870," relating to Colchester Tramways; Gravesend, Rosherville, and Northfleet Tramways (Extension); Hartlepools Tramways (Extension); Stockton-on-Tees Tramways (Extension); and Weymouth Tramways, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and Mr. JOHN HOLMS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 196.]

WATERWORKS RATING (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HENDERSON, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Rating of Waterworks belonging to Local Authorities in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HENDERSON, Mr. BUCHANAN, Dr. CAMERON, Dr. WEBSTER, and Admiral Sir JOHN HAY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 197.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 7th May, 1884.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Kent County (Mid Division), *v.* Sir Edmund Filmer, baronet, Chiltern Hundreds.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) [12], *debate adjourned;* Bankruptcy Frauds and Disabilities (Scotland) * [179].

Report—Land Drainage Provisional Orders* [137]; Gas Provisional Orders* [162]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (Alton Barnes, &c.)* [147]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) (Bovey-Tracey, &c.)* [148]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) (Ashill, &c.)* [149]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) (Belchalwell, &c.)* [150]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5) (Acton, &c.)* [151]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6) (Ashen, &c.)* [152]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) (Abberley, &c.)* [153]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 8) (Abergwilly, &c.)* [154]; Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2)* [170]; Water Provisional Order* [163].

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[Bill 12.]

(*Mr. M'Lagan, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Waddy, Mr. Dick-Peddie, Mr. Noel, Mr. Mackintosh.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. M'LAGAN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it was drafted very much upon the lines of the Permissive Prohibitory Bill introduced by his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), who, more than anyone else, had urged him to bring in this measure, and said that it was one after his own heart. It had been asked why he limited the Bill to Scotland? He did so for three reasons. First, because temperance legislation and public opinion were more advanced in that country than in England or Ireland. The second reason was, that in the Local Option Division, out of 60 Scottish Members 46 voted for and only 2 against it; and though out of those 46 some Members might attach a different meaning to what Local Option was, there could be no doubt of the fact that they voted for that Motion as it was framed and explained by the hon. Member for Carlisle. But, more than that, at least 11 Members voted for the Permissive Prohibitory Bill, of which this was merely a transcript. The Scottish Members who did vote for that Bill were the hon. and gallant Members for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon) and Kincardine (General Sir George Balfour), the hon. Members for Dumfries Burghs (Mr. Ernest Noel), Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), Greenock (Mr. J. Stuart), the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan), Inverness (Mr. Fraser Mackintosh), Kirkcaldy Burghs (Sir George Campbell), Leith Burghs (Mr. A. Grant), Orkney (Mr. Laing), and Wick Burghs (Mr. Pender). Therefore, he thought he was justified, having such good men and true at his back, to introduce a Bill which embodied the principle of Local Option. The third reason why he limited this Bill to Scotland was that his hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate, in his address to his constituents some years ago, complained of the difference of opinion which prevailed amongst the temperance reformers, and called upon them to formulate their demands, because, he said, it was impossible for any Government to introduce a a measure unless they knew what these demands were. That, he thought, was very proper advice, and now the temperance party had formulated their demands. About two months ago a resolution was passed by the representatives of 17 temperance organizations that there should be a convention held in Edinburgh, and the meeting declared, amongst other resolutions, that any legislative measure for the sale of intoxicating liquors would not be satisfactory which did not confer on the ratepayers in parishes, burghs, and other districts the full power of controlling the drink traffic, and also the prohibiting of it where the majority should consider it meet. This was what the convention was agreed upon, and this was the principle of the Bill now before the House. They further declared that, while believing that all attempts satisfactorily to regulate the liquor traffic had failed, they were of opinion that any legislative measure which merely superseded the present Licensing Courts by Town Councils and County Boards would not be in accordance with the wishes of the community, and would fail to remedy the evils caused by the drink traffic. This, then, was what the temperance reformers in Scotland desired, and he might state that it need not excite any surprise if there should be opposition offered to any measure which did not contain the principles of these two declarations. Now, what did the Bill propose to do? It did not propose to abolish all licences directly and immediately on its passing. It was not a Licensing Bill; it was not to be called so; but what the Bill did propose was this—to give power to the majority of the ratepayers of any parish, burgh, or district to abolish all licences which they deemed meet. The Bill would be inoperative until that majority was obtained. In fact, it had been properly said—"Until the breath of life be breathed into the Bill by the people it remains a dead letter." He divided his remarks into four parts—(1) The necessity for the Bill, (2) the objects of it, (3) the principle, and (4) the machinery. He would first speak as to the necessity for the Bill. The measure had not met with much favour in the country. All sorts of depreciatory epithets had been applied to it. It had been called "dishonest." ["Hear, hear!"] It had been called "a huge joke" and "a great blunder," and it had been called "tyrrannical." ["Hear, hear!"] He found his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) agreed with these epithets. In the Preamble to the Bill it was stated—

> "That the traffic in intoxicating liquors was the main cause of poverty, disease, and crime, depressed trade and commerce, increased local taxation, and danger to the safety and the welfare of the community."

There were hon. Gentlemen who said it was not the traffic; it was the abuse of drink. It was the consumption. He was not going to quarrel with those hon. Members, and he would admit at once that the abuse and consumption of drink were the immediate causes; but they would admit that where the evils existed there was the traffic. It was idle to say that the traffic was not the cause of those drunken riots which they saw before the public-houses, or those quarrels between husbands and wives or starving children, of the diseases in the hospitals, of four-fifths, or nine-tenths, of the crime, and of seven-tenths of the pauperism of the country, when they saw those men and women attracted by the glare of the public-house, hovering about the door, and then darting into the house as a moth was drawn into a flame to its own destruction. In a publication called *The Fruits of the Liquor Traffic*, we found detailed some of the accidents and crimes due to the drink traffic that occurred in the last week of 1883 and the first week of 1884:—Twenty-five perilous accidents through drink, 13 robberies through drink, 5 cases of drunken insanity, 62 drunken outrages and violent assaults, 20 drunken stabbings, cuttings, and woundings; 5 cases of drunken cruelty to children, 72 assaults of women through drink, 13 cases of juvenile intoxication, 72 drunken assaults on constables, 94 premature, sudden, or violent deaths through drink; 18 cases of suicide attempted through drink, 15 cases of drunken suicide completed, 12 drunken manslaughters or murders. With such a category of crime before them, need they be surprised at the words of the late lamented Duke of Albany—"Drink, our terrible enemy, the only terrible enemy we have to fear in this country?" Archdeacon Farrar, in a recent sermon, also said—

> "We have heard much in these few days of 'Horrible London,' and of the bitter cry of its objects. What makes these slums so horrible? I answer with the certainty and confidence of one who knows—Drink. And what is the remedy? I tell you that every remedy you attempt will be a miserable failure; I tell the nation, with the conviction founded on experience, that there will be no remedy till you save these outcasts from the temptations of drink. Leave the drink, and you might build palaces for them in vain. Leave the drink, and before a year was over your palaces would still reek with dirt and squalor, with infamy and crime."

It was self-evident that the traffic was the cause of the increase in local taxation, and also of the dulness of trade, if they were the cause of the pauperism and the crime. If the £130,000,000 spent on drink was spent on clothing and food, they would see a difference in the trade of the country. The Chief Constable of Liverpool had said—

> "Shut public-houses on a Saturday night, and you will not have provisions enough for the people of Liverpool."

Let the House pass this Bill, and he would venture to say trade would not only be improved, but they would permit the people to improve their dwellings. At present they were entirely at the mercy of the licensing authorities. The poor man must inhabit any house he could get, even though it was surrounded by public-houses; while the wealthy man, by the influence of his wealth, was able to prevent any public-house being set down near his dwelling. They knew of many cruel cases where a working man had left a large town to avoid the turmoil and bustle, and all the horrible scenes which existed about the public-houses, and had gone to some neighbouring village where he might have peace and quietness. He had not been there any time when some publican fixed upon a house, the licence for which was granted by the Justices. Thus, there was forced upon the locality what Lord Cairns called "traps for the working man," by which the peace of the neighbourhood was disturbed, the decencies of society outraged, and the sanctity of home violated. Having spoken of the necessity for the Bill, he came now to the object of the Bill. The object of the Bill was to enable owners and occupiers of property in burghs in Scotland to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors within such areas. If the Bill was passed, and if it was found that a majority in any district were in favour of adopting the Act, then the Act should be adopted, and after that there would be no sale and no exchange whatever of liquor in that particular district. It was mentioned in the Bill "by a majority." There was a great difference of opinion upon that point. Some spoke of a majority of one, and he did not blame those who read the Bill in that light. Others spoke of the majority as three-fifths, two-thirds, and seven-ninths. He only wished to acknowledge the principle of the majority. His own opinion was that it was in vain to attempt to change the social habits of any people unless that attempt was backed by a strong public opinion, and he was quite prepared, if the Bill should ever reach Committee, to vote for a large majority. At present he left it open for the Committee to say what majority they thought proper. He was aware that when the hon. Memper for Carlisle introduced his Bill many Members did not approve of a two-thirds majority; they wanted a much larger majority, and they only voted for the Bill with the knowledge that the majority could be altered in Committee. They could do the same with this Bill, and he himself was prepared for a much larger majority. Sundry objections were taken to this Bill. One was that it limited the power of the people to prohibition, and did not allow the people to control at the same time. He admitted that the Bill was directed to prohibition. It was not a Licensing Bill, and therefore he was not going to interfere with the licences at all. He left the licensing authorities to do as they pleased. He said to them—"Go on licensing as you please; all I want is that if the people want to put down public-houses they should be allowed to do so." It was a mistake, however, to suppose if the Bill was passed that it would have no controlling power. He believed it would have a great moral influence on the Justices in dealing with the Licensing Question. Let the Justices not attend properly to the conducting of the traffic, or let them not reduce the number of houses, and the people would at once say—"If you do not reduce the number of these houses and pay more attention to the control of the traffic, we shall at once call a meeting and take steps to forbid the traffic altogether." The moral power and influence of the people would be as great as if they had a legal power. He had no hesitation in saying that. No doubt, a great deal of good had been already done by reducing the number of public-houses; but he thought there was far too much said of the good that had been done in this way; because, while there had been a reduction in the number of public-houses, there was still a great amount of drunkenness in certain districts. He would give a few figures to show what he meant. In 1858, in Glasgow, the number of public-houses was 1,622; the rent of these houses averaged £40 16*s*., and the gross rental was £66,000. In 1883 the number of public-houses had increased to 1,778, and the rents had risen from £40 16*s*. to £104, while the gross value of the houses had risen from £66,000 to £185,000. What they did when they reduced the number of public-houses was to increase the accommodation of the existing houses, and so to create a monopoly. He decidedly objected to that. He thought it was quite right to put down public-houses; but that could be carried too far. If they were to have public-houses at all, it was better to have a reasonable number, and still better to have none at all. Another objection had been raised to the Bill, to the effect that it prohibited manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquors. No doubt, if the Bill were carried out in its entirety that would be the case; but they would require to have a great majority of people in favour of it. Suppose that the Bill never passed, and the majority of the electors were so impressed with the evils of drunkenness that they determined to put down all public-houses and do away with the manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquor, and supposing that became a question at a General Election, what would be the effect of it? The effect of it would be that a majority would be returned to that House pledged to carry out that reform; and the Government would at once introduce a Bill to put down the importation and manufacture of drink throughout the country. His Bill would only do that by a slower process, but under similar circumstances, if a large majority of the people were in favour of it. The measure was wide in its scope, but limited in its operation; and what he considered one of the great merits of the Bill was this—that it allowed a small community, not numbering less than 300 inhabitants, to take advantage of the Bill and put down public-houses in their immediate neighbourhood; whereas under a more general scheme it would be necessary to deal with the whole country at once. There were about 200 parishes in Scotland that had no public-houses. Why should they debar the other 800 or 900 parishes from having the same privilege if they desired? At present the proprietors of the land had the power to remove public-houses on their property; why should they not give the same privilege and power to the proprietors and tenants of houses in their immediate neighbourhood, seeing that they had far more interest in the question than the proprietors of land? This was essentially a working man's question. It proposed to confer upon him the same rights which were possessed at the present time by the landed proprietor, and the same privileges which the wealthy man now enjoyed, of having a public-house put down near his residence. They had abundant proof that wherever there were public-houses there was drunkenness, and where there were no public-houses there was a greater reduction in drunkenness, and sometimes no drunkenness at all. That was the case in the 200 parishes to which he had alluded. There were some statistics, thanks to the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), to which he desired to call attention. From a Return moved for by that hon. Member they found that from 6 o'clock in the morning on a Saturday till 6 o'clock in the morning on Sunday, during the greater part of which licensed houses were open, the number of persons arrested for drunkenness in 1882 was 12,254; while those arrested during the same year from 6 A.M. on Sunday to 6 A.M. on Monday, during which licensed houses were closed, was only 1,492. Dr. Millar, one of the surgeons of the Edinburgh Infirmary, stated that the average number of cases due mainly to drink which were brought to the Infirmary from 12 o'clock on Friday night to 12 o'clock on Saturday night was, on the average, 9·4; the number admitted from 6 P.M. on Saturday to 6 A.M. on Sunday was 6·11; and from 6 A.M. on Sunday to 6 A.M. on Monday the number admitted was only 3·88. It appeared from the evidence given to the Lords' Committee on Intemperance by Captain M'Call, the head of the Glasgow Police Force, that the average number of drunken and incapable persons taken up on each Saturday in October in 1873, from 6 A.M. on Saturday to 6 A.M. on Sunday, was 192; while the average number of the same class taken up on each Sunday, from 6 A.M. on Sunday to 6 A.M. on Monday, was only 14; thus proving that when the temptation was removed by the closing of public-houses there was much less drunkenness. Another objection had been taken to the Bill, on the ground that it only abolished licences or the traffic directly and immediately, and not through the mediation of a Board. A great many people thought this should not be, and he was not surprised at it. He was of the same opinion a few years ago. In fact, one of the objections that he had urged to the Bill of the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was this very thing, that he did not approve of the plebiscite, but was in favour of a Board. But they all got wiser as they got older. He now confessed he had been in the wrong; and the further experience he had had, and the observations he had made, not only in this but in other countries, had fully convinced him that if they really wanted to put down this great evil they must have the direct veto of the people. He saw no other way for it. He had once voted for the Bill of the hon. Member for Carlisle as a protest against the Government for not introducing any Licensing Bill; but the late Liberal Government did introduce a Bill, and after that he ceased to vote for the Bill of the hon. Member for Carlisle, because he did not approve of the vote being given directly to the people; and when the Local Option Resolution was before the House he spoke in favour of its being given to a Board; but, as he had said, he had changed his opinion entirely, and he now came to the House as a humble penitent, confessing that he had been wrong. They all knew that a Board was a very expensive thing. People in Scotland were beginning to groan under the burden of so many Boards. She now had School Boards, Road Boards, and Parochial Boards. In fact, as the hon. Member for Carlisle had said, they were "Bor'd" to death; and yet it was proposed to force another Board upon them. A Board was far more apt to be influenced by people outside than would a vote of the people. He had confidence in the people in this respect, that they would do their duty thoroughly. If they were not in favour of the traffic being kept up they would say so; and if they were in favour of it they would maintain it. By the right of veto under the Bill, they would allow any district having a population of not less than 300 to abolish licences if they thought proper. Supposing a Board was elected for the City of Perth, and that one ward in that city wanted to have no public-house, if the representatives of the other wards wished them they debarred those people from having what they wished. If they adopted the principle of a representative Board he should not object; but until that was done he could not resign the position he had taken up. Another objection to the direct appeal to the people was that it was unconstitutional; and it was asked why not allow the people to vote, as they do now through their representatives? The answer to this was that they already had a number of Acts under which the people voted directly. For example, there were the Police Act, the Free Libraries Act, and the Borough Funds Act. Under the last-mentioned Act the people had power to prevent a Town Council going to Parliament with a water or gas scheme; and if they allowed a plebiscite in these cases, he did not see why they should not allow it in the case of public-houses. If the people were allowed to decide by plebiscite whether they should have pure water, why should they not be allowed to decide in the same way whether they should banish from their midst a traffic which produced so much social misery and moral depravity? It was further said that it was unconstitutional, inasmuch as it gave the majority the power to dictate to the minority what they should and what they should not drink. [Mr. WARTON: Hear, hear!] There was nothing about consumption in the Bill; and he could assure the hon. and learned Member for Bridport that he might buy his glass of whisky elsewhere and bring it with him if he pleased. The Bill would not prevent that. It would only do what the Legislature had done in passing some 400 Acts restrictive of the liquor traffic. Mr. Stuart Mill said that the dealers in strong drinks were interested in their abuse and in promoting intemperance—a real evil, which justified the State in imposing restrictions and demanding guarantees. The Bill did nothing else than that, and it did it for the reason stated by Mr. Stuart Mill. Then it was objected that it would interfere with the liberty of the subject. Now, living in a state of civilization as they did, the liberty of the subject was always interfered with. What was civilization? It was made up of restricted liberties; they could not, as individuals, do what they liked; and if they gave the majority the power of doing away with licensed houses in their particular districts, where they produced so much evil, they would only be acting in accordance with the principles adopted in every civilized country, and with the spirit of the legislation which had been passed during the last 20 or 30 years. They now, for example, had compulsory Education, Vaccination, and Sanitary Acts, all interfering with the liberty of the subject; and the present Bill was a small interference with that liberty as compared with those other Statutes. He had addressed himself to the general objections to this Bill; but there was one clause about which he would like to say a few words. It was the clause dealing with what was called compensation. He did not call it that. He called it the Reimbursement Clause. He was found fault with for going too far, and he was found fault with for not going far enough. He simply proposed to reimburse anyone who had laid out any money on structural alteration of his premises to meet the requirements of the Licensing Justices. He should like those gentlemen who went in for compensation to explain what they wanted compensation for. Licences were only granted for one year, and no man had a right to a renewal. This restricting of licences to one year had existed for a long time. The Legislature had, no doubt, good reasons for restricting them to a year. One of these reasons, no doubt, was that they wanted to preserve the control of the traffic; and another might be that they did not want a publican to establish a claim for compensation. As a set-off to this restriction, there were the enormous profits that were made in the trade. These profits were enormous. Only the other day two cases came under his notice. One was that of a man who had only an ale and beer licence. The original rent of his house was £15; immediately after he got a licence he was offered £30 rent and £270 down for a lease of seven years; and a man must be a fool to make such an offer unless he expected to get his money back. The other case was that of an hotel proprietor who died, and whose widow was offered £1,050, in addition to rent, for a lease of four years. How could publicans expect compensation for goodwill? Everyone who had had experience as a Licensing Justice must have had cases in which their sympathies were excited for some poor widow who had been left destitute, and who had no other way of living, because she had never learned any. In the business of a publican there was very little to learn, and very little capital was required; and, therefore, he did not see what they could expect compensation for. Did they ask compensation when the Sunday Act was passed, and one-seventh of their profits were taken from them? Certainly not. Did they ask compensation when the licences were reduced from hotel licences to public-house licences? Certainly not. He found that the Glasgow Justices had taken away licences from some of the public-houses without any rhyme or reason, and the publicans did not demand compensation. They had appealed to the Licensing Committee, and, supposing that Committee confirmed the decision of the Justices, he understood the case would be taken to the Court of Session. In cases of that sort the question would be removed from the arena of the House of Commons to the arena of the Court of Session, and that Court would decide whether compensation should be given or not. For his own part, he could not see any reason why compensation should be given. In the Grassmarket in Edinburgh there was a public-house which was rented at £19 10*s*., and when it got a licence the rent was raised to £60. The house was then sold for £1,400, and the rent was raised to £95. On the new tenant applying for a licence the Justices refused to grant it. The man then refused to pay the £1,400. The case was taken to the Court of Session, and the Court decided that it was a *bonâ fide* transaction, that the licence was not a marketable commodity, and the man was obliged to pay the £1,400. With regard to the machinery of the Bill, in the first place the Bill defined districts; but before that could be done the Sheriff must require the people of the district to produce some responsible person who would be surety for expenses; and, further, one-tenth of the people who voted must send a memorial to the Sheriff requiring a house-to-house poll; and then, if a majority of the votes decided in favour of the adoption of this Act, it should be adopted. The machinery of the Bill was, in fact, exceedingly simple in its operation; but it might be asked whether the Bill would be practicable? He could adduce the Maine Law and the law of Canada. These laws were of two kinds—the purely prohibitory, and the permissive prohibitory. The Maine Law, which was at first purely prohibitory, was, in a measure, semi-prohibitory even now. He had heard different opinions expressed as to the success of these laws. He had heard hon. Members who had visited Maine say that it was a complete failure, and that they could there get as much drink as they liked. But think of any Justice of the Peace standing up in that House and deliberately saying that he had broken the law of this country by drinking in a shebeen; and what better was it that he should have broken the law of a foreign country and boasted of it there? That the law was quite efficient in Maine they knew by the results. In those places where the prohibitory law did not exist

61 cents per head of duty was paid; but where it did exist only 6½ cents per head was paid. Further, he might mention that in a population of 750,000 there were only 22 prisoners in the State prison, 16 of whom came from places where the Maine Law was not strictly enforced. In some counties of Maine there were no poor rates whatever. What a millennium that would be in Scotland! Coming to Canada, they had a prohibitory law in the North-West. Last year another Act was passed giving the licensing power to a few gentlemen nominated by the Government, but, at the same time, introducing into the Act exactly the principle of the Bill now under discussion. It allowed a three-fifths' majority of the people to put a stop to the drink traffic in the district to which they belonged. That was the present Canadian Act. The Canadians did not proceed by haphazard, but began by appointing a gentleman who was a teetotaler and in favour of a prohibitory law, and another who opposed it, to make inquiries in Maine on the subject, and the non-abstainer returned to Canada perfectly convinced; and, after hearing the evidence placed before it, the Canadian Parliament, by large majorities, adopted the Maine Law. If the English House of Commons were in any doubt on that matter, let them also send out a similar deputation, consisting of the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and some other gentleman, even a licensed victualler. It was asked whether a measure like the present one was practicable. Well, in Scotland they knew that there were about 200 parishes in which there was not a public-house. Many other facts showed that it was perfectly practicable. He was told that the burgh of Dumbarton was one of the most drunken in Scotland; but a plebiscite was taken there recently, and 3,719 voted for doing away with licences, and 243 against. In Motherwell, 1,393 voted for doing away with hotels on Sunday and 93 against, and 1,344 for closing public-houses, and only 131 against; in Stornoway 3,495 voted for doing away with public-houses, and only 32 against it; in Rothesay, while 957 voted for a change in the present system, and 157 for permanent licences, 1,101 voted for the liquor traffic being directly under the control of the people, and 167 against. He wished to say a few words about the Amendment of the hon. Member for Perth (Mr. C. Parker). It was a very curious Amendment. Like a chameleon, it was always changing its character. As the Amendment stood yesterday, it "fully recognized the great evils of the drink traffic;" but now that was struck out. He hoped his hon. Friend still recognized those evils. The Amendment recognized "the urgent call for legislation to give to local communities effectual control over the drink traffic;" but it objected to a Bill "which offers to ratepayers no other remedy than total prohibition." He presumed that his hon. Friend thought that remedy was good; but he wanted some other remedies besides. It was a very Irish way of giving effect to the urgent call for legislation in the direction of local control to put a spoke in the wheel of the only Bill that dealt with the question. His Bill did deal with local control, with the addition of local prohibition. He regretted that his hon. Friend had put down this Amendment. The hon. Member had voted for the Local Option Resolution of last year, which was defined by the hon. Member for Carlisle to be the principle which was embodied in this Bill. The hon. Member had voted for an abstract Resolution; but he would not vote for a Bill by which it was attempted to carry that Resolution into effect. There was a great similarity between the tactics of his hon. Friend and those of the Opposition on the Franchise Bill. His hon. Friend was throwing an obstruction in the way of temperance legislation, and must take that responsibility upon his own shoulders. The necessary effect of his action was to divide the Party, and give the Government an excuse for not bringing in a Bill. He never expected to pass the Bill—he meant this Session; but he thought a great deal was gained by this discussion upon it; and perhaps next year, when he should introduce it again, it would be passed. If the Amendment were carried it would recognize the principle of the Bill. [Mr. C. S. PARKER: Hear, hear!] Why, if that were the case, had his hon. Friend put this Amendment on the Paper? He now came to the attitude of the Government. He regretted to see that the Home Secretary had left; but he appealed to the Lord Advocate whether the necessity for this Bill was not re-

cognized? Nothing had given him greater pleasure than to read the speech delivered by the Home Secretary on the Sunday Closing Bill. That speech contained within it the germs of a good measure; and he would be satisfied if the right hon. Gentleman only turned into a Bill what he had stated in that speech. He would not throw any obstruction in the way of the Government on this question. If they would embody in another measure the veto which was the principle of this Bill, all temperance reformers in Scotland would be satisfied, and do everything to pass the Bill. He would remind hon. Gentlemen opposite that their late Leader gave householders a right to vote for Members of Parliament. If he had been there now he would not have opposed that Bill. To Members on his own side of the House he could only say—"Trust the people." He might appeal even with confidence to the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) and the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Sullivan), and say to them—"Have confidence in your customers." Was it not better to carry on the trade with the full approval of the great majority of their neighbours than to force it upon people who objected to it? He was not one who used the harsh expressions he had heard used against licensed victuallers. They were conducting a trade which was sanctioned by law; and if anybody was to be blamed it was not they, but the Legislature, and it was the duty of Parliament to put them in a better position than they were now in. He would not say that the hon. Member for Perth was the friend of the licensed victuallers; but he was doing the work of the licensed victuallers. A licensed victualler had himself said that—

> "It is intoxication or the liquor traffic that fills our gaols, that fills our lunatic asylums, that fills our workhouses. Were it not for this one cause, pauperism would be nearly extinguished. The struggle of the school, the library, and the Church, all united against the beer-house and gin-palace, is but one development of the war between heaven and hell."

He had only to express his earnest hope that some Member of the Government would give them the assurance to-day that they would, as far as the Public Business would allow, introduce and pass a measure embodying the principle of Local Option as defined by the hon. Member for Carlisle, and thus put an end to the present state of matters, of which the memorable words were used by the late Mr. Charles Buxton, one of the firm of the largest brewers in Britain—

> "Add together all the miseries generated by war, pestilence, and famine, and they do not exceed those that spring from this one calamity, the drink traffic."

The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. M'Lagan.*)

MR. C. S. PARKER, in moving, as an Amendment—

> "That this House, while fully recognizing the urgent call for legislation to give to local communities effectual control over the drink traffic, does not deem it expedient to proceed with a Bill which offers to ratepayers no other remedy than total prohibition,"

said, the change in his Amendment, on which he had been challenged, was not a change of substance. His hon. Friend knew pretty well the reason for it. The hon. Member had come to him and said that he and his Friends could accept the Amendment as not being hostile to the Bill. It was not exactly hostile to the Bill; but it was intended to set aside the Bill; and, therefore, he had sharpened the Amendment to make that plain. He had inserted the words "the House does not deem it expedient to proceed with the Bill," and had left out other words, only because they were not needed. He could go two steps with the promoters of the Bill, but no farther. He recognized the evils of the drink traffic, and the necessity for a remedy on the principle of Local Option. So far, he was at one with his hon. Friends. But when they came to the work of defining and applying Local Option, then they parted company. His hon. Friend had not in the least exaggerated the urgency of the case; the call for legislation was general from all classes and from all parts of Scotland. Had time permitted, he could have offered proofs of this, perhaps as telling as those already given. But he would rather deal more closely with the question. They had to do no longer with a Resolution, but with a Bill. The House had affirmed three times the abstract Local Option Resolution. But now there was at last before them a definite proposal, or rather two proposals, for legislation. The Government had promised in the Queen's Speech to introduce a measure enlarging the powers of the ratepayers through the representative system, and including among their powers the regulation of the traffic in intoxicating liquors. Unfortunately, that promise had of late dropped out of sight. The House had been so much engrossed with the Soudan and with the cattle disease that they had found no time to think of that more fell disease which was attacking men, women, and children, driving them to poverty, to shame, to crime, and even to death. It was only through the energy and good fortune of a private Member in the ballot that a Wednesday's Sitting was secured for this important question. Let them, then, make good use of the time to examine the principles of his Bill, as compared with those laid down in the Queen's Speech. His hon. Friend had spoken of the principle of his Bill as being that of Local Option; but there were in the Bill no less than three principles—Popular Control, the Plebiscite, and Prohibition. On the first he need not dwell; the majority of the House were pledged to popular control. But with the second principle came divergence between the Government proposal and that of the Bill. The Government proposed to work through the representative system; his hon. Friend preferred the plebiscite. The one form of popular control was favourably known by long experience in all affairs Imperial or local; the other was comparatively untried. His hon. Friend, no doubt, had reminded them very properly that the plebiscite was not entirely new to our legislation. He had spoken of three cases where the plebiscite vote was taken—the case of Town Councils wishing to promote a gas or water scheme at the public expense, the case of free libraries, where the electors voted for an additional rate to be paid out of their own pocket, and the case where consent of the ratepayers was necessary before expenditure of borough funds. But surely his hon. Friend must admit there was a long stride between any such plebiscite as those and a plebiscite that should deal with the interests of an important trade, especially by sudden prohibition. The control of the liquor traffic was not, as some had said, a judicial function; but it was an administrative function of much delicacy; and it would be a very serious departure from the representative system, if they were to transfer the control to the whole mass of electors at the polling booth, not hearing arguments, nor inquiring into facts, with patient, just, considerate action. And then came the third principle of the Bill, the point on which he wished to concentrate the attention of the House. In giving, for the first time, popular control over the trade, his hon. Friends proposed to allow no other choice than that of total prohibition? Was that wise, or unwise? Ought they to place limits on Local Option, and if so, what limits? Some hon. Members would impose both a higher and a lower limit on the number of licensed houses in proportion to the population. In a former debate his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster)—whom he was sorry not to see in his place—was understood to give his vote for Local Option, with the explanation that he would not be a party to absolute prohibition; he would always maintain some accommodation for the minority. The Prime Minister went further. He would give a Local Option so wide as to permit total prohibition, but also to leave it open to a great town like Liverpool to make another experiment in free trade under licence; and he believed the Secretary of State for the Home Department was of the same opinion. For his own part, he should not think it necessary to place any upper or lower limit upon the number of licences. If only he was satisfied that they had got a fairly representative authority, he should be willing to give them the same power that licensing authorities had now—power to refuse any or every licence. But any limits proposed by the right hon. Member for Bradford, or by others, were as freedom itself compared with the narrow option offered by this Bill. If the promoters of the Bill called upon the House to trust the people, why on earth would they not trust the people with larger powers? Why so jealously restrict them? Why cabin and confine them to one single choice, and that the most extreme, the least likely to be generally adopted, the most likely to provoke reaction? They might have given other powers. For instance, in the City of Perth the general opinion was that no new licences were needed, and he fancied many of his hon. Friends from Scotland could say the same with regard to other districts. Why, then, should not the Bill empower the ratepayers to say there should be no new licences granted?

DR. CAMERON: They can do so.

MR. C. S. PARKER: There is no such power.

DR. CAMERON: Yes; by law.

MR. C. S. PARKER: No.

MR. M'LAGAN: Yes; by the present law.

MR. C. S. PARKER said, that he was not aware there was any power by law by which the ratepayers could say there should be no new licences. But why should not the ratepayers have the power to veto even one new licence? In some of the Colonies these powers existed. By the Act in force in New Zealand, the electorate could vote on each kind of licence separately; and if the majority expressed the opinion that there was a sufficient number of licences already of the kind in respect of which the vote was taken, that number could not be increased. Why should not the ratepayers of Scotland have similar powers under this Bill? If they wished to have no more grocers' licences, or no more drinking bars, why should they not have power to vote for this? Why not for shorter hours of sale? The Secretary of State for the Home Department the other day, in reference to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill, said he thought it was a question that might be safely left to the community in each case to decide, instead of Parliament laying down one rule for the whole country. On the same principle of liberty, would his hon. Friends who were promoting this Bill consent to introduce these various powers, or did they intend to stand or fall by total prohibition? No doubt, if they were willing to put these various powers in the Bill, they would have greatly to alter its character. They must change the Preamble; they must change the title; and, he thought, they must change the machinery also. It was possible by a plebiscite to vote on total prohibition, on prohibition of new licences, or of a certain class of licences; and it was possible, also, to vote on the hours of closing; but there were many regulations beyond that which it would be most desirable to enforce if approved by local public opinion, and which, he thought, could hardly be submitted to a direct popular vote. For his own part, he had far more confidence in the representative principle to deal with all these matters. Nor did he expect that his hon. Friends would put these powers into the Bill; because many of their supporters would lose their enthusiasm if the Bill were only for the suppression of intemperance, instead of being for extinction of the whole trade. To please such supporters, the Bill was purposely made extreme in its provisions. When such a Bill was first proposed, it was strongly felt there must be a large amount of popular support to justify it. He believed Mr. Charles Buxton was the original author of the Permissive Bill, and he required that five-sixths of the voters should be united. Then came his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), who was content to have a two-thirds' majority to prohibit; but now, after six years' interval, during which public opinion had marched forward, his hon. Friends produced a Bill by which a majority of one might put an end to the trade. His hon. Friend, however, had not quite the courage of his Bill. He asked the House to save him from his Friends by altering the majority in Committee, and he even angled for the vote of the hon. and gallant Gentleman behind him (Sir Alexander Gordon), who suggested a majority of seven-ninths. But the larger the majority required, the fewer places would adopt the Bill. Its character as an extreme measure was well seen in the one exception it made. In Canada, where they had total prohibition, the Act made two exceptions, one of which the hon. Member adopted, and the other he did not. The one he did not adopt was the permission to buy wine for Sacramental purposes. In Scotland, among the extreme Party who supported the Bill, the feeling ran so far that they actually complained of Christian churches for using wine in the Sacrament, because reformed drinkers, when they had tasted the Sacramental wine, had got back their craving for drink and been entirely lost. That was the view taken by some of the supporters of his hon. Friend, and their reason for withholding this exception. Then there was the medicinal exception. If anyone got from a legally qualified practitioner, not a general certificate of leave, but a prescription suited to his particular malady, he might obtain drink from the druggist. Medical men would be well off under such a Bill; because he supposed they would be allowed to prescribe for themselves and their friends, and therefore they would become very popular. But he could have wished there had been appended to the Bill a Schedule giving the form of the prescription. Perhaps his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) would tell them what it ought to be. He did not know much of doctors' Latin; but he supposed it would be somewhat in this form—"*Recipe aquæ vitæ,*" or "*spiritus vulgo dicti* whisky," so many ounces, or so many drams. Or if the patient were allowed a little "toddy" on going to bed, then he supposed it would run "*Fiat mistura spiritus et aquæ ferventis*" and "*Sumat cochlearia ampla tria,*" or "*quantum sufficiat, horâ somni.*" Armed with that prescription they might get drink within their own district, otherwise they must go beyond, which, though it might be a trifle in these modest beginnings, would soon become serious, as it might come to sending for supplies outside Scotland. It was commonly said, at the age of 40, every man was either a physician or a fool. He was so especially in matters of diet. Yet, under this Bill, he was to go to a legally-qualified practitioner to obtain a prescription for what he knew from his own experience agreed with him; otherwise he could not obtain it in his own district. Suppose a man found that it promoted his digestion to take with his dinner a glass of bitter beer; unless he got a medical prescription, or went outside a prohibited district, he might be driven to ginger beer; or if a lady should require refreshment, without the prescription she could not procure a glass of claret, but must take something more like raspberry vinegar. He wished to ask what was all this for that they were going so far? He did not think most of his hon. Friends who had brought in this Bill would say that they thought it necessary to protect the moderate drinker. What they wanted to deal with were the serious and grave evils arising from intemperance. Could they not deal with them in a more practical way than this? Could they not diminish the temptations flaunted at every street corner without going so far as to say that, even in an hotel, lodgers should not have what they were accustomed to take at home with their meals? It was said that among the warmest supporters of the Bill were many of those who drank most. He hoped there was much truth in that. But if so, would it not be possible to accommodate them without total prohibition for everybody? At present we had only an Habitual Drunkards Act, which enabled habitual drunkards to shut themselves up in retreats; but the Colonies had more than that. In the last Canadian Act, Section 92 gave power to Justices to forbid the sale of liquor to habitual drunkards; and Section 93 entitled a parent, guardian, husband, or wife to make application for such purpose. The names on the forbidden list were sent to the liquor bars of the neighbourhood, and heavy penalties were imposed for serving such persons with liquor. Of course, that plan was easier to work amongst a scattered Colonial population than it would be in this thickly-peopled country; but if they were going to interdict people with a view to temperance, he thought it would be more rational to get a list of those who drank to excess and interdict them only, rather than all who had not prescriptions from a physician. These were arguments that weighed with his judgment in favour of a different Bill from that now before the House, a Bill that should give a much larger and more effective Local Option. But this was not a question for argument only. His hon. Friend had impressed upon them that they had the opinion of the country to reckon with, and had been kind enough to warn him (Mr. C. S. Parker) that a special responsibility would rest upon his shoulders for throwing out the Bill. He was not afraid of that. He knew that public opinion in Scotland ran strong for Local Option, but not for such a Bill as this. The best proof of that would be the votes of the Scotch Members; and he trusted they might be allowed to go to a Division. One of the London papers said that the majority of Scotch Members were in favour of the Bill. How much truth there was in that their speeches, if not their votes, would soon reveal. In the meantime, where was the evidence of public opinion in favour of the Bill? Take Petitions to Parliament.

There were some; but his hon. Friend had not relied on them. And rightly, for the number who petitioned against the Bill last year was very considerably larger than the number who petitioned for it last year and this year put together. That, he thought, was a remarkable fact; because no one went out of his way to petition against a reasonable temperance measure. Again, take plebiscites. He would only refer to the one that his hon. Friend had put first. His hon. Friend held up Dumbarton to reproach as the most drunken town in Scotland, and he understood him to say that Dumbarton had passed a vote in favour of the Bill. [MR. M'LAGAN: No.] Well, then, in favour of total abolition of the liquor traffic. Now, he happened to hold in his hand the exact question that was put to Dumbarton. It was this—"Whether the inhabitants are in favour of Local Option?" But that was after the Scotch Members, almost unanimously, had voted for Local Option; and, lest Local Option should be taken to mean total prohibition only, the Circular went on—

> "Local Option is a law that will give the people power by their votes to prevent the issue or renewal of all or any licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors."

That being so, the present was not a Bill that would satisfy the good folks of Dumbarton, for it would not enable them to stop one licence without stopping all. Again, what said the newspaper Press? Were the leading organs of opinion in the great cities of Scotland in favour of the Bill? Was *The Scotsman, The Glasgow Herald, The Dundee Advertiser*, or, in his own county, *The Perthshire Advertiser?* They were all against it. Then take public meetings. In Dundee, a town in which there was a great deal of intoxication, the meeting for the Bill was anything but a success, being thinly attended and carrying no weight at all; and in the Dundee School Board a motion in favour of the Bill was opposed by Provost Moncur, a well-known temperance reformer, and did not find a seconder. In Glasgow a Conference of 256 ministers declared for "Local Option vested in Local Boards;" the Scottish Temperance League asked for "power by Local Representative Boards or otherwise to prohibit all or any licences;" a larger Conference of Temperance and Social Reformers, presided over by a late Lord Provost—Sir William Collins—pledged itself to "Local Boards;" and the Liberal Six Hundred resolved that—

> "The entire control of the licensing system should be placed in the hands of the ratepayers through Local Representative Boards."

But then there was the great Edinburgh Convention, two months ago, at which, as his hon. Friend said, "the Temperance Party had formulated their demands." He must say he was astonished to hear his hon. Friend quote the resolution passed by that meeting as furnishing the principle of his Bill. The resolution was specially addressed to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate, who wanted to know what was considered a practical measure, and the answer was as follows:—

> "No legislative measure on this subject will be satisfactory which does not confer upon the ratepayers the full legal power of controlling the drink traffic, and also of prohibiting it where a majority shall think fit."

Two things, not one; control, and prohibition. The Bill gave prohibition; why not also "full legal control?" But now let them take the authorities who had practically to do with the working of the present system. The licensing magistrates had not expressed any opinion in favour of this Bill; nor the Commissioners of Supply; nor the Town Councils; nor the Convention of Royal and Parliamentary Burghs. And were the Churches of Scotland in favour of the Bill? A London newspaper said so; but his hon. Friend knew better. One of the largest Churches—the Free Church—had had for years a Committee specially dealing with temperance, and year after year they had petitioned in favour of Local Boards. Such facts as these gave some indication of public opinion in Scotland; but, after all, the truest test of it was through the Representatives of Scotland. By their speeches, and by their votes, it would be seen how many of them were opposed to this Bill, how many stood neutral, how many gave it a half-hearted, and how few a whole-hearted support. He would appeal then to Scottish Members to have the courage of their own true opinions. If they took the sensible view of the matter—the view which commended itself to their own judgment—they need not be afraid that their constituents would be hard upon them. To the Government he would say, he knew the difficulties with which they were surrounded; but he asked them not to delay, if possible, in dealing with this question; and when they did bring in their Bill, let it not be a disappointment. He had been sorry to see that in their London Government Bill this question was passed over by a temporary arrangement, allowing the present state of things to remain till Parliament should otherwise provide. If the Government would create in each district an authority that should, on the one hand, be truly local—not dealing with too large a district—and that, on the other, should command the confidence of the whole community, the amplest discretion, he thought, might be safely left in the hands of such a Body. These Boards would make mistakes at first, no doubt; but they would soon gain experience, both from their own proceedings and from those of other Boards; and he believed they would be able to deal satisfactorily with the whole of this difficult but most important question. Lastly, he would ask of the House as a favour to Scotch Members that the Bill should not be talked out. He hoped, also, the Bill would not be merely negatived, but that the House would adopt the Amendment, which had been drawn up with a view to placing on record that, while the House declined to accept under a new name the old Permissive Bill, it did not fall back in any way from the position it had taken upon three former occasions by passing Resolutions in favour of Local Option, or, as he preferred to call it, local popular control.

Mr. BAXTER said, that when his hon. Friend the Member for Perth gave Notice of his first Resolution in opposition to this Bill he had taken the liberty of pointing out to him that as it was drafted it by no means necessitated the throwing out of the measure, and that, if it were not amended, it might lead to false hopes on the part of its supporters. But the Resolution as it was now moved he felt quite at liberty to second, as his hon. Friend had requested him to do, because he thought it fairly expressed the sense both of the country and of the House. He was not going to make a speech, for two reasons. In the first place, what they now wanted was not long speeches upon the temperance question, but a general and varied expression of the opinion of Scotch Members on this particular measure. In the second place, he would not detain the House, because a supporter of the Bill had told him in the Lobby that it was highly desirable it should be talked out. That meant that his hon. Friend the Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan) and his supporters were very desirous indeed to avoid a Division. He, on the contrary, was most anxious that the opinion of the Representatives of Scotland should be expressed by them upon this most extraordinary measure. He should be very sorry that his hon. Friend, who had made such an eloquent and interesting speech that day, should have thought it necessary to introduce a Bill of this kind into the House of Commons at all. His hon. Friend had quoted a number of epithets which had been applied to it. He was not prepared to adopt every one of these epithets; but this he did say—that he entirely agreed with the expression of the deputation from one of the great public bodies of Scotland which said that this was an impracticable and unworkable Bill. If he had had any doubts upon this score the speech of the hon. Member for Linlithgow would have removed these doubts. His hon. Friend had no expectation at all, either this year or any other year, of passing such a measure as this. Several hon. Gentlemen had said in his hearing that they would vote for the second reading of this Bill, because they knew that would be a very safe vote—it would please a large number of the most ardent friends of the measure, and there was not the most remote possibility of it ever taking a place on the Statute Book. He had never felt it his duty to take such a course as that in the House of Commons. If his hon. Friend had not moved this Amendment he should have considered it his duty to move that the Bill be read a second time on that day six months. He would have done so on this general principle—that a sweeping measure of this kind occupied the time and wasted the energies of philanthropic men, and prevented them from devoting attention to measures of practical temperance reform. He wished it to be distinctly understood that he did not oppose the consideration of this question from any hostile point of view towards the temperance movement. There were hon. Members who had often quoted in that House the aphorism—"You cannot make men sober by Act of Parliament," and said that, therefore, they did not believe in legislation of this kind. That was not his view at all. On the contrary, his firm belief was that a very great deal of good could be done by cautious, practical, progressive legislation in the restriction and the regulating of the drink traffic, and preventing the extension of increased facilities and temptations to intemperance. If anyone doubted that, he could cite the working of the present law in Scotland. The Act of Parliament, commonly called the Forbes Mackenzie Act, which was carried through this House by Mr. Forbes Mackenzie—although it was well known the real author of the measure was the late Lord Kinnaird—had worked so well, and had the confidence of the people of Scotland to such a degree, that, although it was now between 30 and 40 years since it came into law, not a single Scotch Member had been got, though he believed strong influence was brought to bear upon them by the publicans at one time, to alter its provisions, far less to vote for its repeal. On the contrary, all legislative proposals and attempts made since that time had been to go further in the same direction, to make still further restrictive laws to regulate the traffic. His hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had a Bill now before the House for materially restricting the hours at which both publicans and grocers in Scotland might be permitted to sell liquor. That Bill had been supported not by Temperance Lodges and small Committees only, but by Representative Bodies in Scotland. It was a Bill which might require alteration; but he should be surprised if, in its main provisions, it did not become law. What he was anxious to impress upon the House was that legislation of this kind should not go too far ahead of public opinion. His hon. Friend (Mr. M'Lagan) had acknowledged this; but he asked him this question—Was he prepared to say that there was anything like a strong popular opinion of the people of Scotland in favour of this Bill? If they legislated in this manner in advance of public opinion, they immediately brought about evils much greater than those they were trying to remedy. He should be very glad to see the day—which would probably come, though he might never see it—when they should have no such things as shops in which spirituous liquors would be sold in glasses to be drunk over the counter. But they could not do this by violent changes in the law. The very first effect of the passing of a Bill such as this would be the opening of innumerable shebeens and back doors, and a system of illicit drinking, such as was now doing great injury in places where a too prohibitory law had been adopted. His hon. Friend had animadverted on the conduct of certain Members of the House who had made themselves acquainted with the manner in which the law was evaded in the United States. He had insinuated that they went to the secret bars in order to drink. He was not ashamed to say that, when visiting the States where the Maine Law existed, he had been extremely anxious to find what was going on there, and he had witnessed scenes at those back door entrances that he should not like to describe to the House, all caused by the attempt to go ahead of public opinion. He shared the objection against a plebiscite. He held that it was very undesirable to refer so many questions directly to the ratepayers to vote without any representation. He put it to his hon. Friend whether, admitting that the principle of this Bill was a good one, this was a good time for bringing it forward? He had a distinct pledge from the Government to carry into effect the Resolutions which the House had passed in the direction of Local Option. They had a promise that the Local Government Bill would contain provisions dealing with the whole question. He hoped that Bill would take away the whole power of licensing from irresponsible magistrates, and give it to the representatives of the people in the town and country, who, he was sure, would be able to give full expression to the wishes of the body of the people. For these reasons, and believing that this Bill was standing in the way of real effective legislation, he cordially seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, while fully recognizing the urgent call for legislation to give to local communities effectual control over the drink traffic, does not deem it expedient to proceed with a Bill which offers to ratepayers no other remedy than total prohibition,"—(*Mr. C. S. Parker*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. ORR-EWING said, he repudiated the idea that there was any real foundation for the charge which the hon. Member who had moved the second reading of the Bill had brought against Scotland. Statistics proved that England, taking the population of each country, drank 50 per cent more alcohol than Scotland, and that the Scottish people were as sober as those of any country in Europe. Ireland nominally consumed less alcohol in proportion than Scotland; but this was accounted for by the large number of illicit stills — sometimes amounting to 800 in a year—that were discovered in the former country; whereas in Scotland there were rarely more than two or three. The hon. Member who introduced the Bill had made a particular allegation in regard to the town of Dumbarton. Well, he had not the honour of representing Dumbarton, for it was included in the group of burghs which the hon. Member for the Kilmarnock Burghs (Mr. Dick-Peddie) represented. He was not going to say that the hon. Member's statement was not based on some foundation of truth. All he could say was that Dumbarton was a proof of how little they could do by legislation to restrain the drinking habits of the people, especially when they were making high wages, and were very hard-worked people. It had been one of the favourite arguments of teetotalers that it was a great advantage to a country or to a town that they should limit the number of public-houses. The most sanguine supporters aimed at one public-house for 500 of the population. Well, Dumbarton had gone far beyond that, because it had only a public-house to 750 of the population, and the result was that a complete monopoly had been created. It was the most money-making trade in Dumbarton, and he ventured to say that the habits of the people were not one bit improved. There was another matter in the speech of the hon. Member (Mr. M'Lagan) which he felt that he ought to take notice of. The hon. Member had tried to make it out that the publicans had no right to any compensation for being deprived of their business. The argument of the hon. Member was that licences were granted for a year, and had to be renewed every year, and that business so conducted had no ground for compensation. He must look, however, at the custom of the Licensing Courts. He had sat now for a very long period as a Justice of the Peace and a magistrate, and he had never known a case of a man being deprived of his licence unless he had been convicted of having broken the law; and even then it was not done for the first offence, but only after a second conviction. So much was that the case, that at every Licensing Court upon which he had ever sat the list of the renewals of licences was read over and passed as a matter of course, and in regard to every name that was objected to due notice had to be given to the applicant, and the case was heard along with the applications for new licences. He thought publicans had a just right to compensation if ever Parliament resolved to put down licences. He did not think the House, and especially Scotch Members, ever had a greater surprise than when this Bill—in an even more stringent form than it was in now—was introduced last Session, because previously the hon. Member had been so moderate in all his views, so just and reasonable on every question, that they naturally looked on him as fairly representative of Scotch feeling, so much so that there were very few Select Committees or Commissions of which they did not find him a Member. He was appointed a Member of a Commission that inquired into this very subject—the Commission on Grocers' Licences—which sat in 1877. That was not very long ago, and yet, in the Report of that Commission, he found the Commissioners saying that—

> "All the law can do without touching upon the liberty of the subject is to see that the trade which Parliament has recognized is carried on within the prescribed limits founded on common sense and considerations of public order. It is expected that the influence of education and the moral tone of the community will be more effectual than the extension of restrictive legislation in leading to improved habits of decency and moderation."

He (Mr. Orr-Ewing) agreed with every word he had quoted from that Report. The hon. Member (Mr. M'Lagan), however, although he was a Member of that Commission, last year brought in a Bill, the most drastic and the most unjust that had ever been presented on this subject. He believed, moreover, that his hon. Friend had been a consistent opponent of the Permissive Bill, which was moderation itself compared with the Bill of last year. The Permissive Bill required a majority of two-thirds before the liquor traffic could be stopped; but here only a bare majority was required. No doubt, the hon. Member had said today he might extend that; but there was a strong power behind him composed of men that he (Mr. Orr-Ewing) did not hesitate to say were most unreasonable, and they would compel the hon. Member to do that which he himself did not approve. The present Bill was in a certain sense an improvement on the Bill of last year, because under last year's Bill, if permission were once given to put down the liquor traffic, they could never go into the same area again and ask the people to reconsider the matter. Now, if he understood the Bill aright, each area was to have an opportunity of reconsidering whether licences should be renewed or continued; but there was no provision in the Bill for compensation, except for what had been expended on the glasses and the counter over which the liquor was consumed. That, he thought, was a most serious objection to this Bill. He thought it had been acknowledged by the Leader of the Government that he never would be a party to putting an end to this legitimate business without giving ample compensation to the persons deprived of it. It was as legitimate a business as distilling or brewing; and if Parliament ever decided to put a stop to brewing and distilling it would not do so without giving ample compensation to these great interests. Why were they to treat this trade differently from these other trades, merely because it was less powerful and less wealthy? It would be most inconsistent for this Government to do anything of the kind. It was further to be noticed that the Bill, as pointed out by the hon. Member for Perth, would not only put down public-houses, but grocers' licences and hotels. What, then, would be the result in a town like Oban, if, in an enthusiastic moment, the people were to adopt this Bill? Where would the visitors from England, Ireland, and other parts of the country go to who visited that beautiful place if there were no hotels? This, he thought, was legislation run mad. The Bill of this year gave power to reconsider the question of licences every three years. Did they think any respectable man would go into a trade with such conditions? The thing was impracticable. His hon. Friend brought forward a chapter of horrors, and talked about Monday as being the woman's day for getting drunk. He was sure there was no district in Scotland where such a state of things was to be witnessed. [Mr. M'LAGAN: I said in Westminster.] He (Mr. Orr-Ewing) thought they were dealing with Scotland. Were they to pass a stringent measure of this kind for Scotland because of evils in Westminster? Surely Westminster could look after itself? He would like to call attention to the real reason of the hon. Member for bringing forward this Bill, which he gave to his constituents. The reason the hon. Gentleman gave was that he had lately himself become a teetotaler. He had long been in the habit of taking drink; but he found himself so much better without it that he was anxious every other person should follow his example. It was the case of the fox and the tail over again. He did not object to any hon. Member changing his views, but he should do so in moderation. If a man advancing in years lost confidence in himself—if he saw the errors of his youth—if he had been ordered by his physician to change his habits of life, and take water instead of whisky, he was quite entitled to do so; but why not allow society in general to change their views also, rather than compel them to do so by such a drastic measure as this? There were great influences at work in favour of temperance. It was nearly 50 years since he entered business, and at that time it was not uncommon on Mondays to have some departments of their works stopped through the drunkenness of the *employés*; but he never now saw a drunken man in his premises, nor did he meet one in the neighbourhood, except on the occasion of some great market. That condition of things had been brought about by Temperance Societies, by greater intelligence, by the change of pay-day, by the people being more intelligent, and seeing more clearly the evil of excessive drinking, and he also thought it had been effected, to a great extent, by the improved habits of the upper and middle classes. He believed in persuasion and example; he believed very strongly in the improvement of workmen's dwellings, of which he was sorry to say many masters thought too little; he believed in the establishment of workmen's public-houses, where young men could go who had not room at home to bring in their friends or to amuse themselves—houses where they could enjoy the advantages of a library and have games of draughts and chess—where they would have comfortable rooms, and get drinks of other than an intoxicating character. By these regenerating influences he believed they would work a great revolution in the habits of the people. No doubt, in a town like Glasgow, where some miserable people lived in dwellings where they rarely saw the sun, they were driven to the gin shops, and drunkenness was the result; but, taking Scotland as a whole, the sobriety of the country districts was not to be excelled in any country in Europe. It was excessive drinking they ought to endeavour to cure, and he did not believe that could be done by compulsory legislation. Were they to degrade the whole inhabitants of a country for the misconduct of a few? Was this Bill trusting the people? Was it true liberty? No. It was downright tyranny, and the very worst of tyranny, because it was the tyranny of the mob. He admitted that drunkenness was an offence against society, and that the law could not be too stringent in punishing such an offence. He admitted, further, that the people of this country were of opinion that drunkenness was a curse; but if the people of Scotland were of opinion that drink was such a curse as was stated in the Preamble of the Bill, he thought it was not such a Bill as this which the Government ought to support. They rather ought to bring in a Bill to take away the power of distilling, brewing, and importing drink in any shape or form whatever. That was the only way in which they could attain the end which it was the object of this Bill to reach. If the Government intended to support this Bill he thought they must be prepared to go much further. They must be prepared to destroy the power of producing the drink which was doing so much harm. He hoped the Government would not support this Bill, because, if passed into law, it would destroy a legitimate trade in which a large amount of capital had been invested; and it would raise strife and turmoil in every parish in Scotland without doing a particle of good.

Dr. CAMERON: I must congratulate my hon. Friend the Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan) on two things in connection with this Bill. First, in having roused the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing) to unwonted flights of eloquence; and, in the second place, in eliciting from the hon. Member for Perth a brilliant coruscation of wit. However, I may say in regard to the speeches of these hon. Gentlemen, as was said by Chatterton of the sermons of a certain clergyman—

"His sermon had no argument, 'tis true;
Would you have sense and pretty figures too?"

The speeches of the hon. Members contained very little of argument, or, at any rate, very little that could not be easily demolished. Now, the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire has said that the hon. Member for Linlithgow has cast an imputation of excessive drunkenness upon the people of Scotland. I do not think that my hon. Friend led anyone to believe anything of the sort. What he said was that the people of Dumbarton were held to be the most drunken people in Scotland. I do not know whether it is so or not; but I believe the statement was made on the authority of a previous statement made by the hon. Member (Mr. Orr-Ewing) himself. In Dumbarton there is a good example of what can be done in the cause of sobriety by legislation; but the hon. Member told us that nothing has been or can be done by legislation to make the people of Dumbarton more sober.

Mr. ORR-EWING: I did not say that.

Dr. CAMERON: The hon. Member mentioned a great number of things that had been brought to work to promote the sobriety of his neighbours in Dumbarton; but, curiously enough, he omitted to mention the legislation which had taken place for Dumbarton as well as for other parts of Scotland, in the shape of the Forbes Mackenzie Act. The result of that Act in Dumbarton is that, whereas the average arrests there are 67 daily, the number on Sunday is only 5. Now, I think that if you want a striking illustration of what can be done in the way of securing sobriety by legislation, you need not go further than to Dumbarton.

MR. ORR-EWING: I was speaking of my own parish. Everyone admits the good the Act has effected.

DR. CAMERON: Well, if everyone admits it, then the hon. Member admits the advantages of legislation in promoting sobriety. He stigmatized the Bill of my hon. Friend as drastic, unjust, and tyrannical. Now, my hon. Friend proposes to do no more than place in the hands of the people power which in the hands of the landlords has been exercised with great benefit to the country for an indefinite number of years. But I suppose one may say, taking a slight liberty with the words of the great poet—"What in the landlord's but paternal care, is in the people's hands rank tyranny." I would go the length of placing in the hands of the people everything that is now placed in the hands of the landlords. In the hands of the landlords the power of suppression and control has done nothing but good; and I maintain there is no earthly reason why you should intrust these powers to the landlords—to a single class of the community—and refuse them to the people. That is what I call trusting the people. The hon. Members for Dumbarton and Perth alluded to the question of compensation, and on that question I will point out that the prohibitory system is already at work in Scotland wherever the landlords choose to enforce it. A landlord might put down every public-house on his estate; and, if he did so, what provision have you for compensation? A landlord can put down every grocer's licence and every publican's licence; a landlord has unlimited power in that respect, and my hon. Friend the Member for Linlithgowshire (Mr. M'Lagan) has told the House that in 200 parishes in Scotland the landlords have exercised their power of putting down licences.

MR. ORR-EWING: The hon. Member is not correct in that. Landlords have only reserved to themselves power of preventing houses being converted into public-houses.

DR. CAMERON: I am perfectly correct. As a matter of fact, many landlords have prevented anything in the shape of a public-house being set up on their estates. I myself have for years lived in a district where such a provision has been inserted in the feus, and I venture to say most of the Scottish Members in this House are in the same position as myself. I repeat that, as a matter of fact, in 200 parishes in Scotland this power of suppression on the part of the landlord has been exercised, and, it is admitted on all hands, with the most beneficial results. With regard to compensation, I am not particularly against compensation; indeed, I am as liberal-minded on that subject as the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), who only considers it a question of detail. I regard it in the same light. It is wonderful how tender in some respects hon. Gentlemen are on the question of compensation. Officers in the Army had been breaking the law all the days of their life in selling their commissions; and it was deemed absolutely necessary to compensate them when the power to sell commissions was taken from them. Last year we abolished every toll in Scotland. The toll-keepers, who had been engaged all their lives in a legal and honest occupation, were thrown without employment upon the world. Yet what compensation was given to them? The Bill in reality proposes exactly that form of compensation which has been thought good enough for agricultural tenants—namely, compensation for unexhausted improvements, precisely on the same basis as that on which it was given to tenants. My hon. Friend (Mr. M'Lagan) referred to various cases in which plebiscites had been taken; but he omitted to mention an important fact in regard to Stornoway, although he told the House how many were in favour and how very few were against public-houses. I have received a letter from an inhabitant there, stating that in order to find out the feeling of the people on this subject a plebiscite was taken, which resulted in 3,495 people voting against all public-houses, and only 32 voted in favour of keeping them open. The figures were placed before the magistrates the other day; but their honours, in their wisdom, thought fit to renew every licence. "Before that," writes my correspondent, "the people were under the impression that licences were granted for the public convenience, and that the public were the best judges of their requirements." But Stornoway was an out-of-the-way place, and that accounted for the people harbouring any such ingenuous idea as to the object of their licensing system. Now, the hon. Member for Perth said that what we want is Licensing Boards. I am in favour of Licensing Boards, local veto, or anything else which will grapple with this evil; and it is because I am in favour of one and all that I will vote for and support one and all. That seems to me a much more rational way of promoting the cause of temperance than to say, as the hon. Gentleman does, because I would like some other means adopted than is proposed in this Bill I will move a hostile Amendment to it. It strikes me the hon. Member will have to take up a firmer attitude if he wishes to escape the fate of the man who tried to sit between two stools. I hold in my hand a telegram stating that a Liberal meeting was held at Perth last night, at which those in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Perth (Mr. C. S. Parker) were in such a minority that a resolution in favour of this Bill was carried unanimously—the supporters of the Amendment having left the room when they saw what was about to happen. The hon. Member's course will not, I believe, please the temperance members of his constituency; and with regard to his intemperate constituents, they are not likely to give him any effectual support which will enable him to do without the support of the Liberal Committee. He says he would like to see greater liberty allowed to ratepayers, and he asked whether we intended to allow ratepayers to veto any particular class of licences. Certainly we should. This is not a Licensing Bill, and we should be most happy to allow the people, as the landlords are allowed at the present moment, to suppress any particular kind of licences, leaving all others untouched. Then the hon. Member for Perth went on to speak of injustice and absurdity, and complained that the Bill did not contain provisions as to sacramental wine, and he drew a terrible picture as to what would result in regard to sacramental wine if the Bill were passed; but there are nearly 200 parishes in Scotland under the prohibitionary law put in force at the instance of the landlords. What about the sacramental wine there? Is there any saving provision in that respect in the general law? It is also the same with regard to medicines. There are 200 parishes in Scotland where you have a prohibitory law in force; is there any difficulty in obtaining spirits for medicinal purposes there? The hon. Member for Dumbartonshire spoke of strangers arriving at Oban, and being unable to obtain liquor; but there are many beautiful places in Scotland where prohibition is in force, and if tourists want liquor they must carry it with them or do without it. We do not propose any untried experiment. What we propose is that the power that already exists in the hands of the landlord, which has been attended with beneficial results, should be extended also to the people. I think my right hon. Friend who seconded the Amendment (Mr. Baxter) said that the Bill stood in the way of the Government carrying out their intentions. Well, I should like to see the Government display a little more vigour in carrying out their intentions. If they cannot carry a Bill through the House, they might, at least, enforce the law as it at present exists. At Peterhead recently the confirming magistrates recommended the granting of certain licences, although there was not the statutory quorum present. The magistrates and the Excise authorities conspired to allow liquor to be sold without a legal licence, and when I called attention to it the Lord Advocate winked at their proceedings. Other cases of the same kind have been brought to my notice. It is not only the Lord Advocate who will not enforce the law in the interests of temperance. I have called the attention of the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) to the subject. The law lays it down that the Controller of Licensing, the gentleman in charge of the Licensing Department in Scotland, is subject, under Act of Parliament, to a penalty of £500, and to incapacitation from holding office, if he wilfully allows persons without proper licences to sell drink. But when the Secretary to the Treasury was asked what action the Government intended to take upon the case I have just mentioned, the reply was that no action at all would be taken. Well, is this not suspending the law against the interests of temperance and in the interests of intemperance? It makes me very doubtful about any speedy prospect of the Government carrying out any intentions they may have. I have heard of a certain place which is paved with good intentions; and much as I admire Her Majesty's present Government, and much as I respect the late Government, I believe that both Governments have contributed not a little to the pavement of that place. Therefore, I think that my hon. Friend has acted wisely in bringing forward this Bill now and trying to push on the Government and stimulate them to do something; and I wish them to understand that until they take up this question they shall have no peace. I do not tie myself to all the details of the Bill; but I am willing to back almost any Bill for the sake of protesting against the inaction which has characterized two successive Governments in dealing with the burning question of intemperance in Scotland.

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, that, while he agreed that his hon. Friends had proved an overwhelming case in favour of legislation, he was not altogether sure whether they had touched the point now really under the consideration of the House—namely, whether the measure introduced was the only measure, or even the best measure, for producing the effects which they all desired to see. He ventured to think the public opinion in Scotland was very strongly in favour of legislation upon this subject, and he thought that they had arrived at the stage when it was absolutely necessary that the matter should be dealt with by legislative interference. But, with regard to the particular measure now before the House, he thought there were some reasons which made it very doubtful whether it would really, if passed into law, have the effect which his hon. Friend expected. Experience had shown that prohibition not only failed in many cases to produce any effect, but in some cases, by the natural law of reaction, it actually had the effect of stimulating that which it was intended to suppress. The proof of that proposition existed in almost every volume of the Statute Book with regard to Scotland. His second objection to the Bill was that it created a large number of new crimes. It added very largely to the statutory offences at present existing in the country, and made criminal offences out of acts which were not in themselves prejudicial to the community. If the measure were passed, it was perfectly certain that various harmless acts would be made statutory offences, punishable by penalties, while it would create offences in one part of the country out of acts which in another part, perhaps only half-a-mile off, would not be offences, and would be perfectly harmless, thereby introducing very considerable confusion in the mind of the people as to what were or were not offences; and from that point of view he thought it would be very unsatisfactory. He had several objections to matters of detail in the Bill with which he would not trouble the House. He hoped that the Lord Advocate was in a position to say that Her Majesty's Government would accept the obligation which was laid upon them by the vote of last year. If they would supplement the promise in the Queen's Speech, and say that they were going to deal with this question as a part of Local Government, in which way alone it could be dealt with satisfactorily, he should be content to accept their promise. On the other hand, if the Lord Advocate was not in a position to give the promise, he felt that he would not be justified in opposing this measure, which would be the only measure between them and the great evils now existing.

MR. A. GRANT said, he thought the Bill contained so much that was objectionable and otherwise unwarrantable that he was obliged to withhold his support on the second reading. He could not go so far as this Bill, and insist that steps should be at once taken to place in the hands of what might be a bare majority the power of total suppression of the sale of liquor in any locality. At the same time, he was of opinion that some Parliamentary interference had become necessary in order to check and discourage the drinking habits of so many of the people, which were the fruitful source of so much misery and crime, and by which the industrial classes of this country were so heavily handicapped in their competition with other countries. While he could not approve of the method which his hon. Friend had taken of dealing with the difficulty, he was bound to say that he fully recognized that his aim was a desirable one; and he was not prepared to say that the extreme temperance party, who were the promoters of this measure, were wrong from their point of view in taking their stand upon total suppression as the object to be aimed at, because it was often very useful to establish a high ideal, although there might be almost insurmountable difficulties in its being realized. Local Option, or local control, as he, and, he believed, the great majority of hon. Members understood it, did not mean, as the Bill expounded it, the right of a majority to say to a minority they should not drink, but it meant the right of the inhabitants of a district, by means of Boards elected by a majority of the ratepayers, to control and regulate the liquor traffic within the bounds of their districts; and if they thought that a public-house was, or was likely to become, a centre of temptation and of demoralization — in fact, a public nuisance—that they should be entitled to say they would not have it set down in their midst. But then came the question for the practical politician. Taking things as they are—"How far is Parliament likely to go, and how far is Parliament likely to have the support of public opinion in meeting the views of the temperance reformers?" Was it wiser to insist upon the right of total suppression, and nothing less than total suppression—to insist upon the whole of the Bill, and nothing but this Bill—or to limit their claims to what Parliament was more likely to grant, and to accept that as a step in the right direction, remembering that, if the assumptions of the temperance party were true, every step gained made the next step more easy. He did not believe that public opinion in Scotland, notwithstanding what had been said on the subject, was prepared to give the right of total suppression even of public-houses in any locality, far less the right of total suppression of the sale of any stimulants whatever. Public-houses, no doubt, with the attractions which they offered, did lead to misery and to abuses. He quite admitted that in many localities they were far too numerous; but their total suppression must necessarily involve a very considerable amount of inconvenience and of hardship upon those who at present made use of them, and who had no other intention but to make use of them in a moderate and temperate manner. He dared say that that view would not approve itself to the supporters of the Bill, and they would think it unreasonable and heterodox; but it must be remembered that it was the duty of Parliament to give consideration to the wants and wishes and interests of others besides those in favour of total suppression, even although they might be in a minority in some particular parish. This Bill was framed on the lines of the Permissive Bill of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Carlisle, although he might say in passing that in many of its provisions it was much more drastic than that formidable measure. The last time the Permissive Bill was discussed in Parliament was in 1878, and the result of the discussion was that 84 Members voted in favour of the second reading and 278 against. They had been told to-day, and he frankly admitted it, that upon that occasion he formed one of the minority; but he must say that the result of that Division, accompanied with his observations since of public opinion throughout the country, had convinced him that the time had not yet come for such drastic legislation, and that public opinion in Scotland was not ripe for the acceptance of such a Bill. They could not at one stroke, by an Act of Parliament, all at once revolutionize the tastes and habits of a community. It was no use to legislate ahead of public opinion. Legislate abreast of it if they liked; but all measures to anticipate it as this did must inevitably end in failure. He might be asked what he had to suggest, as he admitted legislation was necessary; and his answer was that it seemed to him that a scheme with a basis of Licensing Boards to be elected periodically by the inhabitants of each locality, the localities to cover the whole of Scotland, would probably meet with some acceptance. Of course, the locality, to be of any use, would require to be of considerable extent. Probably the burghs and counties would be the limit; but these limits would have to be fixed by statute. These boards, he thought, also might have allotted to them the funds arising from the issue of licences, and they might be allowed even to fix the amount of the licences, subject to a prescribed maximum, in order to prevent its being fixed at a prohibitory figure. They might also be trusted with the duty of reducing the number of licences when they thought it was to the public advantage, subject to a fixed minimum to be laid down by Parliament. There was then another matter that might very properly be left in the charge of these boards, and that was the regulation of the hours during which public-houses should be left open. Any curtailment of the hours during which they were allowed to be open must result in a corresponding curtailment of the temptations which open houses afforded; but a curtailment of hours would do more than that. Nothing came out more clearly in the evidence given before the Lords Committee on Intemperance than the fact that it was in the late hours far into the night that the greatest mischief was done; and he believed that any movement for shortening hours would meet with the support of large numbers of the community who were by no means willing to go the length of the extreme and heroic remedy proposed by his hon. Friend. Further, it appeared from the evidence on intemperance taken before the Lord's Committee that many of the publicans themselves viewed a restriction of the hours of opening with favour; they were not all fiends in white aprons, as temperance lecturers were so fond of describing them. Many of them were respectable citizens, anxious to do all they could to keep themselves and their business as respectable as possible. He would not occupy the time of the House by criticizing the details of the measure; but he might point out that the proposal for arbitrary stoppage of the liquor traffic by a small majority was far in advance of the present measure; and he might also point to the expense that would be required for the additional police superintendence that would be necessary, which it was proposed should come out of the police rates, although these might be contributed to by districts outside which had no desire to adopt the Act. The sketch he had put forward might be good or bad, but certainly it was not reconcilable with the method proposed by his hon. Friend, though both their objects were the same. It was because his hon. Friend's method was unreasonable, unsound, and unworkable, because the provisions of the Bill were far too arbitrary, because the Bill, if it became law, would defeat its own object by its stringency, and lead to constant violations and evasions of the law, and, what was as bad, would create a sympathy with the law-breakers; and last, though not least, it was because he was certain that the Bill had not the support of public opinion throughout Scotland that he was compelled to refuse to support the second reading, and must give his vote in favour of the Amendment.

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he believed they all felt the greatest sympathy with the general object of the hon. Gentleman who brought forward this measure. They all recognized the evil which the hon. Member endeavoured to grapple with; but their objection to this Bill was that upon the whole it would not work to the interest of temperance reform. That was his own conviction. His hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) expressed approval of the Bill, and his readiness to support other Bills in addition; but he thought that in dealing with a question of this kind they ought to be careful what legislation they favoured. The greater the evil which had to be dealt with, the more care they ought to exercise as to the remedies they supported, and they ought to see that those remedies were likely to prove successful. The question really before the House was whether this Bill was worthy of support? The principle of the Bill was that, where the Act was adopted, there would be the absolute prohibition of the sale and disposing of alcoholic liquors within the district for a period of three years. That was a great step, and if the Bill did not take that step, it did nothing whatever. His hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow said that what this Bill proposed was not an untried experiment; but he thought he was mistaken in saying so. It was true there were districts in Scotland where there were no public-houses; but that was the case in parishes where there were but small populations, or where the population had only recently become considerable, and the prohibition that was there exercised was, he thought, against new houses being licensed, rather than against old ones being continued. It was also said that landlords had done in their own parishes all that was proposed to be done by the popular veto under this Bill; but he was not aware that in any part of Scotland landlords had taken so great a step as was proposed under this Bill. Exercising one's own judgment on the probabilities of the case, he should say that, if this Bill were carried, the law would be sure to be evaded, that reaction would certainly set in, and that the result would not in the long run be favourable to the cause of temperance. For one thing, the community which adopted this Act would never have confidence that it would continue to be adhered to. However large the majority that was required, they could quite understand that the Act might be adopted by a close vote, and in such cases there would be the feeling that at the end of the three years the vote might be reversed. When the vote was reversed what was to happen? Were all the public-houses which had been closed three years before to be reopened? Reference had been made to the moral effect of the Bill; but the Bill was not a practicable measure, and if it was not practicable he did not see that it would have that moral influence which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan) predicted for it. He would prefer some legislation which would be more certain to effect some measure of good, even although the change was not nearly so great as what was proposed under this Bill. He agreed that great good might be effected by a reduction in the number of licensed houses. He did not exactly understand the position taken up by the hon. Member who moved the second reading of the Bill when he said that if there was not to be a total abolition of public-houses, then there ought not to be a few only, but what he called a reasonable number of them. There was need for more popular control—popular control to support, and in some instances to guide, the action of the magistrates. He could not agree with the right hon. Member for Montrose Burghs (Mr. Baxter) in regard to the representative local bodies being intended to supersede the magistrates. He would look upon the representative body as supporting and co-operating with the magistrates, but by no means superseding them. He hoped that this extension of popular control, which was really wanted, might be secured by some measure of the Government, under such conditions as would promote temperance without attempting anything so impracticable as was proposed by the Bill now before the House.

Mr. J. A. Campbell

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I do not think my hon. Friend the Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan), who submitted this measure for the consideration of the House, owed us any apology for bringing under our notice a Bill relating to Scotland alone. He gave us some very good reasons for following that course, and others might be added. It is undoubtedly the fact that in the matter of temperance legislation Scotland has been very materially in advance of the other parts of the United Kingdom—at least, so we think in the North. We have had for over 30 years a Sunday Closing Act, which, I think, it is agreed upon all sides has worked exceedingly well, while it was only two years ago that Wales obtained a similar Act. Ireland lately succeeded in securing a like provision of partial application, and is seeking to have it in full; while England seems a considerable distance from getting such a measure even now. That is only one instance, and others might be given, showing that this matter is very well fitted for being dealt with for Scotland apart from the other portions of the United Kingdom. There is another reason which, to those of us who are supporters of the principle of Local Option, would be sufficient for the course which my hon. Friend has taken in submitting a Bill applicable only to Scotland, and that is that the regulation of the liquor traffic is eminently a local question. It is a question which the House has more than once affirmed may very well be dealt with by local or territorial communities very much smaller than such a unit as the Kingdom of Scotland. So far I should entirely go with my hon. Friend in holding that it was right to bring under the consideration of the House a measure dealing with Scotland alone, if it was not possible to comprehend other parts of the United Kingdom in it. I would, further, go with him in a very great deal that he said in the earlier part of his able and very interesting address. He repeated what is set out in the Preamble of the Bill in regard to the consequences, if not strictly of the traffic in intoxicating liquors, at all events of the excessive consumption of them, and, beyond all doubt and question, there is a very close relation between these two things. I quite agree that the vast mass of the crime of the country is due to that cause. No one whose duty it has been for a long time to take part in the administration of the Criminal Law of Scotland can doubt that this is the fact; and although I never compiled any actual statistics on the subject, I cannot suppose, from my observation, that my hon. Friend is far wrong in saying that nine-tenths of the crime of the country is due to that cause. It is a most melancholy experience for anyone who is concerned in the administration of the Criminal Law to observe the criminal offences of all sorts and kinds which are clearly, and I think I may say exclusively, traceable to drink; not only the crimes committed under the influence of drink—crimes of violence—but crimes of stealth and of fraud, and of all sorts. Stealing to obtain the means of drinking, and offences of every description, are committed by persons whose moral sense has been degraded and debased by indulgence in drink. So that I entirely assent to what my hon. Friend has said in regard to the necessity for legislation on this matter. This is a point upon which the Government have already very clearly announced their opinion, because on the occasion of the discussion on the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), last year, it was declared in most emphatic terms. But we have not only to be agreed in regard to the desirableness —I might say the necessity—of legislation with respect to such a matter as this; we must be further satisfied, before assenting to a particular measure, that it is the best that can be devised for carrying out the object as to which we are all at one, and that it is not accompanied with unnecessary drawbacks or defects. Now, while agreeing with a great deal that my hon. Friend has said, I must, on the part of the Government, say that we are not able to assent to his Bill as it stands; but that, on the contrary, we shall give our support to the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for Perth (Mr. C. S. Parker). It is quite superfluous at this time, when the Bill has been so fully discussed and so long in the hands of Members, to point out what it does. It has been shown that, by a direct plebiscite or popular vote, it proposes to do one thing, and one thing only—that is, totally to prohibit the sale of liquor within the area over which the vote is taken. Now, that would appear to be a very strong thing, viewed by itself, apart altogether from the means by which it is intended to be brought about. It is a very singular—one would say almost an anomalous—result that, without arming either the people, or any board intermediate between them and the holders of licences or traders in drink, with any power of diminishing or regulating the number of houses, there should be but one thing offered without alternative—that is, total prohibition. The objections to that have been so well pointed out by my hon. Friend the Member for Perth, that I should feel it altogether superfluous to repeat what he said. But it has been expected, and quite rightly, that some declaration should be made on the part of the Government as to the view that they take of this matter, and the course that they propose to adopt with respect to it. Now, Sir, a declaration of that kind was made last year in as clear terms as it was possible to use, and to that declaration the Government still adheres. The Prime Minister, on the occasion of the debate which took place in April last year, following the Home Secretary, said that—

> "The views of the Government are settled in this matter. We are not in favour of deciding Local Option by means of a plebiscite, and we are not in favour of creating a separate local authority for the purpose of settling that question and no other. But we are strongly in favour of creating all over the country—as is already done to a considerable extent in municipal boroughs—trustworthy representative bodies, commanding the confidence of local communities; and to those trustworthy bodies, so chosen for local purposes, we desire to commit the high and important function of determining this question."—(3 *Hansard*, [278] 1365-6.)

Now, Sir, that is as clear and distinct a declaration of the view of the Government as can possibly be given, and that is the view which I hope and believe the House will agree to accept, as expressing and giving effect, in the fullest manner, to the true principle of Local Option. Some of us may think that that view involves a fuller, freer, and more Constitutional trust in the people, and a more proper mode of ascertaining the wishes of the people, than is contemplated by this Bill. We are familiar in all other Constitutional relations, both

Imperial and local, with representation — with ascertaining the views of the people, and then giving effect to them through representative bodies, greater or less, from this Parliament downwards to the different local boards, which we hope to see increased throughout the country. This being so, a very strong case will have to be shown by those who propose to depart from the familiar and Constitutional mode of ascertaining the popular sentiment, and giving effect to the popular will. Now, has any such case been shown here? I submit it is quite the other way. It has already been pointed out that this Bill, so far from providing for doing a great many things—because a great many things may be necessary to be done in respect to the liquor traffic—provides only for one; whereas if you have your popularly-elected board, elected by exactly the same constituency as would vote in a plebiscite, you have the mind, the will, of that body quite as truly reflected, and if that will be for total prohibition, then the action of the board would be in accordance with that will. If it were not, a restriction of numbers might be desired, and if so, then the board would carry that out. A regulation of hours might be required, and if so, that would be carried out by the board. In short, you would have, by means of such a board as I have indicated, the power of doing everything exactly in the way the popular will desired, and it would not be limited and restrained by one hard-and-fast provision such as exists in this Bill. It would be flexible, manageable, and familiar. I know the objection has been urged against a board of that kind, that unless it were chosen for the sole object of dealing with the liquor traffic it would not be satisfactory. In short, it has been urged, even by those who differ from my hon. Friend, and say we do not want a plebiscite, that we must have a board elected for this purpose, alone; because it is suggested that there might be considerations which would lead to the electors voting for particular persons other than how they would act in the question of the liquor traffic. Now, that is quite an intelligible argument; but I venture to submit that it has no real substance and force. A great many duties are confided to popularly-elected boards such as town councils and the local boards which many of us—probably most of us—would desire to see in the counties ere long. They have to deal with every other matter regarding the health and morals and general well-being of the people. This has been quite rightly represented as largely a sanitary question, and as a moral question also. It is just one of those things in which the community may very well desire to be governed according to its own views. There seems to be no reason why in this matter it should not be governed, according to its own views, by a body which it had itself chosen. As to the argument that there might be other considerations coming in to dictate the selection of candidates, I think it pays a very poor compliment to gentlemen who hold strong temperance views. I am sure those who use that argument do not mean to say that an advocate of temperance is likely to be a worse man of business than anybody else, and, therefore, less eligible than others for discharging the general duties of the board. One would expect that it would rather be the other way. Therefore, I cannot doubt that in the case of any popular election there would be no lack of candidates who would be quite in harmony and sympathy with the prevalent popular opinion in regard to licensing, and yet capable of discharging all the other duties confided to local bodies. Men would be none the less capable of looking after the lighting, drainage, and paving of their locality because they had views in harmony with the popular mind on this particular question. Therefore, there does not appear to be any ground for separating this particular matter of local self-government from the other matters of local self-government, and I put it to the House whether the view expressed by the Prime Minister as to the mode of accomplishing the object which we are all anxious to achieve is not the most practical one. Something has been said on the subject of delay, and it has been remarked that the Government should be stimulated. If the Government needed stimulus it would be quite right to apply it; but I hardly think that passing a Bill which did not commend itself to the judgment of the Government, or, as I believe, to the House, would be the proper kind of stimulus to apply. Discussion is quite a proper thing—such an interchange of opinion as we have had to-day; but it would be better, although all of us should regret delay even for a Session, to have a good Bill, even at the expense of that delay, rather than to have a Bill now which is not a good Bill. These are the main considerations. I wish, however, to recall to the recollection of the House on this matter of alleged delay what was said last year by my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary in the discussion to which I have already referred. He said—

> "We are all agreed that this is a matter that ought to be dealt with, and ought to be dealt with without delay."—(*Ibid.* 1307.)

But the House knows very well that there are forces of delay too strong for the Government to have combated—so far, at all events, as to have enabled them to present their Bill this year. For this they are not responsible, and I can renew the assurance given a year ago that the Government have this matter still before them, and that they will not allow any avoidable delay to elapse in presenting to the House a measure which shall, in their judgment, be the best kind of measure for giving effect to the large principle which underlies my hon. Friend's Bill—that is, the principle of allowing the popular voice really to control, and to control in the largest sense, the traffic in intoxicating liquors. In support of his view as to a plebiscite, my hon. Friend who moved the second reading of the Bill referred to plebiscites which had been taken, with reference to proposals relating to gas, water, burgh funds, free libraries, and the like. Some people seem to think that there is magic in the word plebiscite; but, after all, it simply means a popular vote. Here my hon. Friend proposes to confide the vote to the electors—that is, to the same people who would vote in the election of such a Board as I have indicated, so that if he likes the term there would be nothing to prevent his calling it a board elected by a plebiscite. But there are great differences between the cases of free libraries and the others to which reference has been made, and a case like the present. These are all cases, I think, speaking from recollection, in which the question is put to the community—Shall you, or shall you not, bring a particular measure into operation in your locality—for example, shall you adopt the Free Libraries Act? That is a thing done once for all. But that is not the proposal of this Bill. It is a thing to be done from time to time. It is not a plebiscite to bring a local board into existence which shall deal with this matter. There is not to be any local board; but every three years a vote is to be taken on this matter, so that I think the hon. Member will find it not easy to discover Constitutional analogies for dealing with a matter of this kind, which eminently affects the well-being of the community in a different way from that in which all other similar matters are dealt with. My hon. Friend spoke of trusting the people, but I need say nothing more about that, because the proposal of the Government is eminently to trust the people not only in this, but in all matters affecting their welfare; so that it is not a conflict between an exclusive or despotic and a popular mode of regulating a particular traffic. Both the methods proposed are popular. The Government are in entire harmony with my hon. Friend in regard to the large principle, although they are unable to go with him in regard to what I may called the secondary principle which he has endeavoured to carry out by this Bill. I think it important that we should have a Division upon this Bill. It is of great importance that the voice of the House should be expressed in this matter, and that such an opportunity as the present for ascertaining the views of Representatives from Scotland should not be allowed to go by. I shall not detain the House further; but I may say that it does appear to me that the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) was not quite happy in the analogy he sought to draw between the existing licensing authority or the licensing authority contemplated by the Government and an irresponsible and non-elected body. If the Government had been proposing an irresponsible or non-elected body, his criticism would have been intelligible; but it is not a question whether it is to be an elected body or not. It is a question—How should the popular will be ascertained; what is the best mode of ascertaining it, and giving effect to it? There were some criticisms upon the existing law which my hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow also passed, which were, perhaps, not very germane to this discussion. He made some remarks with regard to the case at Peterhead, in which he must have forgotten himself for a moment when he said that I had winked at shebeening, and refused to enforce the law. I am sure, on further consideration, my hon. Friend would not have wished to make use of such language.

Dr. CAMERON: I did not wish to say anything offensive. What I wished to convey was that a breach of the law had been committed, and the law was not enforced.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): I am quite sure my hon. Friend did not mean anything offensive; but if I recollect the case aright, it was by no means a case calling to be dealt with by the Criminal Law. It was not a case in which any crime had been committed. It was a question whether a particular licence had been duly confirmed—a question proper to be tried by a civil, not by a criminal, proceeding. In regard to the prevalent opinion in Scotland on this point, I should say that opinion is all in favour of having local control applied in this matter, probably even to the extent of total prohibition if a particular locality should desire it. At all events, the propriety of allowing total prohibition would be very fairly within the range of consideration in settling the provisions of the Government Bill. But, on the other hand, there is not a prevalent consensus of opinion in favour of the particular measure advocated by my hon. Friend the Member for Linlithgowshire; and, therefore, on this occasion we would do well to adopt the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for Perth, which recognizes very clearly the urgency of the call for legislation directed to give local communities an effectual control over the drink traffic, but declares that the House does not consider it expedient to proceed with a Bill which gives no other remedy than total prohibition.

Mr. ANDERSON said, he had been much pleased by what they had just heard from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate, not only as to his intention to oppose this most unreasonable and absurd Bill, but as to the intention of the Government to bring in legislation of a more reasonable kind. At an early period of the day he had proposed to speak on this question; but at this time he only wished to make a few remarks, as he wanted to see the Bill voted upon. He wanted to see a measure so unreasonable as this not hung up before the country another year, and permit the fanatical section of the temperance party to say—"The Bill is quite a reasonable one, and the House of Commons has not ventured to oppose it." He wanted it to be shown that the House of Commons was not prepared to accept a measure of this kind at all. A great deal had been said during this discussion about 200 parishes in Scotland, and that this Bill was intended to do nothing more than what the landlords were doing for these 200 parishes. There could be no greater delusion than that. It was well known that grocers' carts travelled the country and delivered liquor at houses to whoever asked it; but if this Bill were carried they would be unable to do anything of the kind. The Bill compelled the Sheriff to draw a cordon of 10 miles around a district. After that cordon was drawn it would be possible for 10 per cent of the householders to compel the Sheriff to take a plebiscite. Now, in a population of, say 300, there might be only 60 householders, and 10 per cent of these 60 meant 6. Supposing the plebiscite was decided by a majority of 1—from that moment there was no more selling of liquor in the district or bartering or disposing of it. He would like to know what "disposing of liquor" meant? It could not mean selling it, because that was provided for already. It could not mean throwing it away in the streets, because that would be an infringement of existing laws. Under this Bill as at present drawn all measures and utensils used in the liquor trade could be immediately confiscated upon its becoming law. It would be possible, therefore, for a small population in that way absolutely to stop a great brewery or distillery. If the owner attempted to sell any of his large stock of stuff it would be immediately seized and confiscated under this Bill as it was drawn. That was a very different thing from what was done in the 200 parishes in Scotland which had been talked about. He would not go further into details, but he might say the Bill was very unjust in a great many matters. It drew a distinction in which the advantage was all on the side of prohibition and the disadvantage on the other side. But what he principally desired to point out was what the public opinion on the matter was in Scotland.

English Members of the English temperance party might be induced to vote for this Bill because they imagined the Scotch temperance party wanted it. He would tell them what took place last year when the Bill was before the House, but the day was never reached for discussing it. The promoters of the Bill, who were a fanatical section of the temperance party in Scotland, deluged the House with Petitions; they deluged Members with Memorials, with letters, and with post cards, he might say almost by the bushel—threatening Members that if they would not vote for this Bill, or if they ventured to vote against it, that no vote of theirs would be again given to them. They endeavoured in every way to convince Members that it was the wish of the people in Scotland to have that Bill. Well, after all this had taken place, and the public excitement had been got up about the Bill, no day was reached for discussing it, and the Bill was withdrawn. What happened then? The hon. Member for Linlithgow would do well to consider this. No sooner was the Bill withdrawn than a new deputation came up from the temperance party in Scotland, not for the purpose of singing Jeremiads over the lost Bill—quite the contrary—they came here to denounce the hon. Member for Linlithgow and all his works. They told Members that that Bill of the hon. Member for Linlithgow and the agitation that had been got up about his Bill had done immense harm to the temperance cause in Scotland. [Mr. M'LAGAN: No, no.] They told him so; perhaps they would not tell the hon. Gentleman (Mr. M'Lagan). They would, no doubt, like to make things as pleasant as possible for the hon. Member for Linlithgow. They told him plainly that the hon. Member for Linlithgow had done great harm to the temperance cause in Scotland, and he believed the present Bill was calculated to do so. He, for one, did not want to do any harm to the temperance cause in Scotland, for he was as much in favour of it as any of the fanatical members of the party. All he wanted was a reasonable measure, and as the one now before the House did not come up to that standard, he was compelled to oppose the second reading.

MR. ERNEST NOEL: I will not detain the House but for a very few moments, because I am very anxious to come to a Division. My chief reason for desiring a Division is because I think that if the Amendment which is now before the House be carried, it might have as strong an effect as if the Bill itself were passed. This is a Temperance Bill, and though I am not a teetotaler myself, I am one who wishes to see the temperance cause prosper, and I believe the passing of the Amendment would do a great deal of good, because the Resolution moved by the hon. Member for Perth is really a strong Temperance Resolution. If we are able to understand one single word in that Resolution, we must draw this conclusion from it, that it asserts that there ought to be given to the different localities an effectual control over the liquor traffic. Now, I want to ask, Sir, what is meant by an effectual control? Whenever we have to deal with the question of Local Option, I find everywhere the same haziness as regards what is meant by the term. Local Option, as I understand it, means giving to the inhabitants of a district the power either to control or withhold the sale of intoxicating drinks. That seems to me to be the ordinary meaning, and I am sure that is what the hon. Member who has moved this Resolution means. The hon. Member intends to give to the people of a district the power to say whether they will withhold altogether or only restrict the sale. That being so, I am perfectly content with the Amendment, for that is what I want to give them. I care not one fig for the Bill itself. My name is on it, and I shall vote for the second reading; but, at the same time, I do not care the least for the details of the measure if I can get something else which will carry out my views and give to the people a control over the liquor trade. I do not kow whether I should not be prepared to vote for a measure brought in even by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) himself, if he would undertake to give to the localities an effectual control over the liquor traffic. I advocated at one time the appointment of Boards for that purpose, but that proposal was not accepted. People said—"We are boarded to death; we will try something else." I noticed that there was a certain vagueness in the speech of the Lord Advocate on the question of Local Option; but the hon. and learned Gentleman did say that it might be possible that, in arranging the Government measure, permission would be given to go so far even as prohibition. Let the Government say that definitely, and I, for one, will counsel my hon. Friend to withdraw this Bill and to accept frankly and fairly the Amendment of the hon. Member for Perth, it being always understood that effectual control means the power of the localities to prohibit the sale of liquor. That is, in fact, all we want. The hon. Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing) has talked about the terrible nature of the proposal to give such a power to the majority, or of handing it over to the mob, as he terms it. I can only say that I was not aware that the majority of all the ratepayers could be called a mob. All we wish for is that a locality itself should have the real and effectual control, as regards prohibition as well as restriction of the liquor traffic, and if we gain this we do not care by what precise means our object is accomplished.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he considered the question was a very difficult one. He understood the Lord Advocate to say that the Government Bill would give to the existing local authorities the power of control, and even that he would go the length of giving them the power of total prohibition. There already existed in Scotland in the hands of the Justices some large measure of local control to the extent, he believed, of refusing to give any licence whatever. But if they gave to the local authority the power of going the whole length of total prohibition, they would upset the whole community in regard to matters of equal importance. If there was a question of total prohibition, what he might call liquor politics would run so high that they would overwhelm everything else. The man who did not take the popular view with regard to that question would not be allowed to serve his country in any other way whatever. He, however, thought the principle underlying the Bill of his hon. Friend was a good one, because it did not favour partial prohibition, but proposed to touch rich and poor alike; and he should therefore vote for the second reading as supporting the principle of the measure. At the same time, he admitted the Bill was open to a good many objections. In the first place, he did not think public opinion in Scotland was yet ripe for a measure like this, and even if it were passed he feared it would be some time before it came into operation. It would be totally impossible to deal with small localities under the Bill. Not only burghs, but whole counties, would need to be embraced to make it work efficiently. He could not help thinking that lodgers were liable to suffer an injustice if they were not allowed a vote in conjunction with the householders, and he also felt it was highly inconsistent to totally suppress public-houses, and at the same time to allow grocers to sell wine, beer, and spirits in any quantity. He was himself in favour of total prohibition, and was quite prepared to sacrifice his own glass of whisky for the benefit of the community.

Mr. WARTON said, he was glad a Division would be taken, because, no doubt, the House would then throw out this ridiculous Bill. He disliked both the Bill and the Amendment; but the former was supremely absurd. The renunciation of intoxicating drinks did not appear to have had a very beneficial effect upon the mind of the hon. Member for Linlithgow, judging from the terms of this Bill. The word "district" was freely used in the Bill, and he should like to know what it meant? He feared that under this measure it would be possible to form the boundaries of the districts according to the localities in which the prohibitionists principally dwelt. They were to have some sort of chequered division—the black, the districts where drink was to be sold; and the white, the districts where it was not. It had never entered into the minds of the supporters of the Bill that there might be coterminous districts, and that an unfortunate man who happened to want a drop of whiskey would be unable to get it outside his own district because he would find that the districts overlapped one another. Whether they considered the geography or the unsocial propositions of the Bill, the case was supremely and ridiculously absurd. The important matter before them now was what was the policy of the Government? What had been the policy of the Government? They announced in the Queen's Speech their intention of bringing forward some grand scheme of Local Government, in which the regulation of the traffic in intoxicating liquors was to be included. But they had entirely changed their minds, and in the Address to the Throne they carefully eliminated any reference to this question. Then they found the Lord Advocate put forward to make excuses. It was cruelty on the part of the Government to use so good a man for making excuses on such a Bill. He was put forward to say that some embodiment of this Bill would be brought forward this Session. The Government knew that by bringing in a ridiculous Reform Bill and a London Government Bill they had blocked the way of bringing in a County Government Bill; and, in fact, that they never intended to deal with the liquor question at all. The Government had shown so many changes of front on this question that they would have a good many people to account to when the General Election came. He (Mr. Warton) had been charged in some mysterious way with being the advocate of the licensed victuallers. He was prepared to protect the rights of individuals, no matter to what class they belonged. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, just before the last General Election, wrote a letter in which he almost promised compensation to the licensed victuallers. He should like the right hon. Gentleman to recite that letter with the statement now made by the Home Secretary. The licensed victuallers had all along considered themselves entitled to the goodwill of their business, and the hon. Member for Linlithgow had shown that that goodwill was of considerable value. The licensed victuallers were as respectable a body of men as any in the country, and when they saw the course the Government were now taking they would consider the sort of Government that was to reign over them in the future. He was very glad in the meantime that the Lord Advocate had torn the Bill to pieces to a certain extent, and had said the Government could not support it. He regretted, however, the sanction the Lord Advocate had given to Local Option. The House had now to choose between two evils, and they must choose the smaller, and therefore he would support the Amendment.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: I hope I may be allowed to say one word with reference to this Bill, especially as I am the first Englishman to take part in the debate.

MR. WARTON: I am an Englishman, am I not?

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: I beg the hon. and learned Gentleman's pardon for forgetting his nationality. I was at the moment under the impression that I myself was the only English Member who had risen. I agree very thoroughly with the remarks which have been made by my hon. Friend the Member for Dumfries (Mr. Ernest Noel) to the effect that what is wanted is that the inhabitants should have an effectual control over the liquor traffic. We do not care how this is brought about. We are not going to quarrel with the Government, or with anybody else, as to how it is brought about, so long as this effectual control is obtained by the people, and they are not compelled to have the traffic thrust upon them when they do not want it. Let me just point out how the case stands with regard to the Government. The House will remember that it has three times passed a Resolution in favour of the people being invested with the power which the hon. Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan) desires to give them. The first of these Resolutions was to the effect that this was a desirable thing; the second was considerably stronger than the first; and the third was to the effect that the House considered the matter one of urgent necessity. This Bill is simply the supplement of those three Resolutions. The House has decided the matter to be urgent; but unfortunately the Government, who alone can carry a Bill of this nature through the House, have not yet seen their way to bring in a measure to carry that Resolution, and those which preceded it, into effect. I am not going to blame them on this occasion for their delay, although I think the country is very much dissatisfied to see that delay. No one can say that I have hurried the Government. I have not even asked a single Question about the liquor traffic all this Session, but I have left them alone to carry out their scheme for dealing with the liquor traffic. After I have waited so patiently, and after the country has waited so patiently, I think there will be considerable surprise that the Lord Advocate did not say he would support a Bill which would simply carry out the Resolutions I have referred to—

which would simply and solely and clearly carry out those Resolutions. [The LORD ADVOCATE dissented.] I see that the hon. and learned Gentleman shakes his head, but he cannot deny the propositions I have stated. We looked to the Government simply to support the principle of the Bill, leaving the details to be arranged as they liked in Committee; but the Government say they cannot find it in their hearts to do this. I am sorry for it, and I think the country will be sorry for it also when they read his speech. But, whatever happens, the friends of temperance in this country may be well satisfied, because if the Amendment of the hon. Member for Perth (Mr. C. S. Parker) is carried, the House will thereby declare it to be of the utmost importance that local communities should obtain an effectual control over the liquor traffic. The hon. Member for Perth asks for large and comprehensive measures. He wants something more than a Bill of this kind; he is a glutton. I do not blame him for that; only I think he is rather like a dog in the manger, in that he will not let us have our little measures because he cannot get his big measure. I shall certainly support my hon. Friend the Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan), who has brought forward the most honest and straightforward Bill on this liquor traffic ever introduced into the House of Commons; but even if the Amendment is carried, the friends of temperance ought to be satisfied, because the House will then declare that the localities ought to have that effectual control which has so long been asked for by the people of this country.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON observed, that the arguments against the Bill had been so conclusively put that he need not try to add to their force. But he wished to ask the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) to have the courage of his opinions, and to ask his constituents whether they approved his support of a Bill which, if passed, might deprive 487,000 of his constituents on the 1st of next September of all means of procuring liquor. The hon. Member had had his name on no fewer than nine Liquor Bills during the last few years. Would he go and tell them what he had done, and see whether they would give him their assent?

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 65; Noes 148: Majority 83.—(Div. List, No. 87.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. THOMAS COLLINS said, after the Division he hoped the House would not be asked to proceed further. The Amendment was a very objectionable one, as it was virtually the Resolution, or something like it, which was proposed on a former occasion by the hon. Member for Carlisle. It was impossible to ask the House to agree to it without discussion, and only five minutes remained before the hour at which the debate must stand adjourned. Under these circumstances, he had no alternative but to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Thomas Collins.*)

The House *divided:*—Ayes 64; Noes 113: Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 88.)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

And it being after a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (THAMES CROSSINGS) BILL.

MR. BROWN, Mr. RITCHIE, Mr. CHARLES WILSON, Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG, and Sir HENRY HUSSEY VIVIAN, *nominated* Members of the Select Committee.

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 8th May, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Earl of Camperdown, *added.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Colonial Attornies Relief Act Amendment * (78); Secretary for Scotland * (79).

Second Reading—Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order (Dundalk Waterworks) * (69); Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) * (68); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * (70); Marriages Legalization (76).

Committee—Report—Public Health (Confirmation of Bye-Laws) * (76).

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIAN ADVANCE—SARAKHS.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I rise to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which I have given him private Notice. It is, Whether the Government are in a position to confirm or deny the report that a Convention has been concluded between Russia and Persia for the cession of Sarakhs by the Shah to Russia?

EARL GRANVILLE: Her Majesty's Government have no confirmation of this report; and, unless it should be confirmed, I can hardly believe it. Sarakhs is garrisoned by Persian soldiers, and as lately as last September our *Chargé d'Affaires* at St. Petersburg assured us that Sarakhs would be always outside the Russian line. I do not like to make a guess about a thing I do not know; but I think it is very likely that some confusion has arisen from the fact that there are two places bearing the same name—Sarakhs.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF GENERAL GORDON.

QUESTION.

EARL DE LA WARR, in rising to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with reference to a telegraphic despatch to Mr. Egerton, dated Foreign Office, 23rd April, 1884, in which occur the following words:—

> "That we do not propose to supply him (General Gordon) with a Turkish or other force for the purpose of undertaking military expeditions,"

Whether Her Majesty's Government are in a position to co-operate with the Government of the Porte in sending Turkish troops to the Soudan with a view to the relief of General Gordon and the Egyptian garrison of Khartoum, if the Sultan should be willing to do so? said, he had put the Question with no desire to obtain information which it might be inconvenient for Her Majesty's Government to supply, but only to draw attention to the fact that General Gordon, in his most recent despatches, more than once urged the sending of Turkish troops to the Soudan as an effectual means of putting down the insurrection. He (Earl De La Warr) noticed with some surprise that, in the Papers just laid upon the Table of the House [Egypt, No. 13], no mention whatever was made of any communication between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Porte. He was, therefore, at a loss to understand the meaning of the words—

> "We do not propose to supply him (General Gordon) with a Turkish or other force for the purpose of undertaking military expeditions against the Mahdi, such expeditions," it was added, "being beyond the scope of the commission he holds, and at variance with the pacific policy which was the purpose of his mission to the Soudan."—[Egypt, No. 20 (1884).]

It was clear that Turkish troops could only be sent to Khartoum, or any part of the Soudan, with the consent of the Sultan; but they had not been informed whether any communication had been made to the Porte on that subject. In the despatch of the noble Earl it was stated that General Gordon was not to be supplied with Turkish troops for the purpose of undertaking military expeditions; but that did not necessarily imply that they might not be sent for other purposes, it might be of relief or defence. In a telegram received at the Foreign Office on April 9, from Sir Evelyn Baring, it was stated that General Gordon said—

> "If you could get, by good pay, 3,000 Turkish infantry and 1,000 Turkish cavalry, the affair, including crushing of Mahdi, would be accomplished in four months."

Sir Evelyn Baring, in a telegram from Cairo, dated April 11, added—

> "The only Turkish forces which would be at all possible to send are regiments of the Sultan's army."—[Egypt, No. 13 (1884), pp. 9, 10, 11.]

Those were the words of Sir Evelyn Baring. General Gordon repeated again his former telegram, dated April 8, and received at Cairo April 18, in which he said that 3,000 Turkish troops from the Sultan "would settle Soudan and Mahdi for ever." A telegram to the same effect was received at Cairo the following day, April 19, in which it was added—

> "Do you think that an appeal to the millionaires of America and England for the raising of £200,000 would be of any avail?"—[*Ibid.* p. 13.]

Such being the views of General Gordon in repeated telegrams, he felt he was not putting a Question to the noble Earl which could be considered inopportune.

EARL GRANVILLE, in reply, said, that on reading the Question as it appeared on the Notice Paper, it seemed to him rather doubtful whether it was one for more information about General Gordon's safety, or was of an argumentative character. But, after hearing the noble Earl's speech, he had only to say that the Government had no more information to give than they had already supplied. It was not opportune at the present moment, he considered, to go further into the matter.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—HYDE PARK CORNER—STATUE OF THE LATE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether it is intended to remove the equestrian statue of the late Duke of Wellington from London before the proposed fund for another statue is collected?

LORD THURLOW, in reply, said, that the precise date for the removal of the statue was not yet fixed, but that it would be fixed as soon as the minor details connected with the matter had been settled. As to the subscription for raising the necessary funds for the new statue, it had been already set on foot, and several promises of large sums had been given, as well as several subscriptions actually received. In fact there was every reason to believe that an ample fund would be forthcoming before it was possible to remove the equestrian statue from its present position. No time, however, would be lost in carrying out the plans which had been decided upon.

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND said, that as he had not an opportunity of addressing their Lordships when this subject was before the House on a former evening, he would like to make a few observations now, because his Father—the late Duke of Rutland—took an extreme interest in placing the statue upon the Arch, and for 10 years of his life it was his principal object. He (the Duke of Rutland) had sent some facts in a letter to *The Morning Post*, which might or might not have been read by their Lordships. One fact was, that the Duke of Wellington refused to sit for his likeness to Wyatt until he received the sanction of the Queen that the statue should be placed upon the arch. The second was, that the Duke did sit to Wyatt, and several times; and that he expressed to Wyatt that he (the Duke) would like him (Wyatt) to see him upon horseback, as he was naturally proud of his seat on horseback. The third fact was, that the Duke was annoyed at the idea of the statue being taken down; and the fourth was, that the Committee in their final Report—when the statue was placed upon the Arch—said that it was a likeness of the Duke of Wellington as he appeared at the Battle of Waterloo. He did not know whether he ought to trouble their Lordships by reading extracts upon which he based this statement. With their Lordships' permission, however, he would read them. The first extract was a Minute of the Sub-Committee, dated December 2, 1846, and it was as follows:—

> "When Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to approve of the Arch as the position of the intended statue, she was so good as to express a most ready acquiescence in the wish of the Committee, and even went so far as to say that she should consider that the statue on the summit of the Triumphal Arch would be an object of great ornament to that part of the Metropolis, and she should rejoice to see upon it the memorial of so great a man as the Duke of Wellington."

The next extract was from a letter from the Duke of Rutland to Mr. Croker, dated June 1, 1847, detailing an account of an interview with Lord John Russell, and it ran thus—

> "I said that I was not aware that his Lordship knew the Duke, who had hitherto avoided the expression of any opinion on the subject, had lately evinced the strongest desire that the statue should remain where it was, and that I and my Colleagues felt that if we did not follow up his wishes, by directing the artist to remove more of the scaffolding, we should actually offend His Grace."

The third was an extract from a Minute of the Sub-Committee, under date of June 28, 1847, and was signed by the Duke of Rutland, the Chairman of the Committee. It was to this effect—

> "And all these objections are fortified by knowing its removal to be distasteful to the illustrious individual whose achievements it was their object to commemorate, and whose consent

to sit to the artist they obtained on the express statement that the Arch had been granted by the Queen in the terms before quoted for the site of the Statue."

The following was an extract from the final Report of the Sub-Committee, dated June 3, 1848:—

> "They rejoiced at having completed their anxious labours by the erection of a memorial surpassing in magnitude every other equestrian statue in the world, and conveying to posterity a faithful similitude of His Grace as he appeared on the great day of Waterloo."

In the second volume of *The Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, at page 412, dated October 17, 1858, this passage occurs—

> "I asked Lord Aberdeen—'Do you believe a story Brougham told me, that the Duke meant, if the equestrian statue were taken down, to resign his commission?' And that he said—'I fear I cannot the Peerage.' 'I do not believe that; but it might be true.'"

He felt wonderfully strongly about its being an indignity. A lady had informed him that, at the time the statue was put up, she was very anxious to know whether it was a correct likeness of the Duke, and she asked an old Peninsular veteran what he thought of it, and his reply was —"Well, mum, it is the likeliest thing I have ever see'd (*sic*). I have over and over again see'd the Duke in that attitude giving the word of command." He (the Duke of Rutland) was aware that a Vote for the removal of the statue had been agreed to in the House of Commons; but he implored Her Majesty's Government, and the country as well, before the final step was taken, to consider what it was they were really going to do. If they were to remove this statue, because they thought it was not of an artistic character, he wanted to know what statue in London would remain where it was? What statue was there that some critic or artist would not find fault with, and say that some blunder had been made in executing it? This statue embodied all the memories of the great man who had passed away, and was it to be removed merely because the artist had happened to have made a blunder? He did not doubt that Mr. Boehm would make a very fine statue, but it could not be the commemorative figure, showing the Duke on horseback, as he appeared at the Battle of Waterloo, that pleased the Duke, who did not wish it to be removed from its present position. Therefore, it should not be so removed; for even if it were, and even if Mr. Boehm did make what might be called a fine statue now, and which should be put in the place of the old one, what security had they that some 20 years hence the Royal Academicians and the Art critics of the day might not arrive at the conclusion that it was not an artistic piece of sculpture, and that they could do much better. This was really a very serious matter, and it was one that should not be decided by a number of gentlemen upon a Committee; it ought to be decided by the feeling of the country. As yet, however, the public had had very little opportunity of expressing their opinion on the matter. He hoped, therefore, that even at that eleventh hour, the subject might be reconsidered by Her Majesty's Government. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had taken great interest in this subject, and with that patriotism and loyalty for which he was distinguished, when he heard that this statue was to be melted down and done away with, he had come forward, and had proposed the plan which, at all events, saved the statue from destruction. The whole of the Correspondence had been presented by the Committee to his Father, and both His Royal Highness and the Government were ignorant of the facts he had then stated. In conclusion, he would appeal to the Government and the nation, whether, knowing the sentiments of the noble Duke, as he the (Duke of Rutland) had now explained them, they would still insist on removing the statue to Aldershot, because such removal would be an outrage on the memory of the illustrious dead?

LORD DE ROS said, he had not, during the discussion, heard a single word as to the opinion of the officers of the Army on the subject. He was certain that if the sentiment and feelings of the British Army had been consulted, it would have been in favour of preserving the statue, if not in the present locality, at any rate, in the vicinity of Apsley House, whether it was replaced on the Arch or not. He did not see where it could be placed at Aldershot, and he hoped the appeal of the noble Duke (the Duke of Rutland) would have weight with Her Majesty's Government.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE said, that the matter had been discussed *ad nauseam*. This was the sixth or seventh time it had been brought before the House, and he wished to know how often these discussions were to take place? The noble Duke complained that public opinion had not been fully tested; but it had been so far tested that in both Houses the scheme had been approved by a majority in its favour. His noble and gallant Friend asked whether the Army had been consulted. The Army was well represented on the Committee, and it was understood that the officers at Aldershot had asked for its removal there. As to the expense of a pedestal for it, when it arrived there, the funds of the Prince of Wales's Committee would be ample to meet any expenditure. He must now protest against further discussion in the matter.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, it was very true, as the noble Viscount had said, that the subject had been discussed from time to time; but it had now come forward in quite a different phase, and information had been brought forward which had not come before their Lordships in previous discussions. The House having now been put authentically, and for the first time, in possession of the facts of the case, an Address to the Throne ought to be moved for at once in reference to it, the other House having passed a Motion on the subject without anything like a full knowledge concerning it. He denied that the House of Commons had decided in favour of the removal of the statue. They had been told that the statue was to go, and were asked whether they would vote the money for the construction of another equestrian statue to take its place, to which they assented.

EARL GRANVILLE said, he would not by one word prolong the argument. He rather agreed with the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Hardinge), that the subject was one which had already been pretty well ventilated both in and out of Parliament. It had been suggested by the noble and gallant Lord opposite (Lord De Ros) that an appeal should be made to the Army; while, as far as he (Earl Granville) could understand him, the noble Duke (the Duke of Rutland) had suggested a plebiscite of the nation; but, in view of the fact that the question had already been settled in both Houses, he was at a loss to understand what machinery could be necessary for making the test. Her Majesty's Government were not yet so Radical that, after the discussions which had taken place in both Houses of Parliament, they would submit the matter to a plebiscite of the people.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, in rising, according to Notice, to present a Bill for the reform of the Local Government of Scotland, said: My Lords, the House will not be surprised that Her Majesty's Government should again this year introduce a measure dealing with the Government of Scotland. Not to go further back in the history of this question than the Bill of last year, I may remind your Lordships that, at the end of last Session, a Bill dealing with the Local Government of Scotland passed through the House of Commons, with the support and approval of the great majority of the Scottish Members of Parliament, and came up to your Lordships' House. Your Lordships saw fit to reject that Bill on the second reading; but I may remind your Lordships that, with scarcely an exception, all the speeches that were made on both sides of the House agreed upon this—that, however faulty the measure might be, nevertheless some measure of the kind was urgently needed, and ought to be passed. The Bill of last year, so far as I could understand the facts, was thrown out, partly on the ground of detail, but partly because, as observed by the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury), there was not time then to consider the Bill, but partly, also, on the ground that the Scottish people were not sufficiently urgent in pressing for the Bill. Well, now, as regards the desire of the Scottish people to have a Bill of this kind, I need only refer to the great public meeting held at Edinburgh at the beginning of this year—a meeting presided over by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lothian), and at which my noble Friend opposite (Lord Balfour) and several other noble Lords attended and spoke. I also attended that meeting; but I attended it only as a looker-on, and chiefly in the hope of the profit and instruction that I expected to derive from the speech of the noble Marquess. Although I was certainly an interested spectator in one sense of the word, I was in another a perfectly impartial one, and I can only assure your Lordships that I was very greatly impressed by the magnitude and the character of that great assembly. In the opinion of many whose judgments are much more worth having than mine, such a meeting has rarely, if ever, taken place either in Scotland or any other country of the world. There were representatives of every class, representatives of every section of the nation, representatives of every shade of opinion, political and religious. The discussion lasted for some three hours, and I think there were some 30 or 40 speeches; and, so far as I recollect, there was not one single discordant note from beginning to end. After that, I think it would be impossible for any opponent of this measure to say that the Scottish people, as a nation, do not strongly and urgently require a Bill of this nature. The Government have also been anxious to meet the wishes and criticism of the noble Marquess opposite. They have, therefore, introduced this measure in the House of Lords at this early period of the Session; and though, of course, it is very possible that the ingenuity of the noble Marquess in discovering reasons for the rejection of measures proposed by Her Majesty's Government may not be baffled by this simple precaution, still, the noble Marquess will admit that, if this Bill is to follow the fate of the Bill of last year, it must be on some other ground than that of want of time. Then, as to the details urged by my noble Friend opposite (Lord Balfour), the Government have taken pains also to meet the objections which he raised last year, and I hope that when he sees this measure he will be of opinion that they have not been unsuccessful in their attempt. I ought to say that, in the Notice that stands on the Paper in my name, there is an error in the title of this Bill. Instead of "A Bill for the Reform of the Local Government of Scotland," it ought to be called "A Bill for appointing a Secretary for Scotland." This Bill appoints a Secretary for Scotland—not of a Scottish Local Board—who is to hold Office during Her Majesty's pleasure, and who is to have a permanent Assistant Secretary. The Secretary for Scotland, if he is not a Member of your Lordships' House, must, at all events, be a person eligible for a seat in the House of Commons; and he will be in this position—that if he be a Member of Parliament, on acceptance of the Office he will be required to vacate his seat, and seek re-election at the hands of his constituents. This Bill also transfers to the Secretary for Scotland all the powers and duties which are vested in the Secretary of State in relation to the Universities of Scotland; also, all rights of patronage relating to offices and appointments in Scotland which are vested in the Secretary of State; also, all powers and duties vested in the Secretary of State by certain Amendments specified in the Schedule. I will not go through the Schedule; because I think I should have an undue advantage over your Lordships in doing so, and some difficulty in making your Lordships understand my meaning if I attempted it. This Bill reserves to the Lord Advocate all the rights, powers, and privileges which he has hitherto enjoyed. The difference between the Bill and the Bill of last year, to put it very shortly, is this—that the authority to be constituted is that of a Secretary, and not that of a Local Board. Provision is made in this Bill, as in the Bill of last year, for the appointment of an Assistant Secretary— a permanent officer—and the powers and duties of the Secretary of State for the Home Department in relation to the Universities were not in the Bill of last year, but will, by this Bill, be transferred to the Secretary for Scotland. The administration of the Education and Endowments Acts is also transferred from the Education Department to the Scottish Secretary. My Lords, to give you a sufficient description of all the alterations this Bill will make would require a great length of time, and could hardly be satisfactorily made until the measure is in your Lordships' hands. I will, therefore, defer that to a later stage of the Bill, and content myself by moving that it be now read a first time.

Bill for appointing a Secretary for Scotland—*Presented* (The Earl of Dalhousie).

Lord BALFOUR: I do not desire to make any criticism of the measure which the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Dalhousie) has laid on the Table of your Lordships' House, for the simple reason that I have not been able from his explanation to really gauge the scope of the measure. I will not deny the necessity for the measure, and I am very glad indeed that he has introduced it at a much earlier period of the Session than was the case last year, and has, therefore, given us time to give it a fair and full consideration. I am glad to be able to corroborate almost entirely what he said in regard to the meeting which was held in Scotland, and I would add this—I do not think, between him and myself—in fact, between him and almost anyone who has spoken in public on this subject—that there is any difference in principle. This measure is obviously one the details of which require the most careful consideration; and I am quite certain that, if there is any point of difference, it will be on points of detail, such as, perhaps, can be best considered before a Select Committee, where arguments can be exchanged, and that without making set speeches. I therefore would venture to suggest that, as we have plenty of time before us, some time should be given before the second reading is taken; or an engagement should be entered into by the Government that they will not oppose the reference of the Bill to a Select Committee of your Lordships' House. In saying that I would like to add this—that I do not propose this course with any intention of delaying or obstructing the progress of the measure, because I know that there is a strong feeling in favour of something of the kind in Scotland. But I am sure anyone who has held high Office will corroborate me, when I express my opinion that, in changing the Department which has to conduct Business, and the details of Business, it is most necessary to be very careful as to the way in which that is done. It would be, in my opinion, a great misfortune if there was a separation in the management of those affairs which are regulated by the same statutory authority for England and Scotland. The noble Earl did not say whether such things as the regulation of factories and mines was to be transferred to the new Office. Now, that was one of the principal objections I urged—that those things which are regulated by the same statutes for England and Scotland should not be transferred from the Home Office. I shall not, however, attempt to criticize the measure further at this stage, but shall confine myself to asking the Government whether they can now fix a day for the second reading, or to express an opinion as to the proposal I make for the reference of the Bill to a Select Committee.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I only wish to assure the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Dalhousie) that I am not in the least degree unfriendly to the object of this Bill. I should be very glad to see some such Bill passed, as I am convinced it is the wish of the people of Scotland; but, on the other hand, I concur with my noble Friend who has just spoken that the details should be carefully scrutinized, in order to avoid any inconvenience arising.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY: The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Dalhousie) stated that the Bill has come with an inexact title; but he did not say what the title was. He says there is to be a Secretary for Scotland. I presume he means a Secretary of State. As to the request of my noble Friend (Lord Balfour) that the second reading should be deferred for some time, I quite agree that that is desirable; but to ask Her Majesty's Government now to say that they commit themselves to refer the Bill to a Select Committee seems to me to be a strong demand. I think it would be better for us to see what the Bill is, and then, on the second reading, decide for ourselves whether it should go to a Select Committee or not.

THE EARL OF BELMORE: Perhaps I might ask whether the new Secretary is intended to be a Member of the Privy Council, like the Chief Secretary for Ireland?

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE: I must defer giving an answer to the question just asked by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Belmore). I am glad to be able to express agreement with the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Galloway), that to ask, at this stage of the proceedings, that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee is rather a strong request. I thought of putting down the second reading of the Bill for the 20th instant; but I do not know whether your Lordships would consider that too early a period. As to the question whether or not the Secretary for Scotland is to be a Secretary of State, I have emphatically to say that he will not be a Secretary of State, and it is not so intended he should be. The Secretaryship for Scotland will be a Secretaryship altogether inferior to that of a Secretary of State.

Bill read 1ª; and to be *printed.* (No. 79.)

COLONIAL ATTORNIES RELIEF ACT AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Colonial Attornies Relief Act —Was *presented* by The Earl of Aberdeen; read 1ª. (No. 78.)

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 8th May, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—Education, Science, and Art (Administration), Mr. Salt *disch.;* Lord Algernon Percy *added.*

Supply—*considered in Committee*—Navy Estimates—Votes 2 to 5.

Public Bills—*Considered as amended*—Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2)* [170]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (Alton-Barnes, &c.)* [147]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) (Bovey-Tracey, &c.)* [148]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) (Ashill, &c.)* [149]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5) (Acton, &c.)* [151]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6) (Ashen, &c.)* [152]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) (Abberley, &c.)* [153]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 8) (Abergwilly, &c.)* [154]; Water Provisional Orders* [163].

Third Reading—Gas Provisional Orders* [162]; Land Drainage Provisional Orders* [137]; Contagious Diseases (Animals) [120], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act Amendment [62].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (POOR LAW) (No. 4) (BELCHALWELL, &c.) BILL.—[Bill 150.]

(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

CONSIDERATION AS AMENDED.

Order for Consideration read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now considered."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he entertained strong objections to this Bill on the question of principle; but he had had no idea that it would be brought on for consideration that day. He would, therefore, ask the hon. Baronet to consent to postpone it until that day week.

Sir CHARLES FORSTER intimated that he had no objection to postpone the Bill, and he would put it down for consideration to-morrow.

Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

QUESTIONS.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE GOLD CURRENCY —THE HALF-SOVEREIGN.

Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD gave Notice that to-morrow he would ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, after the passing of the Bill to reduce the intrinsic value of the half-sovereign by one-tenth, the Bank of England would be compelled to receive from bankers and others the half-sovereign now in circulation, whether heavy or light, in exchange for Bank of England notes; and, whether the Bank of England would be empowered to issue notes at the fixed value of the half-sovereign token?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I will reply to the Question now. A part of it I answered by anticipation in my Financial Statement, and the remainder will be dealt with by the Coinage Bill.

THE MAURITIUS—PUNISHMENT OF FLOGGING.

Mr. HOPWOOD (for Mr. P. A. Taylor) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the punishment of flogging for prison offences has been introduced into the Mauritius; whether this was done in opposition to the feelings of the people expressed in Memorials; whether the authorities charged with the duty have neglected to observe the precautions laid down by the Secretary of State; and, whether it is now discovered that Indians have died from the effects of the flogging with the "cat" inflicted by the officials?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: The punishment of flogging for prison offences was introduced by Ordinance in 1851. I can find no trace of any Memorials or other representations against it. The Secretary of State is not prepared to say that there has been neglect of the precautions directed to be observed; but he has under consideration proposals for securing greater caution. It has certainly not been discovered that Indians have died from the effects of flogging. In a recent case, which has been very carefully considered, the conclusion arrived at by the Secretary of State is, that the medical evidence does not point to the conclusion that death was attributable to the corporal punishment inflicted. I may add, that if only a new prison is constructed, which has been frequently pressed on the authorities in Mauritius, the necessity for any frequent use of the lash will, I hope, be greatly obviated.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. T. DOWLING, J.P.—HEAD CONSTABLE ROSS PARKES.

MR. SEXTON (for Mr. MAYNE) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the constables who brought the charge against Mr. Thomas Dowling, J.P., on which he was convicted of drunkenness and fined, are being removed from the district; whether their removal is in pursuance of a threat made by Head Constable Ross Parkes that "he would scatter them like sheep through the country" as a punishment for their having brought and sustained said charge; whether, having regard to the relation of Head Constable Ross Parkes with Mr. Dowling and his treatment of these constables, the Government will consider the propriety of removing him from the locality; and, whether the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has decided to retain Mr. Thomas Dowling amongst the magistracy of Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN: The police on duty at the station referred to are, generally speaking, relieved about once a month. Such removal is by no means regarded as a punishment. No men were removed on any such grounds as are stated in the Question, and Head Constable Parkes denies having used such words as are imputed to him. He is a man of whom his superior officers speak in the highest terms, and they protest strongly against the unfounded accusation made against him. Mr. Dowling's case is still under the consideration of the Lord Chancellor.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—MISCONDUCT OF "EMERGENCY MEN."

MR. SEXTON (for Mr. MAYNE) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a report in the *The Clonmel Chronicle* of April 5th, of a charge preferred against a man named Devine, an Emergency man in charge of an evicted farm, of presenting a revolver at a man named Maher; whether it appeared in evidence that Devine pulled out a revolver—

> "Covered Maher with it, measured him, stepped back three paces, and said, 'I will shoot you quick;'"

and, when arrested, was found in possession of a loaded revolver; whether Colonel Carew, R.M., although this evidence was unrebutted, discharged Devine, and ordered the revolver to be returned to him, observing to him—

> "You have already admitted that you presented the revolver, and, undoubtedly, if you shot anyone in that place you would be on your trial for murder. . . . I will look upon this as a public-house brawl, and you may go away; you have got a very good character, and something may have been said that provoked you;"

and, whether he has observed that, at the Cashel Petty Sessions Colonel Carew, R.M., only fined fifteen shillings an Emergency man named Noble, who admitted that he was drunk and discharging firearms on the public road?

MR. TREVELYAN: The view of Devine's case taken by the magistrate appears to have been that he was recognized as an Emergency man, and had received some provocation, and eventually drew the revolver as a deterrent, but not with an intention of discharging it. In the case of Noble, a full Bench of Magistrates considered the penalties imposed sufficient. Since his conviction the Emergency Committee have ceased to employ him.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—PROCURATORS FISCAL.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, having regard to the complaint by the Highland Commission of procurators fiscal holding other situations, he will be prepared to order that in future no procurator fiscal will accept the office of bank agent, or factor, or land agent for any landed proprietor?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): The views expressed by the Crofters Commission on this subject were before the Government when the discussion raised by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) on the 21st of April took place; and I have nothing to add to what I then stated in regard to the principles and considerations with reference to which, in the judgment of the Government, such appointments ought to be made. Along with the Report of the Crofters Commission there ought to be kept in view the very weighty and well-considered Report of the Law Commission, presented to Parliament in 1871.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONERS—THE EXAMINERS.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, How many of the Civil Service Examiners in each of the following departments are selected from Ireland and the professional staff of Irish schools or colleges, viz. English Language and Literature, Scripture, Greek and Latin Languages, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Hindustani, Sanskrit, Mathematics, Chemistry and Experimental Physics, Botany and Zoology, Moral Science, Law and Constitutional History, and Bookkeeping?

MR. COURTNEY: The Civil Service Commissioners inform me that they select as Examiners the best men they can secure, irrespective of their places of birth or education. A list of the gentlemen so employed will be found at pages 12 and 13 of the last Report of the Commissioners.

MR. O'BRIEN said, that only three or four out of 50 or 60 Examiners were Irishmen. These Examiners were Professors of English Colleges, and prepared students in the subjects in which they afterwards examined them, thereby handicapping Irish students, who got no such assistance, unfairly, especially in Political Economy and Jurisprudence, in which no special course was laid down.

INDIA (NATIVE STATES)—THE HYDERABAD DEBT.

MR. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Her Majesty's Government are in possession of any reliable information as to the alleged debt of the Hyderabad State; whether any inquiry has been or will be made as to its amount; whether a Report from Major General Glasfurd, Settlement Commissioner, addressed to the Revenue Secretary of the Hyderabad State on February 4th, 1884, and communicated to the Government of India, relating to rack-renting of the ryots and to cruelty and extortion practised in the collection of revenue by the native officials has been received at the India Office; and, if so, whether it will be laid upon the Table of the House; whether any action has been taken, either by the Government of India or by the Native Government, in consequence of this Report; whether the Talukdars of Dharasio and Bidur, whose cruelty and negligence were the subject of that Report, have been in any way punished; and, whether the superior officials, the Sudder Talukdars, through whose laxity of supervision this misconduct took place, have been in any way punished?

MR. J. K. CROSS: No official statement respecting the debt of the Hyderabad State has yet been received, though an inquiry is now in progress. I may say, however, that Mr. Cordery, our Resident at Hyderabad, who is at present in England, informs me that the debt is stated by Salar Jung to be about 150 Hali Sicca rupees, in addition to the railway debt—about 100 lakhs being due to Government officials. No Report from Major General Glasfurd had been received on the 9th of April, the day Mr. Cordery left Hyderabad.

MR. GORST inquired whether the hon. Gentleman would ask the Government of India whether any Report had been communicated to them?

MR. J. K. CROSS said, that if the hon. and learned Gentleman would give him any indication of such a Report having been made at all, he would communicate with the Government of India upon the subject.

MR. GORST said, he should be happy to give the hon. Gentleman private information as to the existence of a Report which was communicated to the Viceroy of India.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—ASSAULTS IN A POLICE CELL.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the evidence given at Ballinasloe Petty Sessions on April 26th, from which it appeared that a young man named Goode, arrested on a charge of assault which was afterwards dismissed, was locked up from a quarter to twelve o'clock at night until seven o'clock in the morning in a police cell with a man named M'Donagh, who was in a state of furious drunkenness, and who made a series of savage attacks on Goode during the night, biting the index finger of his right hand through and almost severing the joint; whether it appeared that the orderly visited the cell three times during the night, and saw the men in conflict, but declined to separate them, notwithstanding Goode's shrieks for assistance; whether, notwithstanding the direction of Mr. Fowler, J.P., that M'Donagh should be prosecuted for the assault, he was allowed to leave Ballinasloe without being made amenable; if so, by whose default; and, whether an inquiry will be directed into the conduct of the police in the transaction?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The facts appear to be that two prisoners named Goode and M'Donagh, who were being detained in a strong room of the barrack, quarrelled, and assaulted each other during the night. The injuries inflicted were not all on one side; but, on the contrary, Goode appears to have been the aggressor. The orderly heard quarrelling, and went to the strong room three times during the night, but saw nothing of a sufficiently serious character to induce him to remove one of the men. It is not the case that Mr. Fowler, J.P., directed that M'Donagh should be prosecuted for assaulting Goode; but he did direct that Goode should be prosecuted. A cross case was subsequently brought against M'Donagh by Goode, and both were convicted and fined. At the hearing of these cases there was a conflict of evidence between the barrack orderly and Goode, as to the latter having called for assistance; and, under the circumstances, a charge of neglect of duty has been preferred against the orderly. This charge is still pending.

POST OFFICE—WEIGHTS AND SCALES.

Mr. GRAY asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will investigate the statement made by Mr. H. A. Bunting, of Didsbury, Manchester, and reported in *The Postal Telegraphic and Telephonic Gazette* of May 2nd, to the effect that, on presenting at thirty-three post offices in the neighbourhood a test parcel certified under one pound in weight, three branch offices, ten town receiving offices, and two country sub-offices demanded payment of sixpence instead of the legal charge of threepence, owing to their scales being inaccurate, and wrongly representing the parcel as over one pound in weight; whether weights and scales used for postal purposes are exempt from the supervision of the ordinary inspectors of weights and measures; whether, if they are inaccurate, any person can be held responsible criminally or civilly; and, whether there is any system of inspection of such weights and scales, or any guarantee to the public of their accuracy?

Mr. FAWCETT: It has been the practice to carefully test the weights and scales used in post offices before they have been issued by the Department, and periodically to examine them. Before the letter to which the hon. Member refers appeared, I considered the question of whether it might not be expedient to take some further steps to secure the accuracy of the weights and scales. I have been in communication with the Board of Trade on the subject, with the object of allowing the inspection of the weights and scales by the regular local Inspectors. If any person is overcharged through a letter or parcel being inaccurately weighed, the amount would, of course, be returned to him by the Post Office.

Mr. GRAY: Will the arrangement apply to the whole Kingdom?

Mr. FAWCETT: Oh, yes; certainly.

SALE OF POISONS BILL.

Mr. WARTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, When the Government intend to introduce, into the other House, their promised Bill on Patent Medicines?

Mr. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, he understood the Sale of Poisons Bill, which would deal also with the sale of medicines, would be ready in a few days, and would be immediately introduced.

JAMAICA — ENCUMBERED ESTATES COURT—CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM —THE FRANCHISE.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government has come to any decision with respect to the abolition of the Encumbered Estates Court in Jamaica, as recommended by the Royal Commissioners? The hon. and learned Member further asked, what was to be the new franchise in Jamaica, and how many electors would be created?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The Royal Commissioners have replied to the letter (presented to Parliament) of the Encumbered Estates Commissioners, and that reply will be transmitted to the Encumbered Estates Commission for their further observations. Besides, the Government, before coming to any decision, will have to consult the West India Governments. As to my hon. and learned Friend's further Question, the new franchise will be either occupation of house rated to poor rates, with payment of not less than £1 annually for rates and taxes, or ownership of property in respect of which not less than 30*s.* is paid annually for rates and taxes. It is estimated that about 15,000 will be the number of electors.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

SIR JOSEPH BAILEY asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether, having in view the efficient manner in which the local authorities have performed their duties under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, and especially to the fact that the authorities of the county of Hereford have been specially eulogized in a recent Privy Council Circular, it is the intention of the Government in any way to curtail the powers of the said local authorities?

MR. DODSON: I am sensible of the efficient manner in which many local authorities, that of Herefordshire among the number, have exercised the powers referred to in the Circular, and other powers intrusted to them. I am generally desirous of leaving the administration of these matters, as far as possible, in the hands of local authorities. The Privy Council, however, are bound to intervene from time to time to prevent conflict between the regulations of local authorities, and to meet emergencies or changes of circumstances. I cannot, therefore, give such an undertaking as an answer to the Question would imply.

IRISH LAND COMMISSIONERS—SITTINGS OF THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS ON GOOD FRIDAY.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether the holding of a Court by the Sub-Commissioners in Ireland on Good Friday, which is a Bank Holiday, was legal; and, if legal, whether he could in future prevent the holding of a Court, which is contrary to usage, on a day on which the majority of the places of Public Worship in the United Kingdom are open for Divine Service?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Sir, there is nothing illegal in the Court of Sub-Commissioners sitting on Good Friday. It is for the Land Commission to regulate the days of sittings. On the particular occasion to which, I presume, the hon. Member refers, the Sub-Commission sat at the special request of the principal professional men, and for their convenience.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—COUNTY INSPECTOR FRENCH.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether County Inspector James Ellis French, Director of the Detective Department of the Royal Irish Constabulary, has been dismissed from that force; if so, if he would state on what grounds and on what terms?

MR. TREVELYAN: Mr. French, having been examined by a Medical Board, and certified to be both mentally and physically incapacitated for further service in the Constabulary, has, with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant, been struck off the strength of the force. All other questions relating to the case remain open for further consideration.

MR. O'BRIEN: What time did Mr. French cease to hold his position as Detective Director?

MR. TREVELYAN: I do not know the exact date.

MR. O'BRIEN: I am obliged to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he made personal inquiries in reference to the charges notoriously made against this man; and whether or not he satisfied himself as to the truth of these charges; and, if so, why he left to a private individual the substantiation of these charges, knowing that it must be difficult to prove them?

MR. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member asked me a Question. I do not know the exact date that Mr. French was relieved from his duty. If the hon. Member wishes to put any Questions to me I will answer them. The Government have acted with their eyes open in this matter.

MR. O'BRIEN: The right hon. Gentleman surely can answer whether he himself instituted personal inquiries into the notorious charges against this man; and, if so, what was the result of his inquiry?

MR. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member will, perhaps, give Notice of his Question. It is not my duty specially to institute inquiries. I have a general knowledge of the subject quite sufficient for me to know that from the moment there was any suspicion of Mr. French's conduct the Government at once made inquiries into the matter.

MR. O'BRIEN: I wish to know, then, whether it was upon the right hon. Gentleman's directions French brought the action against me?

MR. TREVELYAN: Certainly not; that is not the case.

MR. O'BRIEN: I beg to give Notice that on Monday I shall ask the Chief Secretary on what date James Ellis French was first removed from the position of Detective Director of the Royal Irish Constabulary; whether any official inquiry was made with respect to the charges against him before public reference was made to them; if so, why that inquiry was not followed up; and, whether there is any intention to bestow a pension upon him?

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—SENTENCES OF FLOGGING FOR BEGGING.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of George Wells, sentenced as an incorrigible rogue and vagabond under 5 Geo. 4, c. 83, in respect of convictions for begging, by Mr. William Hardman, the Chairman of the Surrey Sessions, on the 10th of April last, to twelve months' imprisonment and "twelve strokes of the cat-o'-nine-tails;" whether the same George Wells was in June 1881 sentenced by the same chairman for a similar offence to twelve months' imprisonment with "twelve strokes of the birch rod;" whether the same George Wells, in October, 1882, was sentenced by the same chairman for a similar offence to twelve months' imprisonment, with "twenty-five strokes of the birch rod;" whether the punishment of whipping under the above Act had been long laid aside, until revived at the Surrey Sessions; and, whether he will support a Bill to repeal, or will, by expressing disapproval, repress this punishment now three times inflicted upon the same individual?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have made inquiries into this case, and the man appears to have been a bad character. If the hon. and learned Gentleman wishes to have my opinion, I will say that I do not consider flogging an appropriate punishment for offences of this character.

LAW AND JUSTICE—DENIS DEASY, A CONVICT.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Denis Deasy, at present undergoing penal servitude in Chatham Prison, is in a condition of health so dangerous to his life as to warrant his discharge from prison? I would specially request the attention of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to a letter from the Governor of the gaol to the unfortunate man's sister on the 1st of May, in which he says—

> "I regret to have to inform you that his present condition is calculated to cause the greatest anxiety;"

and again—

> "Your brother is rather worse, and is not expected to live more than a few days."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I regret to state that the condition of this prisoner is a very critical and dangerous one, and I should be very happy to consider the question of his being removed to the care of his friends. But since the Question was asked me some time ago I gave injunctions that I should be informed when he was fit for removal, and the information I received was that he was incapable of being removed.

EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.)—THE MOUKABALAH.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, with reference to the Memorandum on the Finances of Egypt, contained in "Egypt," No. 17, Whether the £150,000 per annum assigned by the Law of Liquidation to the cultivators and landholders who had paid the Moukabalah, and which Lord Dufferin's Report showed to have been wholly unpaid up to that time, has been paid up, or whether it is now several years in arrear, though the European creditors, under the same Law, have been punctually paid; and, whether the recognition in the official Memorandum of a debt of £3,950,000 balance of the Indemnity awards is an admission of liability to pay the whole if the money can be raised?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: A full Memorandum, showing the progress made towards refunding the sum paid for Moukabalah, will be found in "Egypt," No. 13 of last year, page 35. The statement of the amount of the awards in the Memorandum cannot affect in any way the question of liability referred to.

EGYPT (ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS).

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he proposes to lay upon the Table further Papers regarding the administration of Egypt proper; the working of the autonomous institutions devised during Lord Dufferin's mission; the reforms of Mr. Clifford Lloyd; and his alleged high-handed promulgations of laws and orders in spite of both the Legislative Assembly and the Prime Minister; whether he will, in the meantime, say who is now responsible for the internal administration of the country; and, whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd acts in real effective subordination either to Nubar Pasha or to Mr. Egerton, or whether he has any independent mission from the Khedive or from Her Majesty's Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Any despatches which may be received relating to the administration of Egypt, the working of the autonomous institutions and the reforms of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, will be laid on the Table in due course. The Egyptian Government are responsible for the internal administration of the country. Mr. Clifford Lloyd is Under Secretary for the Interior, and is, therefore, subordinate to the Minister of the Interior and the head of the Egyptian Government. He has no independent mission from the Khedive or from Her Majesty's Government.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—ZEBEHR PASHA.

GENERAL FEILDEN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether General Gordon, when he accepted his present mission and stipulated that "Zebehr should be carefully watched," gave his reasons for this request; whether General Gordon required that, if he went to Suakin, as at first intended, Zebehr should be sent to Cyprus; and, whether the Government ordered or directed General Gordon to go to Cairo instead of Suakin; and, if so, how such desire was communicated to him?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: General Gordon's reasons for desiring that Zebehr Pasha should be watched are given at page 2 of "Egypt," No. 13, in his own language. General Gordon, before arriving in Egypt, suggested that Zebehr Pasha should be sent to Cyprus; but he did not make it a condition of acceptance. It was at Sir Evelyn Baring's request, as stated in "Egypt," No. 2, page 4, that General Gordon went to Cairo instead of Suakin. He was not expressly ordered or directed to go; but he received a telegram on his arrival at Port Said informing him of the request, and expressing the hope that he would agree.

BRAZIL—CLAIMS OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the British claims against Brazil, as adjusted by Mr. Clare Ford, are yet approaching settlement; or if some further delay is being interposed by the Brazilian Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: These claims are still under consideration. Mr. Corbett, Her Majesty's Minister at Rio, is about to visit England, and the matter will be further discussed with a view to its settlement. Her Majesty's Government are not aware that any delay has been interposed by the Brazilian Government.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—SULLIVAN, A PRISONER IN CORK PRISON.

Mr. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that a prisoner named Sullivan, who is alleged to have been stabbed and beaten by the police, was committed by Mr. Mitchell, R.M., on remand, to the Cork Male Prison, and was subsequently transferred from the prison to the Cork Workhouse Hospital for treatment; whether a prisoner named Leahy was also recently transferred from the same prison to the workhouse hospital; whether the Government will recoup the ratepayers of the Cork Union for the support and maintenance of such prisoners; whether the gaol authorities cease to have control over prisoners so transferred; and, why they are not treated in the gaol hospital?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am not aware who made the allegation to which the hon. Member refers, that Sullivan was stabbed and beaten by the police; but I am informed that the statement is the opposite of the fact. The police were attacked and assaulted by Sullivan, who was remanded in custody, and while trying to escape from arrest fell down and hurt himself on board a ship. On account of this circumstance, the Resident Magistrate admitted him to bail pending his trial. The Governor of the prison states that it is not the case that either Sullivan, or any prisoner named Leahy, was transferred to the Union hospital from the prison, and that all prisoners, when ill, are treated in the prison hospital. I am advised that there is no ground upon which the Government could be called upon to recoup to the ratepayers any portion of the cost of maintenance incurred in the case of Sullivan.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — THE HIGH SHERIFF OF DROGHEDA.

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether the Act 3 and 4 *Will.* IV. c. 68, which enacts, in the 13th section, that no sheriff or sub-sheriff in Ireland shall be capable of holding a licence to sell beer, cider, or spirits by retail, to be drunk on the premises, is the Act under which all publicans' licences are granted in Ireland at the present date?

Mr. SEXTON asked, whether there was a case in which the Act was put in force?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): Sir, the 3 & 4 *Will.* IV., c. 68, is an integral part of the present Licensing Code, and may, I think, rightly be described as the principal Act for the purpose mentioned in the Question.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Well, as every subject of the Queen is now supposed to know the law, will the High Sheriff of Drogheda be prosecuted for holding a public-house?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I fully explained the circumstances under which His Excellency selected Mr. Mangan as High Sheriff; and it is obvious that, under those circumstances, no blame could attach to Mr. Mangan for a want of acquaintance with the law, which was shared by the Irish Government.

Mr. SEXTON: May I ask if the Irish Government will point out to Alderman Mangan the course which he should take?

Mr. TREVELYAN was understood to say that the Irish Government could not undertake to do so.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—SHILLELAGH UNION.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that the conduct of Mr. James Hopkins, the returning officer at an election of Poor Law Guardians for the Shillelagh Union in 1883, was censured by the Local Government Board, and the election declared void, on the ground that he illegally refused to receive the nomination paper of a National candidate; whether, at the late election of a Guardian for Ballinglen Electoral Division, he allowed a greater number of votes to Earl Fitzwilliam than he was entitled to, and thus returned Mr. James, the Conservative candidate; whether the election has, consequently, been declared void by the Local Government Board, and a new election ordered; whether the election for the Tinahely Electoral Division, when Mr. Haydon, the National candidate, was defeated by allowing a greater number of votes for Earl Fitzwilliam than lawful, has also been declared void, and a new election ordered; whether, as President of the Local Government

Board, he will take steps to have the National candidates declared duly elected; and, whether he will adopt some way of having elections of Poor Law Guardians in the county Wicklow impartially carried out?

MR. TREVELYAN: On the 18th of June last I fully explained to the hon. Member the result of the sworn inquiry held with regard to the disputed election of last year—namely, that the election was declared void; but that the Returning Officer was absolved from any graver charge than want of care. It is the case that at the Ballinglen and Tinahely elections this year the Returning Officer allowed to Earl Fitzwilliam a greater number of votes than he was legally entitled to, and that the result of the elections was affected thereby. The Local Government Board have, therefore, declared these elections void, and new elections will be ordered; but they have no power to comply with the suggestion that the defeated candidates should be declared duly elected. In these cases the Returning Officer acted under a misapprehension as to the law on a somewhat complicated and difficult point; but there is no reason to believe that he did wrong intentionally, and the Local Government Board do not think the circumstance shows any sufficient cause for placing the election in other hands.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—RATHDRUM UNION.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been drawn to the censure which, in 1882, was passed on Mr. Bernard Manning, who had presided as returning officer at the election of Poor Law Guardians in Rathdrum Union, by the Local Government Board, in the following terms:—

> "You will see from the enclosed letter that the Board have arrived at the conclusion that Mr. Crofton (the Conservative candidate) did not obtain a majority of valid votes, and was not duly elected, and that an order for a new election will be issued; in making this communication to you, the Board cannot avoid expressing their regret that, after having acted for so many years as returning officer, you should have exhibited such ignorance of the Law governing the election of Poor Law guardians, and the Board trust that what has occurred will cause you to discharge your duties as returning officer more correctly, and with greater efficiency, in future;"

whether at the recent election Mr. Manning failed to perform his duties correctly by omitting to issue voting papers to two, if not more, National voters in the Kilcoole electoral division; whether in the Altidore electoral division he received a number of votes on the Conservative side, the signatures or initialing of which did not correspond with the rate book, and decided that the objections raised on the part of the National candidates were valueless; whether such ruling is correct; and, whether, in future, some competent and impartial person will be appointed to preside at elections of Poor Law Guardians in the county of Wicklow?

MR. TREVELYAN: More than a year ago I fully explained to the hon. Member the views of the Local Government Board with regard to the election of 1882, to which the first three paragraphs of his Question refers; and last week I stated that the Returning Officer admitted that by an oversight—which, however, had no effect on the result of the election—he had omitted to issue voting papers to two voters in the Kilcoole electoral division. The Local Government Board now inform me that in the Altidore electoral division objections have been lodged on behalf of the defeated candidate to some votes recorded for his opponent, and that they are investigating the complaint; but are not yet in a position to arrive at a decision about it. At present the Board do not see sufficient cause to supersede the Returning Officer in the discharge of his duties.

SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT—WORKING MEN'S INSTITUTE, BELFAST—MR. ROBERT BARKLIE.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether his attention has been drawn to the description of the conduct of Mr. Barklie, in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Science and Art Department,

> "Not only have the candidates copied from, and been assisted by, one and another, but in many cases they seem to have been aided and abetted by the teachers, who have systematically sent into the examination room answers to the questions, to be copied by the pupils, and passed from one to the other,"

and the comment of the Inspector,

> "The foregoing, however, may be considered but trifling irregularities, when compared with

the extensive and organised system of fraud which afterwards came to light in connection with some of the Belfast examinations;"

and, if so, is he prepared to allow Mr. Barklie to have his present amount of influence over the distribution of public money granted for the School of Science and Art in Belfast?

MR. MUNDELLA: I answered a Question of the hon. Member's substantially the same as the one now asked on the 3rd of April. The first quotation to which the hon. Gentleman now refers is from a Minute of the Committee of Council on Education, dated October, 1867, and related to what had taken place in two schools in Belfast—one in Carrickfergus, and one at Clifden, in County Galway. The second quotation is from a Report, dated July, 1868, and the word "foregoing" in it did not refer to any of these schools, or to what had occurred in them. Mr. Barklie was, no doubt, one of several teachers inculpated by the Report of 1867, and he suffered severely for his fault. As I explained on a former occasion, he is an excellent teacher, and has done good service since; and I cannot understand with what object his early fault is thus persistently raked up against him. So long, however, as the Committee of the Science and Art School of Belfast, to whom all payments are made by the Department, choose to employ Mr. Barklie, we have no power to interfere.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—BOARD SCHOOL DISTRICTS.

SIR MASSEY LOPES asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether a Board School district, which has already provided both sufficient and efficient school accommodation for the whole of its population, can be compelled to provide additional school buildings within one and a-half miles of the existing schools, in order to supplement the defective educational provisions of other adjoining parishes?

MR. MUNDELLA: The Education Department may require additional public school accommodation to be provided in one school district for the use of children living in neighbouring school districts when such accommodation cannot be otherwise conveniently provided. The Department have power to make the requirement, notwithstanding the existence of schools within one and a-half miles of the place named for satisfying the requirement. But, at the same time, they would propose a proper contribution from the adjoining district or districts.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIAN ADVANCE—SARAKHS.

MR. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can give the House any information with respect to Sarakhs?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I presume that this Question is prompted by a report, in *The Times* of the 6th instant, that Sarakhs has been acquired by Russia. Her Majesty's Government have no information in confirmation of this report. Sarakhs is a Persian fortress, garrisoned by Persian soldiers; and if the right hon. Gentleman will refer to the Blue Book "Asia," No. 1 of this year, page 92, he will see that as late as September last Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* at St. Petersburg was informed at the Russian Foreign Office that it would always be outside of any Russian line of frontier. I may remind the right hon. Gentleman, without, I hope, entering into matter of debate, that there are two places of the name of Sarakhs, Old and New Sarakhs, and that in the telegram referred to there may be some confusion between them.

MR. BOURKE: Are they not both on Persian territory?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: One is on one bank of the river; the other is not on the same, but on the opposite bank.

MR. BOURKE: But they are both Persian.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The one to which I have referred is undoubtedly Persian. Its position is quite clear; but the position of the other is not quite so clear.

LORD JOHN MANNERS: Will inquiry be made at Teheran?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes; inquiry will be made.

JAMAICA—CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is to be understood that the full number of members on the Government side of the Council of Jamaica would be nine, of which some would be *ex officio* and others nominated; but that the Government undertake not to appoint more than six of such members at present, nor to complete the number except when the Governor should declare the matter under discussion to be one of paramount Imperial importance?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The answer to the first two portions of the Question is, Yes. The hon. and gallant Member, however, misunderstood what I said the other night, if he gathered that the Governor will not be empowered to nominate the full number of Members on the Government side unless he declared that there is at stake some matter of paramount public or Imperial importance. This provision applies only to the use of the official majority existing at the time in certain cases of opposition by elective Members. The Governor can at any time proceed to act under the powers given him by the Order in Council by nominating the full tale of Councillors; but it is hoped that forbearance and friendly co-operation on both sides may indefinitely postpone the completion of the full number of nominated Members.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have cognizance of any telegrams or messages from General Gordon to Sir Evelyn Baring, or to any other Government official, bearing upon his ability to defend Khartoum from attack or to escape therefrom, besides those contained in the Papers already furnished to Parliament; and, if so, whether they can communicate them to the House before next Monday?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have already stated in the House that Her Majesty's Government do not propose to produce Papers containing confidential information, which, if published, would be a source of military danger to General Gordon; but the further Papers, which will be very shortly in the hands of Members, will contain information of the character described by my right hon. Friend.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I will give the reason why I ask this Question. ["Order!"] On April 3 the Khartoum correspondent of *The Times*—["Order!"]—I am only giving the necessary explanation, and I am not going into any argument. The correspondent of *The Times* telegraphed, on April 3, that it was reported that the Mahdi was sending artillery to Khartoum to render powerless General Gordon's steamers. I wish to know whether the Government had any information on the subject; and whether they had heard that one of General Gordon's Krupp guns had been taken?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not think that the very detailed Question of the right hon. Gentleman can be said to arise exactly out of the Question upon the Paper, and I think he will not complain if I ask him to put his Question down on the Paper for to-morrow.

MR. CHAPLIN had given Notice to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, in reference to his statement on 24th April, that the Government recognize an obligation in regard to the safety of General Gordon, Whether he is aware that he is made to say, in some of the reports of that answer, that "the Government will be careful to put themselves in a position to fulfil those obligations," and, in others, that "the Government have been careful to put themselves in a position," &c.; and, which of these reports correctly represented the statement which he made on that occasion?

MR. GLADSTONE: Although the hon. Member is not in his place, I might as well give an answer. His Question is as to which of two reports is correct. To the best of my belief neither of these reports is inaccurate. The true report is to be found by combining them. I believe my words were that "we had been and should be careful to put ourselves in a position," and so on.

SIR HENRY TYLER gave Notice that on Monday next he should ask the Prime Minister, with reference to his answer to the effect that the Government have been and will be careful for the safety of General Gordon, whether they had taken any steps with regard to the safety of General Gordon; and, if so, what steps?

MR. GLADSTONE: We shall have an excellent opportunity of discussing that matter on Monday, without the hon. Member putting his Question.

Viscount FOLKESTONE: Is there any truth in the report that the King of the Belgians proposes to send an expedition to Khartoum so as to withdraw General Gordon from the isolated position in which he is placed?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have not heard of any such intention.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—POLLING DISTRICTS.

Mr. F. J. FOLJAMBE asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether orders of Quarter Sessions, which have been made affecting alterations in polling districts, apply to the registers in force for the present year, or will come into operation after the termination of 1884?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), in reply, said, that all such orders made in the present year would have no effect until the new registers should come into operation, and, therefore, would not apply to any elections during the current year.

POST OFFICE—THE IRISH MAIL SERVICE.

Mr. MOORE asked the Postmaster General, Whether he can yet state what arrangements have been made for the acceleration of the Irish Mail Service, and when such accelerated service is to begin?

Mr. FAWCETT: The new time table for the accelerated service between London and Holyhead is so nearly arranged that, without giving a positive pledge, I quite hope that the accelerated service will commence on the 1st of July.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOUDAN.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is within his knowledge that the Mahdi is aware of the readiness of the Egyptian Government to evacuate the Soudan, and of the decision of Her Majesty's Government to recognize the independence of that country; and, if not, whether it is intended to take any steps to ensure his being put in possession of this information, and to enter into friendly relations with him?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Mahdi is probably aware of this intention, at least as far as Kordofan is concerned, since General Gordon offered him the title of Sultan of that Province; but Her Majesty's Government have not entered into relations with him.

ARMY—THE QUEEN'S REGULATIONS—POLITICAL MEETINGS.

Mr. NOEL asked the Secretary of State for War, On what principle Officers of Her Majesty's Household Troops are apparently exempted from that Clause of Her Majesty's Regulations for the Army (Section vi., Clause 9) which strictly prohibits Officers on full pay from taking any part whatever in political meetings or demonstrations; and, whether it is the case that an Officer commanding a Regiment of Household Cavalry, on full pay, and lately returned from Abroad, has been recently engaged in political demonstrations; if so, whether such action is in contravention of the Regulations above quoted, or is a privileged exemption therefrom; and, if the latter, on what grounds?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: In reply to this Question, I must refer the hon. Member to an answer which I gave in this House on the 21st of February last to the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). I said—

> "The meaning of this Order seems to me to be that officers or soldiers on duty should not attend political meetings in which they have no local interest beyond being quartered in the vicinity. It could never have been intended that an officer or soldier should be altogether deprived of his civil rights, which would be the case if the word 'elsewhere' was interpreted literally."—(3 *Hansard*, [284] 1595-6.)

As I adhere to that interpretation of the Regulation, I am not aware of any case of recent occurrence in which an officer of the Household Cavalry has infringed the Rules. I may add that I propose to alter the wording of the Article in question in the new edition of the Queen's Regulations, so as to make clear what I consider to be its true intention.

ARMY—STORES ESTABLISHMENT—CONDUCTORS OF STORES.

Colonel COLTHURST asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will consider the case of those conductors of stores appointed before 1880, who now find themselves excluded from promotion by reason of the limitation of age to 45, these warrant officers having had every reason to expect more rapid promotion when they accepted their present position?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Although these conductors were technically eligible for promotion by selection, without limit of age, prior to 1881, it is very improbable that any of them over 45 years of age would have been selected for an appointment from which retirement was compulsory at 55 years of age. It was, therefore, thought desirable to make the limit of age a matter of regulation. At first the limit was put at 40 years of age; but it was subsequently raised to 45 years. These Warrant officers had no vested right to promotion; and I cannot admit their claim to be compensated as a result of changes, made for the good of the Service generally, which only indirectly affected them.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND —EXAMINATIONS FOR THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether there is any objection to place the Royal University of Ireland on the same footing as the Dublin University, as regards the lectures of its Fellows as an educational qualification for the final examinations for the Civil Service of India?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: The Royal University of Ireland does not stand precisely on the same footing as the Dublin University with regard to the particular matter referred to in this Question. But any application of the Royal University to be placed among the Institutions approved for the residence of probationers for the Indian Civil Service will be duly considered upon its merits. I may say, however, that no such application has been received.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—INTEREST OF THE DEBT—SAVINGS BANKS.

Sir EDWARD WATKIN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he proposes to reduce the rate of interest upon Provident Savings invested through the Savings Banks and the Post Office Savings Banks, rateably with his proposed reductions of interest upon Consols, or, while reducing the interest on Consols, to keep up the interest on Provident Savings?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): In reply to my hon. Friend's Question, I can only refer him to the answer given on Monday last by my right hon. Friend the Postmaster General, to the effect that the Question was altogether premature. The proposal I have made will not at present involve any necessary change in the Savings Banks arrangements.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SITTINGS AT VIRGINIA, CO. CAVAN.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether tenant farmers residing at Portanure Scrabby, county Cavan, are summoned to Land Sub-Commission Court at Virginia, a distance of twenty-one miles, for Friday next, while the Court sat in Cavan on 2nd April last; and, whether he will have arrangements made to lessen the inconvenience to parties who require to attend the Land Courts?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Legal Assistant Commissioner of the Cavan Sub-Commission reports that he will be able to make arrangements for hearing the cases alluded to in the Question at Kilnaleck, which is as near to Scrabby as is Cavan.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)— NATIVES OF UPPER EGYPT.

Mr. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government are aware that more than eighty per cent. of the male population of Upper Egypt, from Assiout to Wady Halfa, are, unlike the fellaheen of the Delta, very efficiently armed; and, whether, in view of the threatened extension of the Mahdi's rebellion northwards, the urgent expediency of disarming those people, the most fanatical and warlike of all the population of Egypt proper, has been considered?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: These Questions involve military considerations, which cannot be conveniently dealt with in an answer to an inquiry in the House.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—PENSIONS—SERGEANT INSTRUCTOR LYNE.

Viscount LEWISHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, If his attention has been called to the case of Sergeant Instructor John Lyne, recently discharged from the 3rd Volunteer Battalion of the South Staffordshire Regiment, who, after sixteen years' service on the permanent staff of the battalion, has been awarded a pension of only 6½*d.* a-day, although, under Art. 1,305, on page 211 of the Volunteer Regulations, he is entitled to a pension of 8*d.* a-day; and, what is the reason of this diminution?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The non-commissioned officer in question belonged to the Royal Marines, and consequently Article 1,305 of the Royal Warrant did not apply to him. He has been pensioned under Article 1,303. Under a recent decision some addition is made to pensions of this class from naval funds, and the case will be submitted to the Admiralty.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM said, that, as it appeared that this unfortunate man did not receive his full pension simply because he had once the misfortune to serve in the Marines, he should again call attention to the case.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—THE CREW OF THE "NISERO."

MR. STOREY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, as the Foreign Office has no funds at its disposal available for the relief of the families of the captive crew of the *Nisero*, he will make application to the Treasury for a reasonable sum for this purpose?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I regret to inform my hon. Friend that it would be altogether contrary to precedent to make the application which he suggests.

POST OFFICE—TELEPHONES—THE SUNDERLAND TRUNK WIRE.

MR. STOREY asked the Postmaster General, Whether he is aware that great public inconvenience is caused, in consequence of the trunk wire between Sunderland and Newcastle not being handed over to the Northern Telephone Company; whether this Company received a promise, on 3rd December 1883, that the trunk wire should be handed over to them; whether the new Agreement, which the Post Office authorities insisted on, was finally settled many weeks ago; and, what are the causes which prevent this trunk wire from being handed over immediately?

MR. FAWCETT: As I believe the public have suffered inconvenience from the trunk wire to which my hon. Friend refers not being handed over to the Northern District Telephone Company, I regret that there should have been delay. It has arisen from difficulties having occurred in coming to a decision about the terms of the agreement. I am glad to say, however, that the new agreement was sent to the Company for signature yesterday; and so soon as it has been returned signed, and the terms of the subscription are finally settled, the trunk wire shall be handed over—probably on Monday next.

POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS)—THE WEST INDIA MAIL SERVICE.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government are yet able to say when they will come to a decision upon the tenders for the new West India Mail Service, commencing on 1st January 1885, seeing that the said tenders were sent in on 1st December 1883, and only seven months remain in which contractors may complete their arrangements?

MR. COURTNEY: I am conscious of the expediency of bringing this matter to an early termination; but it involves many questions of difficulty which require to be considered by several authorities, and I am afraid I cannot name a date when the decision of the Government will be announced.

COURT OF BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND)—INSOLVENCY BUSINESS—DUTIES OF THE LATE CHIEF CLERK.

MR. FINDLATER asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If it is not a fact that, since the death of the late Mr. Farmer, the chief clerk in the Court of Bankruptcy and Insolvency, on the 20th of February 1881, that portion of his duties which consisted of insolvency business has, by direction of the Judges, been satisfactorily performed by Mr. David Connellan, first clerk Town and Country Departments in Insolvency, in addition to his own duties; whether the efficient discharge of such additional duties entitles Mr. Connellan to extra remuneration, under the 37th section of the Act 35 & 36 *Vict.*, c. 58, and have not the Judges of the Court recommended that he should receive such additional remuneration; and, will the Treasury comply with such recommendation?

MR. COURTNEY: I answered a Question on this subject on Monday. I have only now to add that Mr. Connellan had no claim under the section referred to.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE FARNESE HERCULES.

MR. R. POWER asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, For what reason and by whose direction the statue of the Farnese Hercules, in the Museum of Practical Geology, has been recently mutilated?

MR. MUNDELLA: What has been done in this case was by the order of the Director of the Geological Museum, and on his sole authority. As soon as it came to the knowledge of the Department he was admonished.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY AND QUEEN'S COLLEGES (IRELAND) — CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is now in a position to inform the House as to the composition of the Commission to inquire into the present state of the Royal University and Queen's Colleges, Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have much pleasure in answering this Question, although I am afraid the information is not very new. The Chairman of the Commission under the Lord Lieutenant is Mr. R. P. Carton, an eminent Queen's Counsel. The other members are — Rev. Gerald Molloy, D.D., Rector of the Catholic University in Ireland, Natural Philosophy Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland; Mr. George Johnstone Stoney, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., late Secretary to the Queen's University, a Vice President of the Royal Dublin Society, a Trustee of the National Library of Ireland; Professor William Jack, once of Owen's College, Manchester, Fourth Wrangler Cambridge, 1859, Professor of Mathematics Glasgow University, formerly Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools; and Deputy Surgeon-General J. A. Marston, head of the sanitary and statistical branch of the Army Medical Department. They will go to work at once, and I believe they will be able to give their attention to the work continuously.

MR. SEXTON asked the name of the gentleman who had been appointed Secretary to the Commission?

MR. TREVELYAN: No one has as yet been absolutely appointed to that post, and I do not think I could give the name to any certainty.

EGYPT—THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE.

MR. BOURKE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can now give the House any further information with respect to the proposed Conference; and, whether, considering the Law of Liquidation came into force without the intervention of a European Conference, what necessity is there to invite such a Conference to consider its alteration?

MR. GLADSTONE: There is no further information with respect to the Conference at present, no definitive answer having been received from Turkey. With respect to the latter part of the Question, it appears to me to be rather in the nature of an argument than of an inquiry as to a matter of fact; but, still, I may perhaps say this—that it is open to the right hon. Gentleman to question the proceedings if he thinks fit. But the necessity for this Conference having arisen mainly out of the calamities at Alexandria, in which all the Powers of Europe were interested, and the alteration of the Law of Liquidation being a different matter from the original framing of it, it appeared to Her Majesty's Government to be the most expedient course of proceeding to resort at once to the highest authority—namely, the assembled Powers of Europe.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Are the Government going to invite every Power in Europe?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; they are not; they are going to invite what are known as the Great Powers.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND (for Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is intended by Her Majesty's Government, in discussing the question of Egyptian finance at the proposed Conference, to introduce or admit the question of the administration of the Suez Canal, and the amount now paid by the Government of Egypt to Her Majesty's Government in respect of the shares purchased in 1876?

Mr. GLADSTONE: To that Question, Sir, I have to answer as follows:—Her Majesty's Government have no intention to introduce any other matter except that which is described in the invitation they have addressed to the Powers; and, as I have already said—this is also an answer to the following Question of the hon. Member for Eye—the introduction of any other matter would be the introduction of a new subject, and would be equivalent, in fact, to calling together a new Conference. That is an entirely distinct matter; but it might be embraced, of course, if it were the will of the Conference; but it is not included in the purview of the Conference.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked whether, in case the majority of the Conference endeavoured to introduce other important political matters in which British interests were paramount, Her Majesty's Government would distinctly decline to discuss them?

Mr. GLADSTONE: It would be highly inexpedient, against usage, and exceedingly disparaging to other Powers as well as to ourselves, to enter upon these matters.

Mr. BOURKE: In consequence of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman I should like to ask this further Question. The right hon. Gentleman stated that Turkey had not at present accepted the invitation.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Not finally accepted.

Mr. BOURKE: Are we to understand that all the other Powers have sent final acceptances to the invitation?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I conceive so. I am not aware that their answer depends upon the answer of Turkey. At the same time, it is for them, of course, to construe their own answer.

PORTUGAL—THE CONGO TREATY.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the declaration of Lord Granville, in his Despatches of 15th March and 1st June 1883, that a merely dual arrangement between Great Britain and Portugal would be futile, Her Majesty's Government will defer asking this House to express an opinion on the Treaty of 26th February 1884, until it can put this House in possession of the steps taken to obtain the concurrence of the other Powers interested?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government are in communication with the Government of Portugal as to the best means of obtaining the acceptance of the Congo Treaty by other Powers; and, until they are in a position to give to the House some further information on this subject, they feel that a discussion, as my hon. Friend suggests, would be premature. Under these circumstances, I would appeal to my hon. Friend the Member for Wenlock not to proceed with his Motion at present.

Mr. A. H. BROWN: In view of the appeal of the noble Lord, I cannot proceed with the Motion which stands in my name.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT asked the Prime Minister, whether the House could be assured that the Treaty would not be ratified until the House had had an opportunity of discussing it?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The original engagement will be adhered to. We shall be careful to inform the House when the communications referred to by my noble Friend have been brought to a conclusion.

SPAIN—COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS.

Mr. MAC IVER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What has been the result of the "Agreement on Commercial Arrangements with Spain," which formed the subject of a paragraph in Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, delivered by the Lords Commissioners to both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday February 5th, 1884; and, whether it is the fact that, notwithstanding such Agreement, Spain continues to maintain the attitude described in the Correspondence, "Commercial, No. 10," and declines to allow Great Britain to trade with the Spanish Possessions in the West Indies on terms as favourable as those accorded to the United States?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Owing to the elections in Spain, the coming Session of the Cortes will be so short that the Agreement cannot be discussed; the earliest date, therefore, at which it can be laid before the Spanish Legislature will be during the Session beginning in December next. It thus appears that the Agreement of December 1 last is not yet in force, and can, therefore, have had no effect on the duties levied on British merchandise in the Spanish Antilles, which remain unaltered.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, When he proposed to take Committee of Ways and Means; and when it was likely that the National Debt Bill and the Coinage Bill would be in the hands of Members?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): We hope to take the Committee of Ways and Means on this day week; but I do not say so positively, as it may not be possible to bring it on for two days later. There shall be no delay in laying the National Debt Bill and the Coinage Bill on the Table, though I am not able to fix a day. They will be printed and circulated as soon as possible.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked what would be the first Business to-morrow?

MR. GLADSTONE: In the event of our not being able to close the discussion on the Bill of the Attorney General with respect to Corrupt Practices at Municipal Elections this evening, it will be taken to-morrow before the Representation of the People Bill.

POST OFFICE—ACCELERATION OF THE IRISH MAILS.

MR. LEWIS: I beg to give Notice that on Monday I shall ask the Postmaster General, Whether any arrangements for the acceleration of the through Mail Service to Derry, Belfast, and other places in the North of Ireland have been matured, or will be matured shortly?

MR. FAWCETT: I shall answer that Question at once. We cannot come to any final arrangement with regard to the acceleration of the mails from Dublin until the time table between London and Kingstown has been finally settled. I hope that will be settled in a day or two, and then we shall immediately take the question of the acceleration of the mails generally throughout Ireland. The new time table cannot come into operation before the 1st of July; but I hope it will then.

MR. GRAY: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether the proposed acceleration will involve the earlier starting of the night mail train from Euston, as proposed by him in a communication to the Dublin Chamber of Commerce?

MR. FAWCETT: Directly the thing is settled I will give the hon. Member, or any other hon. Member who is interested, any information; but as there are two parties to the arrangement, I think it better that I should not make any further statement now.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY.—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £870,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of Victuals and Clothing for Seamen and Marines, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

MR. W. H. SMITH: I think it was understood that the discussion upon the Statement of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty should be taken upon the present occasion; and I think it will be for the convenience of the Committee if I refer to some of the remarks made by the hon. Gentleman in introducing the Estimates some weeks ago. I do not propose to occupy a very great deal of the time or the attention of the Committee; but there are some points which I should like to refer to in detail; and I must ask for the indulgence of the Committee if I go into questions of figures, which are always exceedingly uninteresting, and require a certain amount of explanation in order to make them intelligible. I will refer, first of all, to the comparison between the Estimates of the present and last year which was made by my hon. Friend. My hon. Friend has shown that the Estimates of 1884-5, as compared with 1883-4, show an increased charge, owing to an improvement in the position of certain officers—certain warrant officers and petty officers in the Fleet. I make no objection whatever to an improvement in the position of those men; but I regret to find that this increased charge is accompanied by a decided diminution in the strength of the Navy. There is an increase of charge; but with that increase there is a diminution in the strength of the Navy. That is a matter of some moment, because this reduction has been going on, more or less, from year to year for some time. I find no fault whatever with the Estimates as far as the charges are concerned. The practice which now prevails of re-commissioning ships abroad necessitates there being two crews for the same ship afloat at the same time. I believe it is the fact that ships are re-commissioned now at Malta and other foreign Stations; and the necessity for having two crews for the same ship gives us a smaller reserve of men to draw from in the event of any sudden emergency arising. My hon. Friend will correct me if I am wrong; but I suppose there never was a time in which our actual reserves were lower than at the present moment. I pass from that to a grave question to which my hon. Friend referred, and that was the insubordination among some of the seamen. The hon. Gentleman has done justice to the general improvement that has taken place in the efficiency, character, and general demeanour of the blue jackets as a whole. Everyone must have observed that during the last few years; but, unhappily, amongst the younger men there has existed a greater disposition towards insubordination than formerly existed. Whether this is due to the withdrawal of the fear of punishment, to which they were formerly subjected, or to any other circumstance, it is not for me to say; but I must repeat the objection which I strongly hold to the punishments which are, of necessity, inflicted upon young men who are sent to prison for considerable periods of time for the commission of offences which in themselves are exceedingly inimical to the preservation of good order and discipline, and must be punished when they occur on board ship in a service like that of the Navy. But, at the same time, I think they ought to be punished by some other punishment than imprisonment in company with persons of bad character. In many cases there are no other punishments available, under the orders of the present Board of Admiralty; and the result is to condemn men, simply for a freak of temper, for insubordination, or want of discipline, to become criminals for the greater part of their lives. I hold that those who have felt it necessary to withdraw from the Penal Code one punishment ought to find some other punishment which would not carry with it the stigma and disgrace and injury to a man's character which imprisonment among criminals for a long term involves, altogether unfitting a man for future employment who might otherwise have served his country faithfully and well. Reference has been made by the hon. Gentleman to an exceedingly valuable change which has taken place in the character of the sick berth staff, of which I desire to express my most cordial approval. I come now to the larger and more important considerations to which my hon. Friend referred. We had a discussion on the comparative strength of the French and English Navy; and I do not propose, on the present occasion, to re-open that discussion. It would be impossible to convince hon. Gentlemen that the view which some of us hold upon that point is an inaccurate one, or that it cannot be sustained by facts which ought to be accepted as convincing by the hon. Gentlemen we address. Therefore, I will satisfy myself with leaving, as I did on the last occasion, the whole responsibility of the building programme for the British Navy, as compared with its necessities and duties, to rest upon Her Majesty's Government. The House will always be prepared to give to the Government sufficient Ways and Means to keep the Navy at such a strength as, in their judgment, is required; and the whole responsibility of making adequate provision for the Navy must rest upon Her Majesty's Government. I wish now to say a few words upon various topics connected with the efficiency of the Navy; and, first of all, I will notice the Marines. I observe that the Marines are still deficient in their full strength. The events which have occurred during the last year have shown how exceedingly valuable the force of Marines is. They have done admirable service; and that service has been warmly and generously acknowledged not only by the Admiralty, but by the country at large. They are now the only available force for services such as those which have been undertaken by the Government on the Coast of the Red Sea. There is, apparently, no other military force there which could be used at Suakin; but a Marine force may be one half afloat and the other ashore, and may in this way be maintained in a state of efficiency. I have always regretted the recent reductions in the strength of the Corps; and circumstances have proved that it is a most valuable force, and one which ought not to be neglected. It is one on which the country can place entire reliance, where they would not be equally able to place reliance on some other military nominally effective force; and it is the duty of the Government to keep it up at least to the strength which has been voted. As to the question of tonnage, my hon. Friend quoted a definition of a ton weight, given some time ago by the present Secretary to the Treasury. I think there are probably not three men on the Benches opposite who would understand and thoroughly appreciate the explanation then given, and which was given as a full and complete explanation of the practice of the Admiralty. If I may be permitted by the Committee to repeat the exact words used by my hon. Friend, and as I have extracted them from the expense account of the Navy, I should like to do so, rather than run the risk of not conveying to the Committee the official explanation of a ton weight of shipping—

> "A ton is the standard of measurement of the proposed construction, and the word is used to arrive at a certain estimate of the cost of an assumed quantity of work. When a ship is designed the number of tons weight is estimated, and the total labour required in her construction is also estimated. The money value of that labour, divided by the number of tons, gives the cost per ton of the labour. This forms the measure of the progress of the ship, and, according to the amount expended for labour upon her, she is said to have added to her so many tons. In fact, what is called a ton is not, strictly speaking, a ton at all, but merely a convenient form of expressing the amount of money spent, or to be spent. It is impossible to say what money may necessarily have to be spent, and the figures given are, therefore, only approximate."

If the Estimates for last year are taken, I think it will be found that by dividing the amount provided for wages by the number of tons intended to be built there would be a cost of something like £33 or £34 a ton, and therefore it may be taken that every £33 10*s.* expended realized a ton weight of material built into a ship; that is, that for every £33 10*s.* we add really a ton more or less to the strength of the Navy and to the size of the ship under construction. Well, Sir, I am bound to say that, although I believe it was intended to be a fair and reasonably just expression used by my hon. Friend opposite and by the able servants of the Admiralty, or rather of the Constructive Department, in perfect or complete good faith, nevertheless I think that the Estimate or statement is completely and absolutely fallacious. My hon. Friend admitted that when he said that a ton weight of material built into a ship did not give an accurate idea of the amount built, but was only more or less approximate. I have examined the ton weight of hull estimated to have been completed on the first page of the Estimates during the last three years, and I have compared them with the Estimates for this year on page 191. There are two sets of figures. There is a statement of the total armoured tonnage expected to be completed in 1883-4, and when the Estimates were framed, and there are the previous Estimates which purport to be the actual amount of tonnage completed in 1883-4. The Estimate of the amount of armoured ships intended to be built in the Dockyards was 10,299 tons, and in this year's Estimates it is shown to be 11,490 tons. That was built at a cost for wages of £383,000. Well, Sir, there is another page in these Estimates —page 204—which shows the tons weight of hull built by April, 1884—that is this year—and the tons to be built in 1884-5; and in order to identify the two we must compare the tons to be built in 1884-5 on page 204, and we shall find they correspond exactly with the tons to be built in 1884-5. in the Estimate on page 191. It is, therefore, clear that the tons intended to be built are precisely the same on one page as those referred to on the other. I hope my hon. Friend will follow me, and will admit that I am not making any mis-statement of the fact, that the ton on page 191 is the same ton intended to be built on page 204. I think that is a fair statement of the case. Well, the real fact of the case is, that the results have in no instance agreed; the particulars are absolutely and entirely fallacious as far as the work is concerned. Now, I make no charge against anybody with regard to these fallacious figures. Figures appear to have an irresistible charm for some persons, who deal with them, and put them together in such a way as to be entirely satisfactory to themselves, while, at the same time, they expect them to be satisfactory to everybody else. I have examined for three succeeding years the Estimates in the way I have stated. I have examined the amount intended to be done in the first portion of the Estimate—that is to say, at page 191 in the Estimates of 1881-2, and at page 197 of the Estimates of the same year. In order to understand the matter accurately, I was obliged to refer to the Estimates of the preceding year, so as to find what was the amount of the tonnage actually built into the ships according to the Estimates themselves in that year; and I found that, for the ships named on page 197 of the Estimates of 1881-2, 16,700 tons had been built in. The promise was to build in 10,816 tons in the Estimates of 1881-2, at pages 191 and 197. The two figures entirely agree one with the other; but in the Estimates of 1882-3, instead of 10,816, the Government proposed to add 207 tons, making 11,023. Adding to the 16,700 tons already built the 11,023 to be built, there should be a total of 27,723 altogether; but it is shown on the Estimates of 1882-3 that only 26,510 tons had been built into the ships named, showing not an excess, but a deficiency, amounting in 1881-2 to 1,213 tons. Therefore, this reduced the actual tonnage built into the ships to 9,810 tons (11,023 proposed, and 12,013 not built), instead of 10,800. I hope the Committee will forgive me for going into details, which I am afraid are not interesting; but they certainly seem to me to be of very considerable importance. In 1882-3, the tons built into the ships named on page 201 of the Estimates for the year were 26,510; and the number of tons to be built in 1882-3 was 11,016, as shown on pages 195 and 201 of the Estimates for 1882-3, making a total of 37,526 tons; but, by a reference to the Estimates, it appears that only 36,243 had been completed, including the *Ajax*, 5,900; the *Agamemnon*, 5,900; and the *Polyphemus*, 1,690, making 13,490, which, added to 22,793, gives a total of 36,253 tons actually built in 1882-3, showing a deficiency of 1,283 tons, or only 9,733 tons actually built in 1882-3. I can give my hon. Friend the names and tonnage of the ships themselves if he wishes it. I will now take 1883-4, because that is the year which has been spoken of as the evidence of the successful building programme of the Government and the Admiralty during the past year. In 1883-4 it was proposed to build in the Dockyards 11,224 tons of armoured ships. The iron-clads into which this tonnage was to be built is shown on page 204 of the Estimates for 1883-4. The number of tons built into them was 22,753 by April, 1883. The Estimates of 1884 withdraw the *Mersey* and the *Severn* from armoured ships, and this reduced the original Estimate of armoured ships to be built to 10,299 tons; but the previous Estimate of the tonnage to be built in 1883-4 and the tonnage asserted to have been actually built is 11,490, and I think that is the tonnage claimed by my hon. Friend as having been built in the Dockyards up to the 31st of March. Now, if we take the work done on these ships by April, 1883, as shown on page 204 of the Estimates, it was 22,753 tons; and if we add 11,490 tons claimed to have been completed, we have a total of 34,243 tons; but the actual condition of the ships shown at page 204 was that 27,878 tons were built, and if we add the *Conqueror*, 4,200 tons passed away and said to have been completed, the total would be 32,078 tons, showing a deficiency of tons weight of hull of 2,167 tons, or quite 20 per cent of the 11,490 tons claimed to have been completed, and leaving only 9,225 as having been shown to be added to the weight of ships. Here, again, I have the figures, and I should be glad to give them to my hon. Friend if he wishes to have them. I have spoken now of the apparent increase in the armoured strength of the Navy during the past year; and I contend that the Estimates themselves show that if it had been the practice—I am making no complaint against my hon. Friend—but if it had been the practice to take the actual tonnage weight of the hull built into the ships, and ascertained to have been built into the ships, and put into the programme in the first instance as having been built, we should have been able to see the actual result, rather than that other result which my hon. Friend would wish to say has been accomplished. My hon. Friend and the Admiralty had these facts before them, because they have given them to the House; and, therefore, instead of saying that there were 11,490 tons built into the ships, I contend they ought to have said there were 9,220 tons. But what are the wages taken per ton for the cost of the total tonnage? The total cost was £383,000 for, say, 11,490 tons at page 191 of the Estimates for this year, 1884-5. That would come to about £33 10*s.* per ton; but as there have only been, as is shown by the Estimates at page 204, 9,225 tons built, the labour has cost £41 10*s.* per ton weight of hull, irrespective of all their expense and charges. I have spoken of two sets of figures in the same Estimates which differ widely. The expense accounts shows a third set of figures, and I wish to call attention to it. Take the case of the *Conqueror* in the accounts of 1882-3, as shown in the expense account, it had had 3,049 tons weight of hull built by April, 1882. In the expense accounts for the year ending April, 1882, at page 14 it is shown that 3,052 tons were built at that time, so that the Estimates and the expense account agree within three tons, which is altogether an inconsiderable amount not worth referring to. That shows that the Estimate, as far as page 204 is concerned, giving the actual statement of the amount of work done on the ships more nearly approaches accuracy than the first page of the programme to which I have referred, and on which my hon. Friend claims a larger performance. In the expense accounts for 1881-2, at page 14, it is shown that 3,052 tons were built at that time; but in the expense accounts for the year 1882-3, at page 14, the tons built prior to the year are shown to have been only 2,518, so that in a simple case of bringing forward from one year's account to another 534 tons weight are lost without note or comment, and other ships show a similar loss. There is, therefore, no reliance whatever to be placed upon this information as to tons built, or the cost as far as wages are concerned per ton. We do not know from any Return in the possession of the House accurately what has been obtained for so large an expenditure. Now, if, instead of 11,490 tons having been built, the figures shown on page 204 of the Estimates are correct at present, and only 9,225 tons weight of hull are claimed to be built as upon page 204, there is every reason to fear that, as in the case of the *Conqueror*, *Colossus*, and other ships these figures will shrink again very materially when brought into the expense account, and the ultimate result for the year will be some 15 per cent less than 9,225 tons, or probably some 7,800 tons, at a cost for wages alone of £50 per ton. Now, to what is this due? I have confidence that the original Estimates made by the Controllor and Constructor of the Navy were framed in perfect and complete good faith; but I think I have shown that there is a great probability that instead of our obtaining the actual tonnage which we hoped to get, and the increase on the actual strength of the Navy which we hope to obtain, we have got considerably less. I think my hon. Friend will recognize that the amount of the deficiency is very considerable indeed; 11,400 tons would represent two very large ships of war, and the deficiency between 11,400 tons and the possibility of having only 7,800 represents, at least, one-half of a very large ship, and it brings it down to the production of less than one first-class ship, instead of one and a-half in the course of the year. Now, to what is this due? I said just now that I believed the Estimate had been framed, in the present instance, by the Controller and Constructor of the Navy with the greatest possible care, and that there was no intention whatever to deceive the Admiralty or the country as to the cost of the ships intended to be built, and that probably £33 10*s.* per ton in respect of the building of a ship was a very fair and full estimate. The result is due largely to the alterations made in the construction of the ship after the design has been settled, while the ship has been in the stocks after she had been launched, and before she came into the Service. It is due largely to a conscientious desire to carry out those improvements to which my hon. Friend referred in the course of his speech. He said—"I think that it would be utter folly to shut our eyes to improvement." I entirely believe that that would be a correct and a wise policy, and that it would be the height of folly to shut our eyes to improvement; but it would also be the height of folly to wait for the perfection which hon. Gentlemen sometimes desire to see attained in any particular thing with which they have to deal, and which has a special and fascinating interest for persons whose reputation is supposed to be concerned in turning out a ship, or a gun, or any other article of mechanism. And if they had the entire and absolute control of the work to be done, they would, undoubtedly, commit a folly even greater than that of shutting their eyes to improvements, if they looked forward to effecting such improvements in the process of building a ship, or completing a great piece of mechanism which was not contemplated when the original design was settled, and which would result both in serious delay and a considerable increase of cost. Her Majesty's Government, when they took Office, promised, as compared with their Predecessors, to put these ships out of hand with far greater rapidity than had ever before been attained; and I am sure that no one in this House, and no one in the country, welcomed that decision on their part more cordially than I did. After having myself been two years at the Admiralty, I at last came to see some of the difficulties with which the Board of Admiralty had to contend; so also had my Colleagues. I had been a shorter time at the Admiralty than they had been; but I came to see some of the difficulties after two years' service there, and I feel that no greater service could be done to the Navy than to resolve that after the design of a ship has been settled, to push forward the completion of that ship with all the energy possible for a great manufacturing establishment to give to its work. Now, the *Colossus* was laid down in June, 1879, and it is said that it will be completed this year—that is to say, after five years. The *Conqueror* was laid down in April, 1879, and it is called completed, but it is not yet finished; and I shall have a little more to say upon that point by-and-bye. The *Edinburgh* was laid down in March, 1879, and it is only to be advanced to 73-100ths this year. The result is that we have no really completed ship either last year or this year. The *Conqueror* is spoken of as completed, and is removed from the building programme of the Navy. I venture to say that it is nothing less than a farce to call the *Conqueror* complete. She may be complete as far as her hull is concerned; but she has not got at the present moment the breech-pieces to her guns, and it has not yet been determined what breech-piece shall be fitted to them, nor are her loading arrangements yet determined upon, the loading machinery not having been settled yet. Many thousands of pounds will still be required to be expended upon her; and it will take many months after her breech-pieces and loading arrangements have been decided upon to complete her. Then, for my part, I think it is most unwise to call a ship completed until it is ready for sea. There is only one condition of completeness, and that is the condition of being ready to receive her crew. I am convinced in my own mind, as far as I could see with my own eyes at Chatham last year, that the *Conqueror* will not be ready during the course of the financial year, or, if so, it will be quite as much as she can do. I think we ought to have an alteration in the practice of the Admiralty, and I hope my hon. Friend will admit the justice of the claim to an alteration of the system. When ships are called complete they should be absolutely ready for service.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: With their guns.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: Undoubtedly with their guns, as my hon. and gallant Friend remarks. At present the guns are furnished; but the breech-pieces, without which the gun is only a tube of iron, are not ready; indeed, it is not settled what loading apparatus these 43-ton guns should have, and experiments have to be made to determine what the breech and loading apparatus shall be. I do not complain of care being taken that the guns should be as absolutely perfect as they can be made; but it must be remembered that this has been going on for six years. The design of the gun was settled when I was in the Admiralty in 1878; and it is at least unfortunate that now, in 1884, the Admiralty is unable to use some of their most powerful ships, by reason of the fact that at the present moment the breech-loading apparatus of the gun is not complete—has not been decided upon, in point of fact—that the loading arrangements are not even designed, and cannot be designed until the other arrangements have been completed. The complaint is not only with regard to the *Conqueror*. I only mention the *Conqueror* as an instance of the condition of things I regard as unsatisfactory, in order to save the time of the Committee. I think myself the *Leander* class ought to be rendered complete, according to the arrangements undertaken by the Board of Admiralty, without loss of time. I know it is said that the *Leander* should be completed first; that then a trial of the *Leander* should be made; and that then it should be ascertained what improvements or alterations ought to be effected in the *Arethusa*, and the other ships of the same class. It is said that the other two are built and are almost complete; and I can only say that it is not only the cause of great delay, but of great extravagance, to effect improvements that were not contemplated in the first design. I have said that £33 10*s*. was the estimated cost per ton, in the first portion of the Estimate for its tonnage, which it was assumed would be realized—I mean £33 10*s*. per ton for wages. But in these Estimates, 13 pages later, it is shown that only as many as 2,000 tons were actually built; therefore, the wages go up to £41 10*s*. per ton. I think I have shown to the Committee that the wages are liable to be increased still further by the breaking down of the work contemplated; and then, after the final adjustment of expenses takes place, we may find that it amounts to £50 per ton for wages alone for the building of war ships in Her Majesty's Dockyards. I do not see any shipbuilder present in the House who has experience in the building of ships in private yards. I am not going to compare private yards with Her Majesty's Dockyards; but, still, some reference may be made to the cost of building ships of war in private yards, in order that we may be able to form some estimate as to the economy and results of the labour and expenditure in the public Dockyards. I have not been able, from the inquiries I have made, to ascertain that in the yards of the most experienced and capable private builders it would cost to get a ship completed, even as ships are completed in Her Majesty's Dockyards, anything approaching £50 a-ton for labour, exclusive altogether of establishment and fixed charges. Now, Sir, there can be no doubt whatever that the Dockyard work is as good as it can possibly be, and perhaps better than the work of even the best private yard. [Sir EDWARD J. REED: No.] I have a very high opinion of the work of private shipbuilders; but I am coming back to the suggestion I made a few minutes ago, that there must be some mode of carrying out the work in the public Dockyards, which would enormously reduce the cost of building, and yet give as good ships as under the present system of expenditure. I must say that I believe the excess which has been growing larger and larger in these Estimates is greatly due to alterations after the approval of the design, and also to new mechanical appliances. I am afraid that I am wearying the Committee, but I have consulted a gentleman of great commercial ability and intelligence, and also of great scientific attainments, in the matter. I asked him his opinion as to some of the new and most delicate discoveries and improvements adopted in connection with Her Majesty's ships. His answer was that while 10 years ago the Navy was, undoubtedly, slow to admit improvements, and slow to avail itself of that mechanical assistance which science was ready to afford it, he thought that now—and he had very good reason for making the assertion—there was a tendency to go a great deal too far in that direction; that there was a disposition to provide mechanical appliances for works which could be well and cheaply done by manual labour. He added that where manual labour already existed on board ship it certainly would be far better, where the work could be done by the men without placing too great a strain upon their strength, or adding too largely to the number employed on board ship, it should be done by manual labour instead of mechanical means. There was always the danger that a mechanical apparatus might at some time or other when in action get out of order and be strained, and consequently become useless. Now, I do not wish to insist too much upon this point; but I have no doubt myself that we are far beyond Foreign Powers in regard to the adoption of mechanical means for working our guns on board ship; and probably some of this increased cost is due to the additional heavy expense of mechanical appliances. I have, therefore, a grave doubt whether we have gained in absolute efficiency, as many people suppose, by the employment of mechanical appliances. Somehow or other, our expenditure seems largely increased; but the numbers and the efficiency of our ships have not. We have not obtained 11,400 tons of shipping in the year, or the rate of progress which we ought to have had according to the Estimates placed before us ; but, on the contrary, the actual amount of tonnage built into the ship has been reduced to 9,200, and may be reduced still further. The practice is, undoubtedly, this—the hull is laid down and the ship half built when the guns are altered, her magazines are altered, and her weights are altered, by which the trim of the ship and her immersion are affected. Other things are changed ; and the result is that you have a very costly and a very beautiful machine, but one that is very disappointing, for there are very few cases in which a ship entirely realizes the estimate formed of her by her constructor and designer in the first instance. If you ask why this is, the designer will tell you that he is really not responsible for the changes which have been effected, and the improvements which have been introduced into the ship during the progress of her construction. I venture again to say that if we wish to have economy and efficiency the design should be definitely settled, and that nothing less than a revolution should be allowed to change it. If that course were adopted by the Admiralty one half of the time occupied in building the ships, and one-third of the cost of building the iron-clads, would, I believe, be saved. In saying this, I am in no way attacking, politically, the Admiralty of the day. I am speaking of facts as I find them ; and the course which I strongly recommend is in the interests of the country, and not in those of any political Party. Let the design be fully considered before it is settled ; spend any amount of time beforehand in changing it backwards and forwards; appoint any Committee you please in order to settle the design; but when it is settled nothing on earth should be allowed to interfere with it. Only one person should be responsible, and that person should be the First Lord of the Admiralty. There is only one other person who would have to carry out the final orders, and that person is the constructor of the ship, and I would hang the constructor if he allowed alterations to be made after the design had been settled. I believe that if this course were taken the ship would be a better ship, a cheaper ship, and a more successful ship in every sense of the word. There would also be this advantage—that instead of taking seven or eight years before it is completed and ready for sea, instead of becoming an obsolete ship, as many of our ships are now, it would be at sea in three or four years, and we should then have the experience afforded by a complete ship carried out according to a complete original design. So that if future improvements be necessary they could be decided upon without doubt or hesitation. I read in the papers the other day that a ship laid down by a private shipbuilder, who has, I believe, built ships for Her Majesty's Service—an armoured ship built for the Brazilian Government — was completed in two years and five months from the day on which the contract was signed. There may have been reasons for the rapidity with which this ship was completed ; but she is a powerful ship of about 6,000 tons, and such a result has never been obtained in Her Majesty's Service—such a result has never been obtained by a Government Dockyard. If we could do that—if we could complete a ship and send it to sea within three years of the time it was first laid down, we should make real progress and advancement. I will not trouble the Committee with the evidence which I have obtained myself as to the cost in past years; but I cannot help giving some figures, which are really remarkable in themselves, which have been furnished to me by a shipbuilder who has done good work for the Admiralty. I have been told that the cost of labour in the *Nelson* was only £18 per ton, delivered as she was to the Admiralty in 1876-7. I am aware that there has been a great increase in the cost of labour since; but the difference between £18 a-ton and £50 a-ton is very great indeed, and this difference is not due to the cost of labour in the Dockyard itself. Probably the labourer in the Dockyards is not paid so much as the artizan in the Clyde; but, somehow or other, better results are got on the Clyde, and I believe it is due entirely to the fact that an order is carried out in the one case, and that an order is not carried out in the other, but is varied and altered time after time and day after day. I must again apologize for having troubled the Committee at so great a length; but the subjects which I have felt it necessary to discuss are of the greatest importance, and touch the strength of the country. I earnestly hope that the Admiralty will, in future, have but one set of figures in their Estimates, and that they will see, as far as possible, that the figures themselves are correct. I trust, also, that attention will be given to the most important considerations which I have ventured to put before the Committee—that a successful effort will be made to stop these endless alterations in ships; that ships will not be returned to this House as complete until they are quite ready for sea, instead of requiring, as at present, several months' work, and an expenditure of several thousands of pounds, in order to render them available for service. It is quite useless to say that we have a large Navy if that Navy is laid up in our Dockyards, incomplete and unable to move by reason of bad boilers, or in consequence of being altogether out of repair. Any Report of the strength of the Navy under conditions like these is completely fallacious; and it is the duty of the Admiralty to maintain Her Majesty's Navy in a state of complete efficiency. I believe it could be done even within the Estimates which are now before the Committee if that discretion is exercised which I have shown to be necessary. It would be thus alone that we can feel that the Navy of the country is equal to the duties which it may be called upon to discharge. A noble and gallant Friend of mine in "another place" has referred, in fitting and just terms, to the services rendered to the country recently by the blue jackets in the Navy; and my noble Friend remarked that as long as we had such men as those we now possess it matters very little what ships we provide for them to fight in. Now, I am not of that opinion. I do not think it is either fair or just to our officers and men that we should place in their hands anything but the most complete weapons, or that we should place them in anything but the most favourable condition for doing their duty to the country and the Queen. It is painful for me to be obliged to say it; but I do not think the Admiralty have fully realized the importance of keeping the ships which are now at sea in such a state of complete efficiency in all respects as to enable them to move at full speed, if they are required to do so, as well or better than any ships that may be sent out against them. Certainly that is not what they are now. I refrain from saying any more at the present moment; but I reserve to myself the opportunity which is always afforded in Committee of taking part in any further debate that may arise.

SIR EDWARD J. REED: The right hon. Gentleman opposite has made a speech, the importance of which it is well to recognize. When the Speaker was putting the Question this evening that "I do now leave the Chair," I heard an hon. Member near me say—"You will now see the House go out almost to a man before the discussion of the Navy Estimates is proceeded with." That prediction was so far verified that to-night I observe that the whole Conservative Party in this House, or those who are so anxious for our foreign policy to be bold and efficient, and so ready for the country to exert itself against foreign nations, has been represented in the course of this discussion by six Members upon the whole of the Benches opposite; and the great Liberal Party, with all the intense interest it takes in naval economy, has been represented by not more than 12 Members. Now, I venture to think that we have, in this state of things, and in the condition of the Committee at the present moment, the true reason why it happens that Her Majesty's ships are seven years in building, and why, at this moment, the country has millions of money taken from its taxes and invested in ships of war, which millions of money might have been available for the defence of the nation and the assertion of its power, if a reasonable amount of efficiency had been put into the naval administration of the country; whereas these millions of money are absolutely useless for all the purposes of the country in any war which may arise, either this year or next. The right hon. Gentleman has incidentally mentioned the fact that the ships, in which this country has been investing its money so freely since 1879, are still lying useless, and must continue to remain as useless for this year and next as if the country had never voted 6*d*. for them. If we could only see the time arrive when the House of Commons took one-half the interest in its Navy which it constantly takes in miserable pettifogging personal questions, we should see a very different state of things arise, which I, for one, should not be sorry to see. I do not discern in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman any indication of the desire which I feel in my own mind — namely, a desire to place the whole responsibility for these shortcomings upon those Noblemen and Gentlemen who assume to manage our great Departments. I hold that Lord Northbrook and the noble Marquess who represents the War Department in this House are responsible for the non-completion of our ships, and the non-efficiency of their armament; and I do not wish to hold anybody else responsible. It is all very well to talk about hanging a constructor; but the constructors have no more to do with the matter than the House. It is because of divided responsibility and distributed authority that this state of things is allowed to go forward. The right hon. Gentleman has referred to the case of a ship which has been recently built, an iron-clad ship of 6,000 tons, which has been completed in about two years and five months. I drew the specifications of that vessel; and really it seems to me but the other day when I was discussing with the representatives of the Brazilian Government the type and the description of ship we should build. I do not know whether her armament is quite complete or not; but, at any rate, she is so far complete that she has passed through her steam trials; and I think I am correct in stating that the builders have received the final instalment of her price. But this ship now built was not thought of until many years after some of the ships which are still remaining incomplete in Her Majesty's Establishments, and which we are told are to remain incomplete for this year and the next. I must say that this, to me, casts a very serious slur upon the administration of our Public Departments. There is a ship now known as the *Edinburgh* which was begun under another name in 1879; and, as my right hon. Friend has told you, it is the intention of the Admiralty to advance her by the 31st of March, 1885, to about 73-100ths of her building. Well, if this House is willing to accept that state of things, and to pass it by without remonstrance, of course there will be little chance of this Imperial Parliament obtaining any reasonable result from the investment of the public money. If the House is willing to agree to such a course, the only wonder is that the Admiralty ever finishes anything at all. If Parliament itself will not insist upon having the money voted properly employed, it is not reasonable to expect that statesmen, who have so many other things to think about, will care whether the ships are completed or not. As to the armament of the *Conqueror*, I have known the *Conqueror* for some time. The right hon. Gentleman tells us that so much of the gun as consists of a big tube is ready; but that the breech-piece is still under the consideration of the Department. I do not see any Representative of the War Department on the Bench below me; and I do not know whether my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty is prepared to accept the whole responsibility for the delay in completing the *Conqueror*, including the breech-piece. If he is not, I think it is a pity that no Representative of the War Department is here to-night to hear the opinions I am going to express, and to learn the objections which some of us cherish in regard to these matters. I say that such delay is a discredit and a disgrace to the country, and to any Government, and especially to the productive skill of the nation in mechanical constructions. The more discreditable it is to a great nation productive of ships like England, and it is deplorable, as well as discreditable to the country, that such a state of things should be allowed to go on. Attacks were made upon the Government for the delay which the Navy Estimates of last year disclosed; but I then believed, and I still believe, that the Government, within the limits they recognize are acting up to the obligations they imagine to fall upon them in making efforts to get the ships finished. I believe the only pressure which can induce the Government to complete the ships and guns more quickly must come from this House. I really do not know how it is to be put in force; but it is impossible to know such men as Lord Northbrook and the hon. Members now upon the Treasury Bench—the Secretary to the Admiralty, and the hon. Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey)—without feeling perfectly sure that, unless they are subjected to some influence they cannot master, or do not recognize, they would not submit to this state of things. The right hon. Gentleman has raised a very interesting, but I may say, and I am sure he knows, a very old, discussion about tonnage. In that discussion about tonnage in every point, as far as it has been stated by the right hon. Gentleman, I entirely agree. What the right hon. Gentleman said about measuring progress by tonnage indicates the ease with which the House can be bamboozled. The Navy Estimates themselves have shown for years the absolute nonsense of the distribution of the cost of a ship over the tons weight of hull. But I am sure that the alteration which the right hon. Gentleman proposes would not remove the defects of the present plan. What the right hon. Gentleman proposes is to have a column put in the Estimates, giving the actual weight and material built into the hull; but in building an armour-clad ship, as he is perfectly aware, a great deal of labour is spent upon parts that weigh very little. When we get a ship approaching completion and ready to receive her armour, weights might be put in which would disrupt all your figures and make matters even worse than they are at present. The fact is, if we will only accept it, the words "tons built" in these Estimates mean nothing at all, and it is a waste of time to expend any pains upon them. If all the information we really received from the Admiralty were how much they proposed to spend on the ships; how much they have spent; and how much more they propose to spend, then we should know just as much as we know now. But I must say this on behalf of the Admiralty and of the form of the Estimates—that I think there would be considerable inconvenience even to this House in modifying the present arrangements, because it would sweep away all the old comparisons; and there is nothing worse in considering the National Estimates than to find the basis of them continually changed. The Admiralty—I do not remember whether it was the late or the present Admiralty, and I do not discriminate much between the different Boards of Admiralty—but I think it was the present Admiralty, who, in deference to remarks which were made from time to time, did introduce a different and better column in the programme of the works, giving us a percentage of the ships to be built in a somewhat improved form. The right hon. Gentleman opposite has laid down another proposition to-night, which I think is not only a very true, but a very important one, and that is that in the present state of Parliament, looking at those things which Parliament itself recognizes to be of importance, it would be useless to attempt here to make any change, or to fix the responsibility for the state of the Navy upon anybody but the Government. I am speaking now with regard to the number of ships we have. I see the right hon. and gallant Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay) present. He has made many efforts, and exercised no small portion of his high faculties and great experience, in securing certain advantages for the Navy. Sir Thomas Symonds also has devoted great care and labour to similar improvements; but what can any individual do if all the time my hon. Friend the Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey), and my hon. Friend below me the Secretary to the Admiralty, are ready to come down to the House and paint to us a *couleur de rose* picture of the state ef the Navy? We can do nothing. There are one or two minor matters in the right hon. Gentleman's speech which I should like to refer to. I could not agree with the right hon. Gentleman, and I was obliged to express audibly my dissent from him, when he said that the work done in Her Majesty's Dockyards is infinitely better than that done in private yards. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman intended to put it quite as strongly as that; and I do not think it is necessary to introduce any question as to the relative excellence of the work done between private yards and the Government Dockyards, because the length of time taken in building a ship is in no degree due to any considerations of that kind. The right hon. Gentleman has not, I think, had any experience as to completing war ships in private yards. I have had great experience. Since I left the Admiralty I have been supervisor of a number of iron-clad vessels, or men-of-war, which have been built in private establishments; and I must say that I do not experience any difficulty in getting them completed within a reasonable time and with all necessary excellence. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will accept that statement from me as having some weight. There is another point on which I wish to ask a question of my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty, and it is about the Royal Corps of Naval Constructors. No one here will suppose, for a moment, that I could possibly witness any improvement in the position of the naval constructors, who have been a very depressed class, without satisfaction; but it seems strange to me that we are told in the Estimates that certain Votes are to be given for a Royal Corps of Naval Constructors without being told anything about the Corps itself. I do not know whether the Government, in these days, can undertake to establish any number of Royal Corps without reference to Parliament; but in this case, as far as I can make out, the Crown has not sought any kind of approval for the establishment of this Corps. As I have said, I do not know whether the Crown claims the right to establish any number of Royal Corps without reference to this House; but I should have thought that, in taking such an important step, some pains would have been taken to obtain the approval of this House, and to furnish it with all necessary information. It is to me highly gratifying, however, that this Corps has been established; and I think the present Administration deserves extremely well of the country for having made the change, and for having elevated a mechanical class into a higher and more recognized position. I believe, Sir Arthur Otway, I shall be in Order in saying a word in reference to the naval engineers?

THE CHAIRMAN: That question will come on more properly for discussion under Vote 6. The present discussion has been largely developed altogether, and it would certainly not be admissible to discuss items which will come on again under other heads.

SIR EDWARD J. REED: I thought the Committee were to understand that this was a discussion on the general question. All I was going to say was, that I wished I could say something to-night that would induce the Admiralty to take into consideration the propriety of giving the engineers of the Royal Navy something like the improved organization which they are now giving to the constructors. There is nothing more lamentable to me in connection with the whole of the Navy than the fact that actually the engineers of the Navy are allowed to remain in such a degraded position—degraded as regards rank, and degraded as regards pay. I will not make any comparison between the class of naval engineers and the ordinary active class, because I am aware that a great variety of opinions might be held as to the relative importance of the engineers in the Royal Navy, and of the other executive branches; but I do not suppose that any Member of the Committee would not wish to see the naval engineers, considering the way in which they have been trained for their profession in order to acquire skill, and incur the tremendous responsibility they are intrusted with—I do not suppose anybody would think the naval engineers are inferior, for instance, to the paymasters, who are nothing more than clerks. Will it be credited that the Government of the country has continued to go on keeping its naval engineers not only in a position of inferiority, but in a position of marked inferiority to the mere clerks—the paymasters, and the clerical officers of the Royal Navy? I do not suppose there would be any difficulty in inducing clerks to go to sea in Her Majesty's ships. I presume it would be, at least, as easy to get a naval clerk as a naval engineer; yet I am sorry to say it is, nevertheless, a fact that the naval engineer, both as regards pay and rank, is, by comparison, in a position of great disadvantage. In deference to what the Chairman has said, I will not go into figures as to this class. It may be possible to refer to them when we come to the Vote for that Department of the Service, and as another occasion will arise, I will content myself with what I have said. I think a great discrepancy exists between the pay and rank, and other hon. Gentlemen who are familiar with them may feel it their duty to make remarks upon them. I hope that nothing I have said will be supposed in any way to be directed against the Admiralty. The remarks I have made to-night are a continuation of those which I made in the last Parliament, and which I am bound to continue to make, because the Naval Service is one of primary importance. Another reason why we should be perfectly free in our remarks is this—that Her Majesty's Government must do the House the justice of saying that whatever topics they are ready to convert into political questions they are never ready to make the Navy a political question; and the right hon. Gentleman who has spoken to-night set an admirable example by indulging in free criticism without being animated by Party bias. I hope my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty will feel that the only object I have had in making these remarks has been to get Her Majesty's ships quickly built, and to see that they are promptly rendered fit for service.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, he thought the discussion that night might be looked on, to some extent, as an adjourned debate upon the speech made by the Secretary to the Admiralty in introducing the Navy Estimates the other night. He believed that was the general understanding; and he wished to make a few remarks upon that speech, some parts of which had not yet been touched. He was very glad to hear the Secretary to the Admiralty the other night state that he was in a position to give some increase of pay to a very important branch of the Naval Service, or, as he called them, "the backbone of the lower class of the Navy"—he meant the petty officers. He understood that some increase was to be made to their pay immediately, and also prospectively. They were, he believed, after having served four years, to get an increase of 3*d.* per day. That was satisfactory as far as it went; but he should like to ask the hon. Gentleman why it was that the increase of pay was confined to the seamen class of petty officers, and why it should not have been extended to some of the non-combatants? For instance, to some of the ships' stewards and police, both of them important classes in reference to a man-of-war, and whose pay had not increased for a number of years—in point of fact, since 1867 he believed. Complaints had been made, as hon. Members might have seen, in the papers within the last few years of the want of honesty which was supposed to have existed among the class of ships' stewards. He would not go into that matter now. He did not know whether the complaints were well founded or not. He thought that some of the cases had been magnified; but he would suggest that an excuse, if excuse was possible at all, might be found in the fact that these petty officers found themselves at very considerable disadvantage compared with other classes on board ship. He presumed that was the one cause which had led to the cases of peculation which had originally been found to exist. He thought himself that the increase of pay ought to have been extended to them for another reason also, because they did not participate in that deferred pay which was now given to petty officers of the seamen class, and they were not allowed good-conduct stripes. In many ways they were at great disadvantage compared with their messmates on board ship of the same rank. He also wanted to know, because it was not made clear the other day, whether this increase of pay to the petty officers was to be extended to the Coastguard? He did not think it was; and the Coastguard also would be at considerable disadvantage. They constituted our First Class Naval Reserve, and were the first Reserve we could call upon in a time of war. He was glad to hear that improvements were to be made in the hospital staff, and that thoroughly trained nurses were to be obtained—both boys and also lady nurses being provided. He thought it was a step in the right direction; but in connection with matters of hospital treatment he should like to call the attention of the Secretary to the Admiralty to what he believed to be a real grievance. He was afraid that very few Members of the House were aware of the matter. The case was this—when an officer went into hospital—say a retired officer, in order to make an exact comparison—he had a sum of money, ranging from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* a-day stopped, out of his pay, or pension, as the case might be, for board, lodging, and medical treatment in the hospital. That might possibly amount to something like one-fifth or one-sixth of the pay or pension; but in the case of a pensioner who was obliged to go into the hospital the whole of his pay was stopped if he was a single man; but if he was married then 3*s.* a-week was allowed out of his pay to his wife and family. If he was not married the whole of his pay or pension was entirely stopped. Now, he thought that was hardly fair treatment. In the case of an officer, one-fifth or one-sixth of his pay was stopped; but in the case of the man four-fifths or five-sixths of his pay or pension were stopped altogether. He did not know whether the matter had been represented to the Admiralty; but he could assure his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty that it was looked upon as a very great grievance at sea-port towns, and it was thought that something might be done to remedy it. He had been very much astonished, in listening to the very interesting speech of the Secretary to the Admiralty the other evening, to find that from first to last no mention whatever was made of the steam branch of the Navy. He thought he was right in saying that from first to last, in the course of that speech, not a single word was said in reference to that important branch of the Service. His hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed) had called attention to this matter; and he (Captain Price) would, with the permission of the Committee, make one or two remarks upon it. He did not know whether the omission was accidental, or whether it had been made on purpose; but he was afraid that the Admiralty were tired of listening to the grievances of those who were connected with that branch of the Naval Service. He had himself, as well as many other Members in that House, in the last few years brought the matter forward. He did not intend to repeat what he had said before. The grievance was well known at the Admiralty; but there was one particular point in the case which he wanted to refer to. No doubt, he had referred to it before, and he would ask the leave of the Committee to refer to it again, because it was a very important matter—namely, the way in which the officers were allowed to count their time. The present system was one which bore very hardly. Hon. Members would know that he referred to what was called the "11 years' Clause"—that was to say, the arrangement effected in the year 1870, by which officers of the engineer class and officers of other classes also were not allowed to count the whole of their junior time until they had served 11 years in the higher ranks. Well, that was fair enough when the scheme first came out in 1870; but he was afraid that those who invented the scheme at that time did not look forward, nor did they seem to have availed themselves of the experience of the actuaries, who would have told them what was likely to occur. They did not seem to have availed themselves of the information which they might have obtained if they had done so. He could only say that they had deliberately inflicted an injustice upon a large class of men. To show the way in which the scheme acted in reference to the engineer class, he would point out that in the year 1877, for he would not go further back than that——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I have already pointed out to hon. Members, and the hon. and gallant Member himself has given Notice of a Motion upon this point, which, as the hon. and gallant Member admits, was not referred to in the Statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty—that it will be irregular to discuss upon the present Vote items which are contained in Vote 6. The proper time for discussing these items is when Vote 6 is reached. No doubt, there is an understanding to discuss the general policy of the Navy upon this Vote; but it would not be in Order to refer to specific items in subsequent Votes which are to come on hereafter, and in regard to which the hon. and gallant Gentleman has himself already given Notice of a Motion.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman had misunderstood him. What he was trying to discuss was the question of the Vote for the pay of the men. That had nothing to do with Vote 6. Vote 6 was for the Dockyards; and the question of the engineers' pay could not, he took it, possibly be discussed under that Vote. The Dockyard engineers of the steam branch would come under Vote 6; but it was the engineers of the Royal Navy that he was now referring to. He knew it was somewhat irregular; but he thought it had generally been allowed to discuss the whole question of pay upon Votes 1 and 2. Vote 1 was passed the other night, because it was important that the Government should get the men; but the discussion was cut short, and tacitly allowed to stand over and be discussed on Vote 2.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN asked to be allowed to explain what the misconception was. The artificers in the Dockyards were provided for under Vote 6; but the class of men called engineer artificers were men connected with the Navy, who were provided for in Vote 1. The engineers and engineer artificers had always been provided for in Vote 1, and provision for victuals and clothing was made in Vote 2; so that the engineers of the Navy were, so far as this Vote was concerned, in the same position as the men of the Navy. The artificers who came under Vote 6 were not in the same class.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the class of engineers to which the hon. and gallant Member refers is included in the Vote for Victuals and Clothing in Vote 2, he will be in Order in referring to it; but I understood that he was referring to the artificers included in Vote 6; and it would not be regular to discuss any of the items which come under that Vote until the Vote itself is reached.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, he did not propose to allude to any body of men for whom provision was made under Vote 6. He desired now to call attention to the peculiar way in which the engineer officers were allowed to count their time, and which, of course, affected their pay, their half-pay, and their pension also. In 1877 no fewer than 55 chief engineers, out of a rota of 220, were able to get the higher rates of pay, or over 17*s*. a day, and half-pay and pensions were in proportion. That was, perhaps, a very fair allowance—namely, 55 out of 220; but this scheme, called the "11 years' Clause," acted in this way—that in the following year, 1878, instead of 55 officers out of a total of 220 getting the maximum rates of pay and pensions, only 44 got them; and from that date the number had decreased with remarkable regularity, from 44 down to 39, 32, 30, 22, 17; and in the present year, 1884, down to five. So that, practically, there were only five chief engineers this year who could receive the higher rates of pay. When they discussed the question of pay in regard to the engineer officers they might be told by the Government—"These officers may get 22*s*. a-day, which is very favourable, compared with the pay received by other classes of officers in the Navy;" when the real truth was that this maximum of pay was almost purely imaginary, or, at all events, was so seldom attained that it might fairly be called imaginary. The real maximum was 17*s*. a-day, which the officers were able to attain. When he complained of the matter, he was told very naturally—"If we invented any other means of counting the time for the engineers; if we allowed them to count the whole of their junior time after they have served only eight years, we must do the same thing for officers in other classes." That was quite true; but there was just the same grievance attached to other classes, such as the accountant branch, and the assistant paymasters. It might not affect them to the same extent; but it was a real grievance with them as it was with the engineers, and it all arose out of that unfortunate Order in Council of 1870, which suited that time well enough, but certainly did not suit the present. As far back as 1867, an assistant paymaster served in that rank seven and a-half years before he was promoted; and if he was promoted after serving that time, he very soon got into the higher grades of pay, and counted the whole of his junior time. But, owing to the block of promotion, it was found in the following years that the average time of seven and a-half years in the lower grades was increased to nine years, and it went on increasing with the same regularity as in the case of the engineers. In 1869 an assistant paymaster had to serve 10 years; and in the following years 10½, 11, 12, 13, 14, 14½, 15, until in the present year it had reached 15½ years. The average time an assistant paymaster had to serve now in that rank was about 15½ years. He had to serve that length of time before he got promotion, and he had to serve 11 in the higher ranks before he could count the whole of his junior time. Now, he contended that such a result was not dreamt of in 1870, or they would never have had such a scheme as this. He could not help thinking that the Admiralty had been very badly advised, and really did not see what the thing was coming to. As an illustration, in order to show the perfunctory, hap-hazard way in which the scheme was prepared by the Admiralty in 1870, he might mention the rate of pay a paymaster got if he were able to put in his 11 years, and if by some accident he failed of that period. A paymaster who had had 15 years' service as an assistant paymaster might be obliged, say by ill-health, to retire after having completed 10 years and 11 months' service as paymaster. The consequence would be that he could only count six years of his junior service, not having been able to serve the whole of his time. That gave him a pay of 19*s.* a-day, or, if he took the retired pay, £191 a-year; but if his health would allow him, or the Admiralty would allow him to serve one month longer, instead of having 19*s.* his pay would have gone up to 31*s.* 6*d* a-day, and his retired pay, instead of being £191, would be £350. He thought that fact showed the haphazard way in which the scheme was prepared in 1870. The Admiralty knew the ins and outs of the matter very well; and he did not think he could persuade them to do anything in regard to it. It was not for him to suggest what was to be done, nor was the Admiralty responsible for what was done in 1870. After all, they were only the inheritors of the legacy left to them; but they ought to see that the mistake was now remedied. The only thing he would suggest, if he might do so, was this—that the Admiralty should appoint a Departmental Committee to examine into the matter. He knew that Departmental Committees were not altogether satisfactory; but there would be no use in his asking for a Select Committee of the House. The grievances were so real and extraordinary that he was satisfied if any Committee of gentlemen were to look into the matter, it would be impossible for them not to declare that a most unsatisfactory state of things prevailed which ought to be remedied at once.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER said, he gathered from the ruling of the Chairman that he must not refer to one of the subjects which had been raised by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Devonport (Captain Price). Something appeared to have been done on behalf of the naval engineers; but when they examined into it, it was found, in reality, to be very trivial, and he could not understand that it could have been done with any real intention of improving the position of that class. The addition of 2*s.* a-day was given to certain chief engineers; but owing to its restrictions the addition only applied to the chief engineers on board five ships—that was to say, that an increase of 2*s.* a-day had been given to five men. The arrangement was, therefore, perfectly illusory, and would only apply to the *Inflexible*, the *Téméraire*, the *Polyphemus*, and two other ships. Reference had been made by the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price) to the "11 years' Clause." That clause had been so frequently discussed in the House that it would be a waste of time to refer to it again; but what he would venture to suggest in the way of remedy, and to put before his hon. Friends who sat below him, would be this—that an engineer should be allowed to count one-eleventh for junior service for each year of his full pay as chief engineer. That, practically, would settle the whole of the "11 years' Clause." No doubt, it would entail a certain amount of increased expenditure; but that increased expenditure, as far as he could calculate, would not exceed £4,500, and it would remove a great grievance from a most important part of the steam branch of the Navy. Perhaps he might be allowed to show how the present system worked. Some allusion had been made to it by the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport. The rates of pay laid down for the men after 17, 20, 21, and 22 years' service varied from 18*s.* to 21*s.*; but the whole thing was fallacious; and he would suggest that different ranks should be introduced which should be allowed to carry with them all the advantages given, and which could be so arranged as to provide for a periodical revision of the position of all officers, from sub-lieutenants up to captains. Some reference had been made to the engine-room artificers. Strong complaints were just now being made by men of that class, who contended that they had to serve far too long a time in order to gain a pension. They were now called on to re-enter for 12 years, after having served 10, putting two years more to the service which entitled men to pension. The result was that the Admiralty found it extremely difficult to get the best men, and they were obliged to accept others of an inferior class. They could not induce the men to re-enter. He would suggest that the men should be somewhat differently dealt with; and that if they were called on to serve an additional number of years until they got a pension they should have some advantage from it. He would also like his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty to inform the Committee why Dockyard men who had served in the Navy should not be allowed to count their servitude for a pension, the same as men regularly in the service of the Navy? With regard to pensions, he had to complain that, while the age pension was given to Naval Reserve men at 50, it was withheld from the Marines, and that the enrolled Marine Reserves did not get it till 55. He hoped that his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty, when he rose to reply, would be able to give them some information as to what was intended to be done for the men in the Dockyards, who were anxiously expecting the improvement which had long been promised.

MR. GRANTHAM said, they had already discussed the position of naval constructors, paymasters, and engineers; and he was desirous now of calling the attention of the Committee to the position of the naval schoolmasters, which was a very anomalous one compared with that of the schoolmasters of the Army and the Marines. It would be in the recollection of the Committee that schoolmasters of the Navy had only been appointed during the last 25 years. Up to that time education on board Her Majesty's ships was conducted by seamen schoolmasters, who proved themselves so thoroughly inefficient that 25 years ago an application was made to the Privy Council on Education to provide some better system of education. It was then decided to provide a certain number of schoolmasters, who should devote themselves to the work of education in the Navy. Unfortunately, the teachers first appointed found the life and the emolument so different from what they had expected that almost the whole of them soon afterwards left the Service, and it became necessary for the Government to educate their own teachers specially for the Navy. Those teachers entered the Service under the impression that they would be treated similarly to the schoolmasters in the Army, and in the Marines; but in a short time it was found, both in reference to pay, pension, and promotion, that they were in a far worse position than their *confrères* either in the Army or in the Marines. Their exceptional treatment was a great grievance to them; and there could be no doubt that, both in regard to pay and pension, they were in an inferior position. He found that the pension of a naval schoolmaster was only, on the average, £31 18*s.* 9*d.*; whereas that of the Marine schoolmaster was £63 17*s.* 6*d.*, and that of the Army schoolmaster £63, or, in point of fact, rather more than double the sum which the schoolmaster got in the Navy. Then, in regard to pay, there was not so much to complain of, because within the last two years the pay had been improved; but, still, the naval schoolmaster only got £95 2*s.* 3*d.*, as against £101 in the Marines, and the same sum in the Army, including rations. The difference was not so very large in that case, being under £6 a-year; but both in the Marines and in the Army the schoolmaster had the sum of £31 allowed him for quarters, unless he had quarters actually provided, to say nothing of the value of his uniform, which the naval schoolmaster did not receive. That made a considerable difference; so that as regarded pay and pension the naval schoolmasters were in a far inferior position to the schoolmasters and teachers of the Army and Marines. They felt that they were not dealt with fairly, considering that when they were appointed there was an honourable understanding that their position would be similar to that of schoolmasters in the Army and Marines. Then, again, they were at a disadvantage with regard to promotion in the Service as compared with the schoolmasters in the Army, who could become Warrant officers after 12 years' service. He believed that out of 250 Army schoolmasters 27 were Warrant officers; 17 had obtained the rank of lieutenant; and three had retired with the honorary rank of major. Now, there were only seven head masterships which teachers in the Navy could hope to obtain, however long their service might be; and it was only natural that, under these circumstances, they should feel that their merits had not only been unrewarded, but unacknowledged. And, therefore, he thought that in asking to be put on an equality with their colleagues in the Army they were not seeking more than they were entitled to. He trusted this question, which excited a good deal of interest in the Navy, would be taken in hand by the Admiralty.

Mr. GOURLEY said, there were some points with regard to the present condition of the Navy which called for explanation at the hands of his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty. They had placed before them annually the fact that the Admiralty intended to build a certain number of tons of armoured and unarmoured ships; but although, of course, his hon. Friend was not responsible for the programme laid before the House, the Secretary to the Admiralty could never inform them how much the maximum cost of the armoured and unarmoured tonnage would be. From the statement of the hon. Gentleman he found that the programme of last year had been fairly carried out, there being only about 125 tons less than the quantity of new tonnage promised in that programme; but the work completed had cost £13,000 more than what was contemplated—that was, however, always providing that the money set aside for repairs had not been devoted to new work. Under the present system, however desirable it might be that the number of tons intended to be built by the Admiralty should annually be laid before Parliament, the result in the long run proved that the Estimates were entirely misleading, the reason being that the Admiralty, building ships morsel by morsel, lost the power of adhering to the original Estimates. Now, he wished to place clearly before the Committee the mode in which the Estimates that were laid before the House year after year were carried out, and, by way of example and proof, he might be allowed to call attention to the case of the *Inflexible*. They were asked, at the time the vessel was laid down, to vote £401,000 for her construction; but that had extended ever seven years, and the result was that the total cost of the ship when complete amounted to £800,594. The reason why the Estimate was so much exceeded was that the Admiralty had lost all control over the original Estimate, in consequence of the long period during which her construction was going on. He thought it would be far better that the Admiralty, instead of adding bit by bit to a number of ships, should state to Parliament that they intended to construct such and such a ship in the course of the financial year. And not only did heavily increased cost of construction result, but there was this fact also to be borne in mind—that ships became obsolete by the time they were completed under the system he had described. Anyone might see in our Dockyards numbers of huge hulks which were utterly useless for fighting purposes, and which were so many examples of the bad results of that system. The Estimate placed before Parliament in the programme of last year showed that 7,143 tons of unarmoured and 12,281 tons of armoured vessels would be produced, and that the total cost would be £1,979,443; and here he had to complain that the cost of producing this new tonnage was jumbled together with the cost of repairs, the result being that it was impossible to distinguish the cost of either. However, the cost which, in round numbers, was to have been £102 15*s.* per ton, had actually amounted to £103 15*s.* per ton. It appeared that the money voted for repairs was very often transferred to other work; and he would take that opportunity of asking on what grounds the Admiralty applied money that had been voted for one purpose to another? The money to be expended in repairs in the current year was £419,840; and he thought the Committee had a right to know upon what it was to be spent—upon what ships, and at what places, and how much would be expended upon the hulls and machinery respectively? The right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay), on the occasion of the Secretary to the Admiralty making his annual Statement, asked for a Select Committee to inquire into the condition of the ships; and he (Mr. Gourley) apprehended that, in asking for that Committee, the object of the hon. and gallant Gentleman was that the House of Commons might not only have more control over the ships themselves, but also over the mode in which the money was spent upon them. Lord Northbrook, however, probably not understanding the question, had arranged to have a Departmental Committee to inquire into the subject rather than that advocated by the hon. and gallant Gentleman. He agreed with the wish expressed on the opposite side of the House that evening that if a Departmental Committee were appointed there should also be a Committee of the House of

Commons to deal with the matter, because the former would, in all probability, be composed of Gentlemen educated in the traditions of the Admiralty, so that, so far as responsibility and the ultimate results were concerned, the House would be no wiser after the Committee had reported than they were at that moment. He said, also, that the appointment of a Departmental Committee, inasmuch as it implied that there were no hon. Members capable of dealing with naval questions, was an insult to the House of Commons. He remembered that, when Mr. Ward Hunt, who was at the time First Lord of the Admiralty, objected to the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the question of the designs on which their ships were being built, on the ground of want of technical knowledge, the hon. Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey) was all in favour of its appointment. He knew his hon. Friend had the courage of his opinions, and he believed he would not refrain from expressing the same views now as he had on the occasion referred to. Now, with regard to vessels like the *Mersey*, the Admiralty officials were so enamoured of ships of this type that they were going to lay down five of them. He believed the whole thing was an experiment, and he could not perceive what object the Admiralty had in view in constructing these ships. Were they to be used as broadside fighting ships, as rams, or as convoys? Perhaps the Secretary to the Admiralty would give the Committee some information upon that point; but, whatever the explanation might be, he certainly held that until they had more experience of these ships it would be wiser to lay down and finish one instead of working upon five of them; and when it was proved that the one vessel was a success they could very well come to Parliament and ask for the money to build the remaining four. To build five ships of one kind without knowing whether any benefit to the country would result was, to his mind, something beyond experiment. He would ask, also, whether they were to be armed with iron, steel, or compound plates?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: They will have no armour at all; no side armour.

MR. GOURLEY: Then that made it all the more desirable to know for what purpose they were intended. If, as he apprehended, they were for convoy or cruising purposes, he would like to know what fuel they were to carry—whether they would be built to take five, six, or ten days' supply? Certainly, for the purposes he had indicated, they should be able to carry enough fuel to cover long distances. Again, at what distance would torpedo boats of the *Scout* class be able to discharge torpedoes? He understood they were specially intended to carry the Whitehead torpedo, and he would ask what was their consumption of fuel at 16 knots; because unless they could discharge their torpedoes at a safe distance from the enemy, and also steam at great speed, they would be rather an element of danger than otherwise. Then, he would ask, with what object were the Admiralty going to build two despatch vessels, a class of ships that, to his mind, had become totally unnecessary, and could be regarded as neither more nor less than yachts attached to their Squadrons for the use of the Admiral and officers? All their ships now carried steam launches, which, as well as torpedo boats, could be utilized for despatch purposes, between the ships of the Fleet; and for service abroad in time of war, he was quite certain that the Merchant Service would supply vessels of greater speed and at less cost than those upon which the Admiralty were going to spend so much money. He now came to the subject of guns, with reference to which he would put this question to the Secretary to the Admiralty—What progress has been made in supplying breech-loading guns to vessels that are now, or have been, armed with muzzle-loading guns? He found that the work at Woolwich was almost at a standstill, as the result of the transition that was taking place from iron to steel in the manufacture of guns; and he contended that the Navy ought not to be dependent upon Woolwich for its armament, the consequence of which was that their ships were always kept waiting for their complement of guns. The Navy, in his opinion, ought to have its own Ordnance Department, separate from, and independent of, the Army Ordnance Department. Passing from that subject, he desired to call the attention of the Committee to the fact that it was proposed to increase, during the current year, the number of boys, which stood at

4,800 last year, to 4,950, of whom 2,450 were for service in the Fleet, and 2,500 in training ships. He would ask the Secretary to the Admiralty how many boys on an average were annually transferred from the training ships to the Navy; how many boys there were actually apprenticed on board the ships of the Navy; and where, and on board what ships, the 2,450 boys described as for service in the Fleet had been distributed? He believed it was generally understood, after the lamentable disasters that befell the *Eurydice* and the *Atalanta,* that instead of being kept so much on board training ships, as was then the practice, it would be in future for the benefit not only of the Navy, but also of the boys themselves, that they should be distributed amongst the ships of the Flying Squadron and those engaged in the Coastguard Service. It would, he thought, be wise on the part of the Admiralty to place the boys where they could learn the duties they would have to perform in actual warfare; and, therefore, he would like to know how far that policy had been carried out? He should also be glad if the Secretary to the Admiralty would state how many boys educated at Greenwich Hospital School entered the Navy; and how many went into the Merchant Service? The primary object of that Institution was education for the Naval Service; and yet he believed that a very small percentage of the boys entered the Navy, and the reason of this was not very far to seek. It was that, although the boys at Greenwich Hospital School received an education almost as good as that given to the boys on the *Britannia,* they had nothing before them in the Navy but the position of steward or petty officer; whereas the boys trained on board the *Britannia* had before them the rank of midshipmen and upwards. The two systems required to be carefully looked into. Last year the *Lord Warden* and another vessel were sent to the Shetland Islands for the purpose of recruiting boys; and he would like to hear from the Secretary to the Admiralty how many boys were obtained. He held that, instead of having so many boys trained on board ships of the Navy, where the cost in wages and provisions was £80 or £100 a-year, it would be wiser for the Admiralty to recruit their boys from the training ships on the Thames and other rivers, from which they could be supplied prepared for sea at the very much smaller cost of £30 or £40 a-year. Then with regard to the *Britannia.* Many discussions had taken place, and many promises had been made, with regard to that vessel; but his own opinion was that, as a training ship, she ought to be abolished. In these days of equality of education she was totally unnecessary as a means of providing officers for the Navy, the higher ranks in which ought, in his opinion, to be open to every boy who entered the Service; no matter how poor he might be, he should have an opportunity of distinguishing himself as an officer; and he held that, so soon as the common sense of the country had grasped this question, public opinion would demand what he was now advocating. In concluding his observations on naval affairs, he desired to refer to a subject of considerable interest. The gallant conduct of Admiral Hewett at Suakin had already been the subject of commendation in that House. He was also bound to add his testimony to the admirable conduct of the officers and men of the Naval Brigade, who fell defending their guns at Tamanieb; at the same time, he thought it only right that the cause of the breaking of the square, which led to the men being placed in their unfortunate position, should be the subject of inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out to the hon. Member that as the proceedings he was then referring to occurred on shore, they could not be discussed in connection with the Vote before the Committee.

MR. GOURLEY said, he had been under the impression that the conduct of the Naval Brigade could be discussed on the Navy Estimates. He would, however, take another opportunity of referring to the subject.

SIR JOHN HAY said, as he had already had an opportunity of addressing the Committee, he should be very brief in the remarks he was about to make. He could not agree with that part of the speech of the hon. Member who had just sat down in which he recommended that there should be a separate Establishment for the manufacture of naval guns. He regretted exceedingly that there was no person in the House responsible for Ordnance affairs. He did not know whether the Secretary to the Admiralty would be able to answer the questions put to him with regard to the guns required by ships of the Navy, and also with regard to the want of guns for ships in process of completion. But with regard to guns made for the public service, circumstances might arise—such, for instance, as the retirement of a disabled ship upon a fortress, such as Malta or Gibraltar—in which it would be desirable that naval and other guns should be interchangeable. With regard to the Committee alluded to by the hon. Member, he entirely agreed with the remarks made by him upon that subject; and, having moved for the appointment of a Select Committee, he regretted to find that a Committee not of that House had been appointed elsewhere in its stead. There was no Naval Officer belonging to the Admiralty in this Parliament. The House wanted to have before it the First Sea Lord and the Naval Officers who were responsible for the advice given to the Admiralty. It was to be feared—and he believed his hon. Friend would not doubt it for one moment—that the strength of their Navy was far below that which was necessary for the national defence. This was the first year in which a French Minister of Marine had ever been reported to have said that the assertion that the French Navy was inferior to the English Navy was untrue. He entirely agreed with the French Minister of Marine that the French iron-clad Navy had increased with immense rapidity. The old fable of the hare and the tortoise was being repeated by this country and France in the case of their Navies. The gallant officer to whom he had previously alluded was reported to have said on a recent public occasion—

> "It does not signify whether our ships are built of paste-board, iron, or steel; the Navy will continue to maintain its own reputation."

He could not possibly conceive that the gallant Admiral could have really meant what he said. It was impossible to suppose that any officer in these days could say that without iron-clads the country was in a safe condition; and yet what he had quoted was the only public declaration as to the condition of the Navy which had been made by the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty. That declaration was now before the public, and many people believed it. It was most unfortunate that a gallant officer, who must know better, should in public, in returning thanks for the Navy, make such a declaration. [*A laugh.*] His hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) laughed; but it was no laughing matter that a person who was responsible for the condition of the Navy should make the assertion that it was of no consequence whether their ships were made of paste-board, iron, or steel. He knew his hon. Friend would say that the speech in question was an after-dinner speech, and one had no right to take notice of it. But the country had read the statement of the First Sea Lord; it was made in a public place; and his right hon. Friends below him, and, indeed, right hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House, who had endeavoured to make the country aware of the inferiority of the Navy, of the terrible condition to which the Navy had been reduced, were deprived of the credit which was due to them for their exertions by the observations, made by the most responsible officer in the country, which he (Sir John Hay) had just read to the Committee. The only means by which the First Sea Lord would be able to explain his words would be by being examined before a Committee of the House. No doubt, if he were examined before a Committee, it would be found that the gallant officer was of a very different opinion to the one he had given utterance to. It was only by means of a Committee that the country could obtain the information it ought to have as to the condition of the Navy; but his hon. Friends at the Admiralty took good care that there should not be a Committee. They would not even let the country know what the condition of the boilers was; they refused to give a Return of the iron-clad ships of the Navy, which contained such rubbish in the shape of boilers that no one dared send them to sea. He would not, however, go into that question again. His right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith), in introducing the subject to the notice of the Committee, had spoken of the programme of the iron-clad shipbuilding, and had pointed out that, although the Admiralty claimed that the programme had been completed, the programme had not been completed. His right hon. Friend was quite correct in the statement that the tonnage built was greatly below what was promised, and what had been paid for. The very Return which hon. Gentlemen had in their hands just now showed that the deficiency in the tonnage completed compared with that promised was still greater than was at first supposed. By that Return alone it was clearly shown that the credit which his hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had taken to himself was not deserved. He (Sir John Hay) had received, as many other persons had received, from that distinguished officer, the Admiral of the Fleet—Sir Thomas Symonds—some comparisons between the Navy of this country and the Navies of other Powers. He was sure the Admiral of the Fleet deserved the thanks of his countrymen for the pains he had taken to awaken the country and the House of Commons from the lethargy which had overpowered it with regard to naval matters. There was no cruising Squadron for the men and boys of the Navy to be exercised in—there was no Squadron of instruction; and yet his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith), and right hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, had constantly said such a Squadron was absolutely necessary. The fact of the matter was that the Navy was starved; the Estimates were not large enough to provide for the building of ships or the training of the men; and the result was that the men and boys of the Navy were not now being trained at sea. His right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) had alluded to the condition of the Marines. The Marine Forces, who had done their duty so gallantly recently, were decreased in numbers; and yet we were about to occupy Suakin with a considerable force of Marines. That was an extra duty imposed upon them; and it seemed to him to demand that that force should not only be kept at its old strength, but that it should be increased by the number who were to be used as the garrison of the Red Sea ports. He trusted it was not true, but if it were true he regretted exceedingly, that no Vote of Thanks was to be proposed in the House of Commons to those distinguished and gallant man—soldiers, Marines, and seamen—who did their duty so well in the Soudan. It had been said that the force engaged in the recent military operations was so very small; but that was not a valid reason why their gallant services should not be recognized by the House of Commons. He was persuaded it would be felt by the country most unsatisfactory that because the numbers were limited to 4,000 men the House was not to be called upon to vote, as he was sure they would vote unanimously, its thanks to the men who fought so well in the two desperate actions at Teb and Tamanieb. He desired to confirm what had fallen from two or three of his hon. Friends as to the assistant paymasters and naval engineers. The engineers of the Navy were men of the highest education, and their services were absolutely essential in the complicated condition of the present ships of war. The duties of the naval engineers were far more onerous and responsible than the duties which had to be performed by engineers some 20 years ago. The complicated machinery of particular ships required skill in working, which ought to be well paid for. The system by which pay was given appeared to him to be quite unnecessary and complicated. A Committee was appointed by the Admiralty some years ago which recommended an increase in the pay of these gallant officers. The suggestion in the Navy Estimates, that some improvement was to be made in the pay of the engineers, was of a very slight and limited character. Two shillings a-day was to be given to five gentlemen under certain conditions. It was throwing dust in the eyes of the country to say that this was attending to the claims of the engineers. There were some 200 odd of them, and their skill and very necessary services demanded for them the respect of the House of Commons. He hoped his hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would be able to give some promise that the position of the engineers would be improved. He had looked into the question as well as he could; and he believed the expenditure of a sum of £4,000 a-year would be quite sufficient to secure the retention of the services of men who were invaluable. The other class of public servants who had been mentioned in the course of the debate—the assistant paymasters—also required the consideration of the Admiralty. The scheme of 1870 had broken down. Instead of being promoted after 10 years' service, as he suggested, the assistant paymasters were 16 or 17 years in the Service before they got their rank. These gentlemen had enormous responsibility—responsibility for large cash transactions. Their accuracy—and he was going to say their honesty, but that no one doubted—their accuracy and their rapid performance of their duties were of the greatest consequence to the House and the country; indeed, the Estimates would swell with great rapidity if these gentlemen were not of the highest character. He, therefore, urged upon his hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) to bring their case before the Board of Admiralty, and to see that officers whose duties were so necessary to the well-being of the Naval Service, and who had lost so much by the failure of the Order in Council of 1870, should be established in the position which that Order in Council suggested, and which the men had a right to expect.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he had no intention of speaking of the state of the Navy—that was not his province. He desired to refer to matters of which he had some knowledge. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) had spoken very strongly in regard to the importance of having ships of war completed as early as possible; and during his speech the right hon. Gentleman, of course, argued that no ship of war could be completed unless the guns were laid in or on board. But the responsibility for providing all the naval armaments was laid on the War Office; and the cost thereof, fully £500,000 a-year, was included in the Army charges; and though several hon. Gentlemen had contended that the Admiralty should be entirely independent of the War Office, yet it was contrary to all experience to suppose that the Secretary of State for War should add largely to his outlay to meet the many changes in patterns of guns and equipments that had been made in the naval armament during the last 25 years. He could conceive nothing more objectionable than the system they had at the present moment. The War Office had naturally failed to provide guns for the Navy. He, therefore, earnestly entreated the Committee to use its influence to get rid of such a scandal. It was not to be expected that the Army should incur large and unlimited expenditure, so as to provide proper and fit guns for the Navy to meet the frequent changes proposed by Naval Officers. The Navy ought, no doubt, to be permitted to decide upon the pattern of the guns it required; but it should bear the cost of the armament if permitted to do so. It would be found that Woolwich Arsenal was quite capable of turning out the requisite guns; or, if dissatisfied, then let the Admiralty try to obtain supplies from private firms. Last year the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) asked whether the Navy might not go to Newcastle for its guns? By all means it ought to go to Newcastle if it could not get proper guns from Woolwich. The present system involved the bandying of words between two great Departments—the War Office and the Admiralty, and the result was the asserted inefficiency of the Navy. He could not conceive why it should be expected that the Army should add £1,000,000 to its Estimates every year in order to supply new kinds of guns to the sister Service. He had hoped to see a change this year. A transference of duty from the Army to the Navy had already taken place in regard to the carriages and mounting of guns by the Navy paying for their equipments out of funds estimated for in the Naval Estimates; and the result, he understood, had been most satisfactory. In like manner the cost of ship transports, kept up for the movement of troops, ought to be transferred from the Navy to the Army Estimates. Further, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster, when he was First Lord of the Admiralty, finding that the War Office was not supplying torpedoes in sufficient quantity, went into the market, and for two years a charge for these appeared in the Navy Estimates. He (Sir George Balfour) noticed that the War Office was about to supply the torpedoes again at the expense of the Army. Perhaps the Secretary to the Admiralty would explain the reason for the change. He had now earnestly to urge that the gallant Corps of Marines — and a more serviceable corps the country did not possess—should be more carefully looked after than it had hitherto been. In the matter of depôts, the Marines had an excellent system, well deserving of imitation by the Infantry of the Line, but were very badly off as respected establishment of officers and men, who were mainly borne on the strength of the Divisions instead of being supernumerary, and in sufficient numbers to meet all the demands for service, he was afraid that just now they were being overworked. They were now being called upon to do more than their fair share of service; they were being wearied by repeated calls for battalions for service which the Infantry of the Line ought to perform. Nothing was more likely to disgust the corps than to be required to go on service very often, and in large numbers, at a moment's notice, for unpleasant Stations such as Suakin. Sudden and extraordinary demands could be made occasionally; but when they were made with great frequency, the efficiency of the Corps upon which the demands were made was greatly impaired. He entreated his hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) to give his earnest attention to this subject; because when once soldiers were disorganized it was difficult to restore them to their proper condition.

Mr. T. C. BRUCE said, that on a recent occasion he had an opportunity of expressing his views upon the general state of the Navy, and those views remained unchanged. He did not mean to repeat them; he only rose to endorse what had fallen from some hon. Gentlemen during the debate in reference to two classes of men in the Naval Service, and particularly with reference to the engineers. He did not think it had ever happened to him to be present at a debate on the Naval Estimates when the case of the engineers had not been raised; and he thought that alone showed there was something in the condition of the men that was not very satisfactory. The reason was not very far to seek. Not long ago a Committee of the Admiralty, presided over by the First Naval Lord, made certain recommendations with reference to the status of the engineers. The recommendations made were not at all in excess of the merits of the men, or of the important duties the engineers had to perform; but the recommendations had only been carried out piece-meal, and, indeed, a good many of them were unfulfilled. If the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) really wished to give satisfaction to the corps of engineers, he ought at once to endeavour to soften the heart of the Secretary to the Treasury, and to get him to grant to the men what was their due. He (Mr. Bruce) would not repeat what had been said by different hon. Gentlemen with respect to the assistant paymasters; but he was bound to say that the position of those officials was really one of great hardship. Surely the Admiralty were not going to leave a very respectable class of men in such a position that they had to complain of hardships committed on every side. He hoped his hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would devote his attention to the matter; and that he would be able so far to alter the scheme of 1870 as to carry out the intention with which that scheme was drawn up, and to place the assistant paymasters in a more satisfactory position than they now occupied.

Admiral EGERTON wished to accentuate, if possible, what was said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) with regard to the length of time occupied in the construction of their ships of war. The *Colossus*, for instance, was not even yet ready for sea; but he thought that what the right hon. Gentleman had said in respect to the guns rather explained the difficulty, not only with regard to the *Colossus*, but all other ships. The great difficulty with regard to the guns was that the new ones were totally different to the old ones. They were different in length, and they required to have different platforms and various new arrangements affecting the whole plan of the ship. Such was the reason why the ships were not ready as soon as they ought to be. He quite agreed with the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay), who said they ought not to have two separate establishments for the construction of guns. It seemed to him quite unreasonable that there should be two gun factories, one for the Admiralty and one for the War Office. He was of opinion, however, that the Navy ought to have a little more control over the sort of weapons furnished to them. He remembered that when the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) was in Office he (Admiral Egerton) asked whether the guns to be supplied to a certain ship were, first of all, to be tried by the naval authorities? He had reason to believe that the right hon. Gentleman was extremely anxious that the guns should be tried by the men who had to use them; but owing to some influence or other the guns were not so tried. When the guns came to be used they were at once condemned. He had no accusation to make against the Woolwich authorities; but he could not help thinking that there was some sort of influence at work which went against the construction of guns other than those which came from one or two favoured factories. He endorsed what had been said by the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Mr. Bruce) with regard to the position of the naval engineers. For a long time past his impression had been that there ought not to be so many engineers on board ship, and that they ought to occupy a higher position than they now occupied. He thought a great portion of the duties now performed by engineers might be performed by a class of warrant officers. The overcrowding in ships of engineers, which was partly the reason why they did not occupy a higher position in the Service, might thus be prevented. A further opportunity would be offered of referring to some of these subjects; therefore, he would say no more.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he had a very few words to trouble the Committee with; but he should be glad to endorse what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Admiral who had just sat down, and from other hon. Members in the course of this discussion, with reference to the naval engineers. It was impossible to say too much of the great services these engineers were now rendering the Navy, and how essential they were to our Naval Forces. At the present time, they undoubtedly suffered considerable grievances in respect of both rank and pay. One great grievance which he had heard from them was a very just one. It was that the retired pay they received was only £130 a-year; whereas it was shown by an official Report that it should be £170. It was also complained that they were unable to count the full amount of their time until they had passed 11 years in senior rank. He would press upon his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty how necessary it was to satisfy the just demands of these officers. Not only should their position be improved for their own sakes, but by doing that the Government would attract many valuable men into the Service who were now deterred from entering it. Then there were questions with regard to rank and uniform which should be considered—questions which some people might laugh at; but which, at the same time, were of great importance to the officers, as a great deal of the comfort and happiness of their lives depended upon them. He would urge the Secretary to the Admiralty to take into consideration the necessity of improving, all round, the position of the Royal Naval Engineers; and he would also ask him to give attention to the complaints of the paymasters in regard to the 11 years' senior service. They were not allowed to count more than a certain time as full paymasters until they had passed 11 years as full paymasters. The promotion of the assistant paymasters was getting gradually slower, and something should be done to quicken it. As to the naval schoolmasters, he fancied they were on a less favourable footing than the Marine Forces. Many hon. Members had taken up this question with great interest at different times. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) had, he believed, pressed this matter on the attention of the Government; and he (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) trusted the Committee would receive some assurance that night that the claims of these persons would be favourably considered. He hoped that the hon. Member (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), who always paid so much attention to everything pressed upon him with regard to the Service—in the administration of which he took such a distinguished part—would pay some attention to the remonstrances brought before him that night.

DR. CAMERON said, he also had a great number of schoolmasters and engineers in his constituency; but he did not wish to detain the Committee with claims for any amelioration of their position. What he wished to urge on the Government was the desirability of abstaining from incurring expense, and not the desirability of incurring increased expense. He wished to direct attention to the absurd use to which gunboats had been lately put in the Islands of Scotland—to their being employed in services which should be relegated to policemen and process-servers. The Committee might have heard of the Glendale crofters' case. It appeared that some of the crofters had allowed their cattle to graze on a certain hill. An action was raised against the crofters, and they were interdicted from allowing their cattle to graze there; but they broke that interdict—that was to say, they allowed their cattle to graze on the hill after they had been ordered not to do so. A civil officer was sent to serve summonses on these people for contempt of Court; he was mobbed; the police were afterwards sent, and there was some rioting. He should not have complained if the gunboats had been called on by the Civil authorities to suppress rioting; but they had not been. A gunboat had been sent down with a Commissioner on board to say that unless the persons who had broken the civil interdict were given up Heaven knows what would happen. The poor crofters believed they were to be bombarded; and under fear of Her Majesty's Navy they gave up the offenders — the crofters, who had allowed their cattle to stray on this particular hill, as they thought, to save the Island. The men walked off without even the escort of one of those over-worked Marines, of whom hon. Members had heard so much, to the nearest important town—namely, Greenock, and there they wanted to give themselves up to a policeman. But, as they had committed no crime, the policeman would not take them. The lawyer who had conducted the civil process, however, sent a messenger, who took them in charge, and brought them to gaol in Edinburgh; but the officials there said—"We cannot take you—you are not qualified;" and the result was that the messenger who had the care of them had to keep them for a week at an hotel, where they feasted more sumptuously than, according to their own statement, they had ever feasted before. If rumour spoke truly, they had to be replenished with whisky toddy to keep them from bolting until, at length, they were tried for the civil offence, contempt of Court. He protested against the employment of gunboats in such a service; and the case he had quoted was not altogether an exceptional one, for in the Report of the Commission on the Islands and Highlands of Scotland the hon. Member (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would find another case of this kind which arose out of some evictions. A threatening letter had been sent to the proprietor — a letter written in a schoolboy's hand — and a search was made amongst the copy-books in the school to see whose handwriting could be identified with the petty crime. The Sheriff of the county and the Procurator Fiscal—that was to say, the Public Prosecutor—and the Chief Constable went to the Island in a gunboat and there prosecuted their inquiries. Nothing came of it, and he only referred to the matter because of the employment of the gunboat. This was not the sort of work in which Her Majesty's vessels should be employed in the Islands and Highlands of Scotland—which should be a nursery for their seamen. It had been mentioned that a vessel had been sent to the Shetland Islands to pick up recruits; but he would put it to the Government whether, if they sent one ship to the Shetland Isles to pick up recruits, and another to the Orkneys with Sheriffs, Procurators Fiscal, and policemen, to prosecute such a paltry case, they would not be neutralizing the one with the other? It was unworthy of the Navy to have to do such dirty work, he might almost call it, as he had described; and if the hon. Member was asked for naval assistance of this kind in the future he hoped that the matter would be looked into, and that care would be taken that the importance of the inquiry about to be instituted, or the disturbance to be suppressed, was in some measure commensurate with the demand made upon the Service.

Sir MASSEY LOPES corroborated what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) as to the present unsatisfactory method of estimating the cost of ships which were built in our Dockyards. There was scarcely an armoured ship built in our Dockyards which did not cost, before she was completed, a sum enormously in excess of the original Estimate. After a ship was commenced in the Royal Dockyards improvements and alterations were continually being effected, so that the basis of calculation in the original Estimate was bound to be erroneous. He did not hesitate to say that the system of computing by tonnage was altogether worthless—he would almost say fictitious. He was glad to find they had the authority of the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed) against the system. The hon. Member the Secretary to the Admiralty had, last year, expressed himself averse to the system; but had pointed out that, so far as the present Government were concerned, their proposals were honest, inasmuch as they adopted the same method of calculation as that which had been practised for some years, and as the same persons had for years been engaged in making the calculations. But if the system was a bad one, however much it might have been practised in the past, the Government were not justified in continuing it. The hon. Gentleman had given them to understand that he had adopted the principle—and they thought he was going to carry it out—of commencing a ship and finishing it as rapidly as possible. If that system were adopted they would have no difficulty in ascertaining the real value and cost of a ship. There was no reason why any ship, however large, should not be completed in our Dockyards in three years. This was done in our private years, where ships were built for the Admiralty by contract; and if the Board of Admiralty showed some disinclination to adopt the constant alterations projected by their officials, the same results might be attained. With regard to the Marines, he was sorry to hear from the hon. Gentleman, when he moved the Estimates, that the complement was not full. If one thing more than another could have bettered the position of the present Board of Admiralty, it would have been the reversal of the decision which they arrived at two years ago. They reduced the number of the Marines by 600 men and 35 officers, and by that means saved £25,000. It was quite true they gave that amount in increase of pay to both commissioned and non-commissioned officers; but it was quite unnecessary that the reduction should have been made in order to give that increase. Bearing in mind how much the Royal Marines had signalized themselves of late, it seemed to him that it would be a very fit and proper compliment if the Admiralty would reverse the decision they came to some years ago. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir John Hay) had made some allusion to a speech delivered the other night by the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty at a public dinner. Well, there was another portion of that speech to which the attention of the Committee might be called—a portion very much to the purpose. He said—

> "During the past year an important step has been, taken which I cannot pass over in silence. Our great Australian Colonies, in the vigour of their youth, desiring to maintain the same affection for and confidence in their parent, which they know full well their parent feels for them, are alive to the necessity of aiding in their own protection; and with this object the Colony of Victoria, already possessing an iron-clad ship of considerable power, has, during the past year, fitted out a small squadron of ships of war of the latest type, which are well built, well armed, well equipped, and well officered and manned, and has sent them out to Melbourne. The Colony of Victoria has intimated its desire of placing these ships at the disposal of the Admiralty; and, should the occasion arise, our officers will be proud to serve under the same flag, and to be associated with the Colonial Navy for the defence of the commerce and shores of the Colonies. I trust the day is not far distant when the Australian Colonies may unite their squadrons in one compact Service under one command for defensive purposes."

If the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) could corroborate that statement it would be very satisfactory, not only to the Committee, but to everyone in the country. There was nothing like good feeling between the Mother Country and the Colonies—a feeling that in time of need, or when assistance was wanted, they would be willing to give it, the one to the other.

MR. JENKINS wished to draw attention to the training of the seamen in the Navy. It was said that the training of seamen and boys had been neglected, and he hoped to hear from the hon. Gentleman that such was not the case. It was as essential to the maintenance of the efficiency of the Navy that their seamen should be properly trained as was the construction of iron-clads. With regard to the construction of ships, no doubt the expense of construction in their own Dockyards was greater than in private yards, and a much longer time was occupied in completing a vessel. This, however, was not altogether an evil. Improvements were continually taking place, both in gunnery and naval construction, and were adopted from time to time whilst the ships were being built. In the case of private yards, however, specific contracts were entered into and were carried out, no matter what developments might be made in the art of shipbuilding before the vessel was completed. As to the *personnel* of the Navy, no doubt there were grievances in the various departments of the Service. The engineers were a class who considered themselves very much ill-used; but what he wanted to know was, whether the supply of these naval officers was equal to the demand? Could any better men be got than were to be found in the Navy to-day, even if the pay were increased? His own opinion was that the supply was quite equal to the demand. No doubt, however, there were grievances in this matter which ought to be considered. He was inclined to think that if the scale of pay of the assistant paymasters was altered it would tend to the efficiency of that part of the Naval Service.

Lord HENRY LENNOX said, it must be admitted that the present was not a very encouraging atmosphere, or a very encouraging state of the Benches, for anyone to get up and discuss such—apparently in the opinion of Ministers, not one of whom was present—an uninteresting question as the maintenance of their naval supremacy and the protection of their coasts, Colonies, and commerce. He was sorry the matter was not of sufficient importance to induce a single Minister or Under Minister to be present on the occasion when he (Lord Henry Lennox) addressed the Committee on a subject of which even his worst enemy would admit he knew something.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Lord HENRY LENNOX said, that, by the favour of the hon. Member (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), he had got a House to listen to the observations he was about to address, not alone to the Committee, but to the country. On a former occasion, when the Estimates were brought forward at the small hours of the morning, when it was too late to go into details—and it must always be so under the new Rules of Procedure—he had stated that the Estimates were not only insufficient, but misleading. He should have been glad to have spared the Committee the trouble of hearing his remarks had it not been that he felt bound, after having made such a decided charge as that, to try to prove the truth of his words. He could only say that the more he had looked into the matter from that day to this the more was he convinced that the remarks he had made were justified. It was more pleasant to him to praise the Admiralty than to blame them—it was always more pleasant, because it was so rare that it was possible to do it. It had not happened more than once in the past four years. Now, however, he was bound to say how pleased he was that the Admiralty had been able to increase the pay of the lieutenants in the Navy. The increase had been given not one day too soon. He was glad, also, that the Government had seen their way to effecting an improvement in the position of Warrant officers; but he regretted that, in order to do it, they had reduced the number of those officers. The Committee knew very well that when an improvement was made in the position of the Marines the increased expense consequent thereupon was met by reducing the number of the force by 600. Now that there was this new departure on the part of the Admiralty, now that they seemed to be anxious to do justice and to meet the claims of every class of officer, he hoped that they would persevere in this course, and see their way to very much improving the position of the engineers. So far as he had been able to master their complaint—and he had had many documents sent to him with regard to it which he had read with the greatest attention—he thought it was unanswerable. The hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed) had referred to another claim—namely, that of the assistant paymasters, to whom he had referred in terms which he (Lord Henry Lennox) had very much regretted to hear. Certainly, this class had every right to the consideration of the Admiralty. So far as he could make out, the block in promotion amongst the assistant paymasters was a sort of perennial, permanent complaint which the Admiralty could not escape from. Reference had been made to improvements which were going to be effected in connection with the nursing staff of the Navy. Last year, if the Estimates had come on at a reasonable hour at night, he had intended to ask the Admiralty if they purposed appointing some sort of a Committee to consider whether the Navy could not be placed in some respects in a similar position to the Army in regard to nurses? Why could they not have, in connection with the Navy, an establishment like that at Netley, where there was an admirable staff of nurses and under nurses, as he could testify from his own observation, having visited the place when the troops came back from Egypt after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir? Could they not establish in connection with the Navy something on the same lines as the Netley Hospital? When he went through the hospital used for the Navy he was received with the greatest courtesy by the authorities, Sir William Reed and Admiral Hoskins; but all he could make out from them was that when there was an unusual influx of sick and wounded into the hospital, the only means they had of meeting it was by sending out and gathering in, to act as nurses, the old Navy Pensioners, who had no more idea of what a bandage was than a man who had never been wounded, or had never been to sea. The medical staff were dreadfully annoyed, and were anxious to get someone to bring the case before Parliament. They could not meet the difficulties of the case unless they were supported by the Board of Admiralty, which, he was thankful to say, since that time they had been. His complaint against the Estimates, as he had said, was that they were insufficient and misleading. He would go further, and say that no Estimates that were brought into the House of Commons could be anything else but insufficient and misleading, unless they contained a settled programme—a settled line of naval policy to be carried out for the defence of the country. He saw no sign or symptom of that either in the present or in any other Estimate that had been submitted to Parliament for years past. The Estimates this year were, he must say, most carefully and cleverly arranged to make ends meet with the small sum of money dealt out to the Admiralty. Nowhere in the Estimates did he see any sign of a great naval policy, and still less did he see in any part a sign of their being adequate for maintaining the supremacy of England at sea, although the Admiralty might believe they were based on what was right for the welfare and security of the country. The Estimates were simply what the Admiralty could screw out of the Treasury by one means and another. That was the only justification for them; and he should be sorry to think that any Member of the Board of Admiralty would be a party to such Estimates unless he felt that what he wanted he could not get, and that it was not his fault that things were as they were. If the Committee would allow him to detain them he should like to go into that which was the real question to be considered—namely, the policy of the Admiralty for the year. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) had dilated, with his usual ability, on certain deficiencies in the tonnage; and, as an enlargement of that point, he (Lord Henry Lennox) wanted to know what the programme for the year was? What did the Admiralty propose to do in the way of ships and guns—which subject he would deal with later on—to defend the country in case of need, and in the event of a storm arising? As he understood the naval programme it was this. It was intended to construct 10,500 tons of iron-clad in the Royal Dockyards, and 2,114 tons by contract, making a total of 12,614 tons of iron-clad; and of unarmoured ships 5,555 tons in the Dockyards and 2,510 by contract. This would represent a very large sum. So far as he could make out, this represented wages in the Dockyards to the amount of £541,220 on the advancement of ships, and £309,750 for contract, labour, and materials. What were they going to get for this large amount of money? It was hoped that they would get two iron-clads—the *Colossus*, a first-class iron-clad, and the *Impérieuse*, a second-class iron-clad. When they talked about the *Colossus* not having been completed by the time they were told it would be completed, it was said that the delay was owing to difficulties respecting the conning tower and mode of loading guns. Last year they heard it said, in jubilant tones, that the breech-loading guns had actually been sent safely, and had been got on board the *Colossus*. But what was the use of these guns if there was no possibility of firing them—no means of lowering them to the necessary extent? The statement which had been made was, in fact, nothing more nor less than an attempt to blow over the state of things. Unless they could rapidly find an improved method of loading the guns, the *Colossus* would be no more completed this time next year than she was now. The other ships to be completed were two small protected ships, virtually second-class cruisers—namely, the *Camperdown* and the *Anson.* They, he thought, ought to have been a little nearer completion than they were at the present moment. They were only to be advanced to 34-100ths; and as this was the third year of the Estimates he thought they ought to have been brought a little nearer completion. The *Collingwood* was to be advanced 421 tons, bringing her near completion to 83-100ths. Several hon. Members that night, and especially the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed), had dwelt on the length of time the vessels were in hand before they were completed. He remembered that when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster was First Lord of the Admiralty the hon. Member for Cardiff complained of one of the ships—namely, the now celebrated *Inflexible,* having been eight or nine years in course of construction, declaring that in consequence of the delay the country had had to pay a third more for the vessel than it had originally consented to pay. Another remarkable case was the *Edinburgh.* It was promised that she should be completed in 1883; but she was not even to be finished this year. She was to be advanced, 254 tons, to 73-100ths. Even if the proposed arrangements were carried out she could not be completed until 1885, instead of 1883 as promised. He should like to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty for an explanation as to the treatment of this ship beyond his statement. She was brought from Pembroke two years ago; but nothing had been done on her of any kind or sort from that time to this. He was told—and he believed it to be true—that even her turrets were not put in. He would like to know if any steps—and if any steps what—had been taken to provide proper armaments for the Navy? He was not at all clear that the line of policy adopted by the Admiralty was one which would be adopted in any private yard where prompt replies to the charges brought against them had to be made. The Committee were aware of the delay in the completion of the *Colossus.* He was afraid the *Edinburgh* and the *Camperdown* were being delayed, because if the guns were made they were not on board, and if they were on board they could not be fired. He hoped his fear was not well-grounded; because if it was in the case of one of those ships it must be equally true in the case of every one of that class which was to be similarly armed. He should be very happy, indeed, if the Secretary to the Admiralty could give him some little comfort about the *Edinburgh,* because the sum spent upon her was an enormous sum to lie idle in the Dockyard for years without some attempt to turn it to good account. The next point he had to touch upon was the same he felt it his duty to allude to on a previous occasion. He desired the Secretary to the Admiralty to tell the Committee that night when the gun-fittings would be completed, when the country would see the end of the controversy about guns. For years and years the authorities were unable to arrive at a settlement upon the question of the pattern of gun; then the House were told, with a flourish of trumpets, that the pattern was decided upon; then it was a long time before the pattern was completed; and then, when the guns were got on board, they could not be fired. The controversy concerning guns had been most painful and ignominious. If the guns could not be fired, the whole strength and utility of their fighting Fleet was paralyzed in the event of sudden war. They might as well not have built any ships at all if they had not got guns to put on board. There was another point to which he wished to advert, and it was one on which he was very much snubbed last year by the hon. Gentleman the Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Mr. Brand), who did not seem to take much interest in naval matters; for he had not been in his place at any time during the present debate. The hon. Gentleman took him very severely to task for having said something, and then not having been present to hear the answer. He had taken much trouble to go through the figures respecting the guns; and, of course, he entirely agreed with all that had been said as to the absurdity of one Department ordering stores for another Department, unless there be ample and full account taken of the stores. He saw from the Army Estimates that the total expenditure for the Navy in respect of guns in the last four years was £899,137. There was spent on guns in 1881-2, £137,799; in 1882-3, £322,109; in 1883-4, £249,997; and in 1884-5, £189,232. Upon gun carriages there was spent in the same years, £78,989, £117,327, £66,404, and £84,980 respectively. On machine guns there had been spent in the last two years, £14,701 and £15,843 respectively; the total for the various stores in the last four years being, in 1881-2, £433,715; in 1882-3, £690,715; in 1883-4, £528,176; and in 1884-5, £522,691. It was curious that these vast sums should be voted in the Army Estimates for the guns and stores of the Navy, and that it should be impossible to find any account of them. The Committee knew nothing of any value; they only knew what sums had been voted, but they did not know how they had been applied. There ought to be an Audit Account submitted to the House by the Comptroller and Auditor General, if hon. Members were to have anything like a clear and proper idea of what was going on. But the reverse was the result; hon. Members knew nothing. He would give an example of the plight in which hon. Members found themselves. The other day he moved for a Return—a very simple and innocent Return—of the iron and steel guns that had been supplied to the Navy by the War Office within a certain cycle of years. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty, with his usual courtesy, allowed his secretary to write to him (Lord Henry Lennox) to tell him he might have the Return. When, however, he came down to the House, he was told that the Surveyor General of the Ordnance would not allow him to have the Return unless he would alter the wording of it by omitting the words "supplied to the Navy." They might just as well attempt to play *Hamlet* with the part of the Prince of Denmark struck out. What he really wanted to know was, what guns were supplied to the Navy; and whether, if they were supplied, they were supplied in such a condition as to be of use? That was only one of many instances of the way the affairs of the country were administered. He believed it was his right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay) who moved for a Return of the condition of the boilers. It was quite true the Secretary to the Admiralty stated that the boilers of the ships were never in so good a condition; but if they were in a good condition, why was information refused? One would have thought it would have been a pleasure to the Secretary to the Admiralty to have given the Return, and to have allowed the House to participate with him in the satisfaction he experienced on the subject. Complaint was made last year that they had not a sufficient number of iron-clads. Over and over again the Committee had been told there that the number of iron-clads was large enough, and that the Naval Service was quite able to maintain their supremacy at sea; and yet, shortly after the House of Commons broke up last autumn, another iron-clad was laid down, showing that the protestations of himself and Friends were perfectly right and valid, and that the Admiralty, in their protestations that no more iron-clads were required, were mistaken. There were some people who really believed that what was called the new ship proposed to be built this year was an iron-clad. There were scores of hon. Gentlemen in the House of Commons who believed that a ship could be called a ship which was only to be advanced 338 tons in the year. What did an advance of 338 tons in a year mean? He challenged the Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassey), or the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), to deny that 338 tons to be worked on an iron-clad meant nothing but one of those paper ships which the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty described at the banquet at the Royal Academy; it meant nothing but payment for the drawings and for the expenses preliminary to laying the ship down. He could not understand how any Board of Admiralty could seriously announce an iron-clad which was only to be advanced 338 tons in the year. It was only recently that the hon. Member for Hastings (Sir Thomas Brassey) descanted upon the strength of their Fleet abroad as well as at home, and he particularly referred to the *Scorpion*, *Wivern*, *Viper*, and *Vixen*, which, he said, were at Bermuda. He (Lord Henry Lennox) hoped Bermuda would never find itself confronted by a serious foe; if it did, and had only such vessels to rely upon, it had better retire at once. In addition to the new ship, it was intended to advance the *Mersey*

67-100ths, and the *Severn* 48-100ths, and to begin three new protected ships; but neither of the five was to be completed this year. One was only to be advanced 61 tons. It was to appear in the Estimates, and the country were to believe it was an addition to the Navy. He thought the time had come when the Admiralty should ask for the money they wanted, and not to offer paper or phantom ships. He could not help contrasting the present state of things with that which prevailed two or three years ago. The then Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Trevelyan) came down to the House and promised, not one, but four new iron-clads. All they had got this year was one iron-clad laid down. There was a somewhat extraordinary circumstance about the *Mersey* and the *Severn.* Last year, he ventured to draw a comparison between the Iron-clad Navies of France and England. To his great surprise, as he mentioned at the time, he found included in the English iron-clads or armoured ships the *Mersey* and the *Severn.* He could not understand on what principle the *Mersey* and the *Severn* could be counted as armoured ships. The Estimates of this year, with remarkable *naïveté*, contained a note stating that these ships were no longer to be considered iron-clads. He could not help noting and being amused at the circumstance. He was very much surprised indeed to read the statement of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty in regard to the protected ships. He had not the slightest doubt that the protected ships would be very useful vessels in their way, and do very good service; but they were not iron-clads; and he was perfectly startled when he read that the Secretary to the Admiralty had said that—

> "If mounted with heavy armour-piercing guns, they would, in the fullest sense, be battle-ships."

Did he suppose that the *Mersey* or the *Severn* would be a battle-ship of a match for any of the iron-clads of other Powers? Another subject had been touched upon in the course of the debate; and were it not that he really considered it of very great importance, he would not refer to it. It was the subject of what tonnage was, and what it was not. Last year, in the House of Commons and in *The Times* newspaper, he produced a statement showing the amount of tonnage that had been built, and the amount that was supposed to have been built; and he must do himself the honour to think that the Secretary to the Admiralty must have been impressed with what he stated, or he would not have made the observations he did. He did not make any charge against the Secretary to the Admiralty, or against anyone; but he could not refrain from remarking that there must be something radically wrong when so honourable and so straightforward a Minister as the Secretary to the Admiralty could come down to the House and tell hon. Members that he had not only carried out his pledge as to the building of iron-clads in the year, but he had exceeded the amount promised to be completed by 267 tons. In the face of the Estimates, it was extraordinary that such a statement could be made. As a matter of fact, he had made it out that, instead of their being an increase of iron-clad tonnage built over that which was promised to the amount of 267 tons, there was a deficiency of no less than 2,147 tons—1,249 tons in Dockyard, and 898 deficient on *Benbow*, building by contract. He trusted the hon. and learned Gentleman would be able to explain this discrepancy, which, however, appeared from the Estimates themselves. There was one other matter to which he desired to allude; and he trusted that if he was wearying the Committee they would bear with him, as he did not often address them. He saw there was to be expended this year, on repairs and refits, £415,432; and the number of men to be told off for the work was to be 6,291. He noticed that, amongst the repairs at Chatham last year, the celebrated *Polyphemus* was to be fitted with new boilers; and for the purpose, in conjunction with the repairs of the *Orontes*, £18,000 was voted, and 250 men were told off. It was very curious that when he looked at the head "Portsmouth," he found, this year, £61,631 and 892 men voted for "*Emerald*, *Cormorant*, and refit *Shah*, and complete new boilers for *Polyphemus*." He did not suppose for one moment that the *Polyphemus* had new boilers at Chatham last year, and that this year they were to pay for new boilers for her at Portsmouth. That was another discrepancy to which he hoped the Secretary to the Admiralty would direct his attention.

That was not all, because he saw that at Devonport, in 1883-4, the large sum of £129,726 was voted, and 2,016 men were told off, "to complete the repairs of the *Bellerophon*, *Raleigh*, and other ships;" and then he noticed that, this year, £130,773 was voted, and 2,036 men were told off, "to complete repairs of *Raleigh* and other ships, and to advance repairs of *Bellerophon* and other vessels." He would dearly like to know where the money which the House of Commons had voted had gone? The next question on which he had to touch —that of the Marines—was one in regard to which he had no grievance against the Admiralty, except it was that the number of men had been unnecessarily reduced. He agreed with all that had been said about the Marines. The Marines were a very willing Force; but he did not think it was wise always to push them forward wherever there was fighting. He was convinced the Marines did not object; but, still, they ought to be treated justly and reasonably. As to the *personnel* of the Navy, he saw, by a statement which he had taken some trouble to make out, it had been decreasing for the last five years, and it was now at a lower point than it had ever been. He did not want to sail under false colours, but to admit honestly that his attention was first drawn to the question of the *personnel* of the Navy by a speech of a gallant officer who was once a respected and esteemed Member of the House of Commons—namely, Lord Charles Beresford. In the last Parliament Lord Charles Beresford made a most interesting speech, in which he pointed out that the *personnel* of the Navy was utterly defective, and that often 50 per cent of the men in English ships were non-combatants. Talking of the ship which he (Lord Charles Beresford) commanded some years ago with so much ability and distinction, the *Thunderer*, Lord Charles said that when the boats were manned and went off there were only left on board the Quartermasters and some 15 Marines; that, he added, was a most alarming state of things, because the French had no non-combatants. He should like to ask his hon. Friend the Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassey) whether he would endeavour to persuade the Admiralty to adopt some scheme which should secure that a larger number of the men on board their ships should be trained to arms? This was a subject which his hon. Friend would do well to consider and to bring before the Board, because what was possible in the French Navy must be possible in ours. He (Lord Henry Lennox) felt that he must say a few words more on the subject of the French Navy. He had no desire to enter into a comparison of the number and character of the ships in the French and English Navies—he had done that so often—but he had carefully studied the French Estimates; and he had found that the French were now spending more money on the *personnel* of their Navy than they had ever done before. The Return he had prepared showed that for 1885, for *Service Marine*, the French had voted 200,000,000 francs, as against 197,780,696 francs for 1884; for Artillery, under the head of *Sources Extraordinaires*, there was put down 8,700,000 francs; and there was an increase of 2,500,000 francs under the head of *Invalides de la Marines*. There was thus, this year, an absolute increase of 13,400,000 francs in the Vote for the French Navy. He would like also to be told what was the meaning of that most extraordinary Return of "Fighting and Sea-going Ships," which was issued contemporaneously with the Estimates? Included in the Return were the *Northumberland*, *Minotaur*, *Agincourt*, and *Achilles*, which, a previous Secretary of the Admiralty said, only very recently, were only useful as drill ships. How could any Board of Admiralty represent to the House of Commons those ships as fighting and sea-going vessels? The next lot comprised a series of venerable iron-clads—namely, the *Warrior*, *Black Prince*, *Resistance*, *Lord Warden*, *Hector*, *Valiant*, *Defence*, *Repulse*, and *Penelope*. To put these vessels down as a powerful element of the naval strength of the country was most misleading. Such ships could not be counted as fighting ships, and they were not sea-going. They had light armament of a very obsolete kind, and they had no speed at all. He would not go further on the point, except to say that last year the Secretary to the Admiralty said that the progress of the Board of Admiralty was neither startling nor ambitious. Had he said otherwise, he would have been the first Secretary who ever charged the Admiralty with having a startling and ambitious programme. The hon. Gentleman, last year, made a comparison of the relative merits of the English and French Navies, and had gone back for his purpose as far as 1867; but in doing so he had not given the name of any ships, nor their tonnage, speed, or armament. Nevertheless, he triumphantly stated that their ships were superior to the French. But it turned out, with regard to three years of his comparison, that he was comparing the ships of the English Navy with old wooden French ships which had no existence at all. He wished to help the Admiralty in their endeavour to persuade the Treasury to give them a little more money to maintain the safety of their Colonies and commerce and the supremacy of the country at sea; and it was for that purpose he had risen, under rather depressing circumstances, to address the Committee.

Mr. GORST said, he was certain that the Members of the Government must have been struck with the fact that the burden of every speech delivered that evening on either side of the House was virtually this—"Why do you not spend more money on the Navy?" But, unfortunately, there had been no one present to whom the question could be addressed; and he was himself almost afraid that in making these observations he should come within the Prime Minister's definition of Obstruction, which the right hon. Gentleman said consisted in making a speech without attempting to persuade any one. Had he, however, the eloquence of Demosthenes there was no one on the Treasury Bench whom he could address or attempt to persuade. They were discussing the naval policy of Her Majesty's Government, and there were two Members of the Government before them who had no share in directing that policy. Now, if the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty were, as he ought to have been, First Lord, the Committee could address their speeches to him with some effect; but, unfortunately, the Government had placed at the head of this great spending Department of State a Peer, who dwelt in the serene atmosphere of "another place," without fear of criticism and without fear of being asked the question —"Why do you not spend more money on the Navy?" What had become of the other Members of the Government? The Chancellor of the Exchequer was absent, and he observed that the right hon. Gentleman always carefully avoided these naval debates; doubtless because he feared an attack upon the financial policy of the Government. All they could do, then, was very little—they could force upon the Government, or rather upon the two Members of it who were present, the fact that the country was dissatisfied with that portion of the Expenditure which the Government devoted to the Navy of the country; and it was a notorious fact that the Admiralty shared that dissatisfaction. The Secretary to the Admiralty came down to the House, and was obliged to make the best defence he could of the Government with the materials at his disposal; and the noble Lord who had just spoken had given them a specimen of the shifts to which the Admiralty were put in order to make out the number of the paper fleet which they presented to the people. But they would not say that the expenditure on the Navy was satisfactory. Well, they had not got the Chancellor of the Exchequer to address; but he would like the Secretary to the Admiralty to tell the Committee on what ground the Government justified this inadequate expenditure on the defence of the country? In the accounts of their Expenditure, the cost of the Navy was treated in an unusual way. If the accounts were those of a commercial Company, instead of a great nation, all this expenditure on ships and *materiel* would be charged to capital; but being a great nation they put them down to Revenue. The expenditure on the Navy was nothing else than an investment of the property of the country for the purpose of defending its wealth and Possessions, and it ought to appear as such in the accounts. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) was, no doubt, a great economist; and if he should address the Committee on this Vote he would, no doubt, accuse him of extravagance, and say that it was because he represented a Dockyard constituency that he was always in favour of spending money on the Navy. But was the course pursued by the Government really an economical one? They were actually leaving the defences of the country in an unsatisfactory condition; and it could not be because they had no money, for they were spending

£7,000,000 every year in the reduction of the National Debt. If the Admiralty could induce the country to believe that the Navy was kept up to an efficient strength; that there was really nothing in the criticisms addressed to them upon the subject by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), the noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox), and other Gentlemen on that side of the House, all experienced in affairs of the Navy—if they could show that those criticisms were but the views of alarmists, and that they had expended all the money that was proper to be spent on the defences of the country, well and good; but if not, then he said that some Member of the Government should defend its position in this matter, and point out why so much money was spent in the manner he had alluded to, while the Navy itself was being starved. He did not wish to go into details, further than to say that the grievances of the engineers, naval schoolmasters, artificers, and others, were all due to the same cause—that the Admiralty had not enough money, and was obliged to resort to shifts in order to keep down the expenditure to the lowest point. All those cases had been presented to the Committee in the course of the evening. The discussion on the Navy Estimates differed entirely from those which took place on the other Estimates; no one ever dreamt of refraining from criticizing naval expenditure; on the contrary, Member after Member of the Committee rose to say the same thing, and to ask why so little money was spent, and why the Service was not made efficient. He thought at least that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might favour the Committee with his presence, in order that he might defend the policy of the Government, which was thus attacked. He might further observe that, although a great part of the criticisms of the evening had been upon the question of Ordnance, and the delay in the arming of those vessels which had been built, there had been no one present in the House to represent the War Office and answer the questions which had been put on those subjects. As might have been expected, an attempt had been made about an hour before to count out the Committee. At that time there were, he believed, but four Members present; and one speaker remarked that little interest was taken in the Navy Estimates. Of course, they could take no interest in them under the circumstances; and he therefore protested, and should continue to protest, against there being no responsible Minister of the Crown present to defend the policy of the Government against the charge of having reduced the Navy Estimates to a point below that which the country believed to be necessary.

MR. RYLANDS said, his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst) could scarcely have been in his place at the commencement of the discussion, or he would have heard the important speeches delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) and by his hon. Friend near him (Sir Edward J. Reed). [MR. GORST: I heard them both.] Then his hon. and learned Friend, who generally displayed wonderful acuteness, seemed to be under some obfuscation of intellect, because he understood his hon. and learned Friend to say that Members had been complaining that so little money was spent; whereas they had asserted that while they voted a large sum of money for naval purposes every year they did not get the return for that money which they had a right to expect, but although they spent £11,500,000 a-year for naval purposes, the hon. and learned Member for Chatham, like the daughter of the horse-leech, cried "More, more!" He (Mr. Rylands) contended that more money was spent than ought to be spent, and that the country had no sufficient result to show for it. He entirely agreed with the speakers in the early part of the discussion who said that it was most unfortunate that, in regard to the question of naval expenditure, it was so difficult to get the ear of the House or the attention of the public. One set of political officials succeeded another at the Admiralty; and although they were in power they were the mere mouthpieces of the permanent officials. Instead of dealing with this great question as a matter of business, and in the interest of the public, they allowed the permanent officials to influence them, with the view of keeping up the old traditions of Admiralty administration. He was delighted to hear the allusion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster to the manner in which the Admiralty accounts were presented to the House. He thought the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly fair, and that it was delivered in the best possible spirit, because he admitted that the present mode of making up the accounts was one which had the sanction of former Administrations; but the fact was, the Members of the House of Commons were hoodwinked in respect of the amount of expenditure. They had been led to believe that the cost per ton of iron ships built in the Dockyards was very much less than what it actually was. But what did the right hon. Gentleman say? He said that he had received information, from a private shipbuilder of great respectability, that the cost of labour on iron vessels built by him was only about one-half the cost of labour expended on vessels built by the Government. The right hon. Gentleman made a most true remark in regard to that, although he rather tried to lessen the effect of the statement—namely, that Dockyard work was necessarily dearer than private work.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I beg the hon. Member's pardon. I said it was dearer, but, in my judgment, not necessarily so.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he was glad to hear the correction of the right hon. Gentleman; he understood that, as a matter of fact, Dockyard work was dearer, though not necessarily so, than private work, and he entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman. The Dockyard work was, however, so dear that if any private shipbuilder carried on his business in the way the Dockyard business was done, he would very soon be in *The Gazette*, even if he had the Bank of England to back him. He said that the dearness of the work of the Admiralty was patent to everyone. Again, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was full of wisdom and good judgment; and he entirely agreed with him in pointing out that it would be far better if the Admiralty were to decide upon the plan or type of a vessel and at once proceed to build it, because if that were done they would keep more abreast of the discoveries of the age than they did under the present system, the effect of which was that while they were deciding upon the type of a vessel the whole stream of discovery changed its course, and after, perhaps, seven years the ship, when completed, was found to be obsolete. His hon. Friend near him (Sir Edward J. Reed) made a statement which, coming from him, was of the greatest possible importance—namely, that from his experience he did not believe that the ships built by private contract were in any way inferior to those built in Her Majesty's Dockyards. What did that teach them? Looking at the fact, not as the Representative of a Dockyard constituency, as was his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), but as a business man accustomed to manufacturing operations, he (Mr. Rylands) had no hesitation in saying that by going into the open market, after deciding upon the kind of ship required, the Admiralty would get a ship constructed and delivered in a stated time and at a less cost, from a private shipbuilding yard, than they were paying now. If that system were adopted, they would be able to cut down the Naval Estimates, and the country would get in return for its money a much larger number of vessels of war. Now, he was only repeating the language used by Mr. Cobden 20 years ago in that House, when he pointed out that the cost of the Shipbuilding Department of the Navy had increased in every ramification. It had gone on increasing ever since that time; and if the Committee would analyze the accounts before them they would see that for every pound expended in wages they paid 5*s.* more for superannuation charges. The police charges and establishment charges alone were something incredible; and he asked whether any man in his senses could imagine that an establishment so conducted could be carried on at a profit, if in addition to all this the management of the shipbuilding department was in the hands of a gentleman who knew nothing practically of shipbuilding establishments? It was not because a man was an Admiral that he understood manufacturing operations; nevertheless, such gentlemen were put into the Dockyards to preside over shipbuilding arrangements; and after three years or so, having done as much mischief as possible, they were withdrawn to make room for others. The whole practice appeared to him to be contrary to those common-sense principles which ought to guide the administration of the affairs of the country. Therefore, he hoped that an end would be put to a system under which the construction of a vessel, planned and laid down by some officials years before, went dragging slowly on until, after the lapse of seven or eight years, caused by interference with the process by persons who considered themselves to be more ingenious than their predecessors, a vessel was produced that, after all, was open to objection. His hon. Friend near him had said, with perfect truth, that the country had spent during the last four or five years many millions of money which were not represented by anything that could be brought to bear in the event of war, and that this vast absorption of capital was in unfinished ships, which at the present moment could not be brought into play, and which for every month they were delayed ran an increased risk of having to be written off as obsolete when they were completed. For these reasons, he thought the Committee, not in a parsimonious, but in an intelligent and business-like spirit, should criticize strongly the unbusiness-like and wasteful manner in which the millions voted year by year for naval purposes were expended without that return which they, as Representatives of the taxpayers of the country, had a right to demand from Her Majesty's Government.

MR. A. F. EGERTON said, the policy of the Admiralty was, in fact, the policy of the Prime Minister, the Secretary to the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, without whose consent the Admiralty could do nothing. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had, he thought, slightly misrepresented the right hon. Member for Westminster. That right hon. Gentleman had made some criticisms on the forms in which the accounts of the Admiralty were presented in the Estimates, and had conclusively shown that they were deficient in some respects; but he ventured to think that the hon. Member for Burnley had gone too far in attributing to the right hon. Gentleman the statement that the money provided in this Estimate would be sufficient for the purposes of the Navy. His own opinion was that, although a certain saving might be effected by a better form of accounting, the amount was insufficient; and he ventured to think the Committee would agree with him when he said that if the Admiralty were to ask for a considerably larger sum of money for Navy purposes they would be supported by the House and the country. He did not wish to make a long speech on this occasion; but there were one or two points upon which he should like to ask for some information from the Surveyor General of the Ordnance. The Committee had heard a good deal, in the course of this debate, about the guns for the *Colossus* and the *Edinburgh;* and he should like to know exactly how that matter stood, if the information could be given to the public? He thought that not only the House of Commons, but the country generally, had ground to complain of the very great delays that had occurred in the Ordnance Department in supplying guns to the Navy. He ventured to say that that Department was too much under the influence of Elswick and Woolwich, and he thought the Department ought to get inspiration from other quarters. There was a great foreign gunmaker—Krupp; and there was a great English gunmaker—Whitworth; but the House never heard of any trials and results either on the Continent or at home, though he believed there had recently been some very important trials of Whitworth guns of large calibre. He did not know whether the Ordnance Department knew anything of them; but if they did not they ought. He should like to know specifically what was the cause of the delay in regard to the guns of the *Colossus* and the *Edinburgh?* In the course of this debate complaints—and very legitimate complaints—had been made of the delays with respect to the completion of ships laid down in Her Majesty's Dockyards. The causes of these complaints had been very specifically stated. There was no doubt that, to a great extent, these delays in the completion of Her Majesty's ships were caused by some conflict of opinion between the different Departments of the Admiralty. These guns had to be considered minutely; and, as he had said before, the great object of the Admiralty was to obtain absolute perfection—and a very legitimate object that was; but in order to obtain complete perfection they had very frequently to encounter serious delays. But there was another cause of the delays complained of in the completion of Her Majesty's ships, and that lay with the House of Commons itself. The ship that had been delayed the longest time, he believed, was the *Inflexible.* He would not now go into the old story of the *Inflexible ;* but he thought those who were Members of the last Parliament would agree with him in saying that the real cause of the delay in the completion of that ship was the action of the House of Commons; and the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed) legitimately had a great deal to say upon that. The *Inflexible* took seven or eight years to complete ; but he did not think the result could be complained of, for he believed the *Inflexible,* as she now stood, with her 80-ton guns, was superior to either of the two great Italian ships. She was stronger than they were in many respects, and was a highly creditable addition to Her Majesty's Navy. He hoped the ships that were to succeed her, of similar calibre, but differently armed, would be as admirable ships as she was. He did not say that any ships could be perfect; but the *Inflexible* had, on the whole, been a great success. The noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox) had complained that the Admiralty had no general policy. Well, the noble Lord had himself belonged to the Administration of the Admiralty, and knew a good deal of what went on in the arcana of that Body. He ventured to differ from the noble Lord—and he spoke not of one Admiralty, but of successive Admiralties—in saying that they had no policy; for he thought all Admiralties had a policy. He would not, however, say that that policy was not interfered with in detail by the Treasury; but he wished it was not so interfered with. No Admiralty could completely carry out the policy it professed; but, still, he did not agree with his noble Friend in thinking that the Admiralty had no policy. The fact was, every Admiralty must have a general policy, not only in shipbuilding, but must have an idea of what was required for the defences of the country. To his mind, a complete policy of the Admiralty involved not only the building of ships, but a complete policy, such as, say, General Moltke had in the invasion of France by Prussia in 1870. Every Admiralty must have in mind a general scheme of defence not only for the commerce of the country, but for the shores of this country. In fact, every Admiralty, that was worth anything as an Admiralty, ought to have every point of naval policy perpetually in mind; and he ventured to say that the Admiralty presided over by Lord Northbrook, and represented in this House by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), had all these points in mind; but, although they might have a perfect policy in mind, it was impossible to carry that policy out without the consent of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Prime Minister. He was happy to see that night that, instead of only about five Members, there were at least 50 present; and he hoped the House would continue to take more interest in the affairs of the Navy, and a more intelligent interest in the Navy than it appeared to have done in times past; and that the Admiralty, when they attempted to increase the shipbuilding of the nation, would be backed up not only by public opinion out-of-doors, but by the House of Commons generally. He believed there was no nation in the world that took greater interest in the affairs of its Navy than did the people of Great Britain; but, still, so far as the House of Commons was concerned, that interest had not been shown very minutely by the Representatives of the nation. He hoped that in the future the state of things would be considerably improved, and that the House of Commons would support the Admiralty in all the attempts they made to force the janitors of the Treasury, in order to obtain such a Navy as they ought to have to ensure the defence of the country.

Mr. DAWSON said, the absence of a more responsible Ministry than those who now occupied the Treasury Bench had been already referred to; but for his purpose the able exponent of the Admiralty now present would be sufficient. He wished, first of all, to call attention to a matter which struck a layman—namely, the grievances of the paymasters. He conceived that the hon. Gentleman would allow that the prospect these officers had of getting promotion was getting longer and longer away; and that, through no fault of their own, it was quite possible that the period when they might expect promotion might be extended even to 1889-90. And while the term of promotion was postponed, when they got the promotion, or the advantage of their long service, that advantage would be proportionately decreased. If they had only 10 years and 11 months, and so did not reach 11 years, they would only get six years' junior service; whereas, if they had passed that time by even one day, they would at once jump into full service of 15 years. He could not see, upon any logical, or actuarial, or just ground, why that extraordinary state of things should exist, or, being in existence, should be allowed to continue. The hon. Member had himself referred to the unjust position in which those men stood. Like the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), he looked at these matters as a business man; and it seemed to him that this was a cheese-paring policy, while the Admiralty were spending money in providing guns that would not go off. Apart from that subject, he wished to say that he thoroughly agreed with the hon. Member for Burnley as to Government Establishments, and the extravagant manner in which they did their work, compared with private builders upon open contract. In the matter of Army Clothing he had moved for the Returns, which were not yet presented; and when they were presented he should be able to prove that the cost of the work done by the favoured Government factories was greatly in excess of the work done by open contract. It appeared, from the debate that night, and from the speech of the right hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), that the cost of the work done by the Government factories was unnecessarily great. The whole issue of this debate appeared, therefore, to be that the matters upon which saving could be made were the very matters upon which the Government were most lavish and profuse. In regard to ships, they ought to spend money judiciously; and in the matter of the paymasters, they ought to be generous and just; but they were cheeseparing in the extreme, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would give a satisfactory answer upon the points to which he had ventured to draw attention.

SIR JOHN JENKINS said, he could not quite fall in with the whole of the remarks that had been made as to lavish expenditure in all the Dockyards. Last year he was several days at Pembroke Dockyard, of which the gentleman in command had spent a great deal of his life in the Naval Service; and he was glad to be able to bear testimony to the efficient manner in which that Yard was conducted. Naval gentlemen, from their long training, undoubtedly knew exactly what was necessary for the Service; and as to the practical departments under their charge they were able to select men who had the necessary technical knowledge. He could certainly testify that as regards Pembroke Dockyard the men were all practical men, and did their work in an efficient manner. He rose more particularly to express his disappointment that no provision was proposed for improving the position of that very important branch of the Navy, the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers. This question had cropped up year after year; and he thought that if this Service received more encouragement from the Government, a large amount of money would eventually be saved to the country. There was a good class of men enrolled in that Service, who would be able to render valuable aid in the defence of the country in an emergency. They had a large number of gunboats lying idle at two or three ports, which might be most usefully employed and turned to profitable account by being used at the various ports round the Island, not only for the protection of those ports, but for the training of men for the Naval Service. He hoped the Admiralty, in their next Estimates, would make some provision for a capitation grant for the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers. Many appeals had been made to the Admiralty in that direction; but, so far, those appeals had been made in vain. He sincerely hoped the Admiralty would do something in the coming year to give encouragement to this important branch of the Navy.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I wish, in the first place, to revert to the very important and instructive speech which my right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith) made at an early period in this discussion. It has been alluded to by several hon. Members who have spoken during this debate; and there has been a substantial general agreement in the views expressed by the right hon. Gentleman. There were two points to which he specially alluded. In the first place, he referred to the great waste, both of time and money, which was involved in alterations from the original designs of ships, and to the desirability generally of proceeding as quickly as possible to the completion of any ships which have been taken in hand. With regard to that principle, I believe the right hon. Gentleman was preaching entirely to the converted, when he addressed his observations to my hon. Friend the Civil Lord of the Admiralty and myself. We entirely agree with him; and I am sure I am speaking for the First Lord of the Admiralty and other Members of the Board when I say that they altogether agree with him that that is a most important principle. As I remember, the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed) pointed out two years ago, with great clearness, any delay in the completion of a ship involves the loss to the nation of the use of the capital which has been expended upon the ship; and that is a consideration which ought to induce us to hasten the completion of a ship as much as possible. But, besides that, there is no doubt that if we go on changing and departing from the original design we ultimately produce a ship of which the main design may be obsolete, or somewhat out of date, and which is not so effective an instrument of war as if it had been taken in hand and finished at once. Well, having made that statement—I will not say that admission—of what I believe to be a cardinal principal in the matter, I must, at the same time, ask the Committee to remember that there is something to be said on the other side. In the first place, I said, when introducing the Estimates, that it was impossible for us—it would be folly in us—to shut the door upon improvements; and in these days improvements do not take place through the caprice or fanciful inventions of constructors. If we were to leave it to our Naval Constructors, I believe they would be more anxious to adhere to the original designs than anyone else. The Committee must remember that we live in changing times, in times of inventions, every one of which affects shipbuilding. We live in times of inventions with regard to armament, to guns and their carriages; to torpedoes, and the machinery connected with the ejection of torpedoes; to machine guns and quick-firing guns, and to their fittings, and mountings, and racers; besides, hydraulic and electric machinery. These, and some other things which I might mention, account for nearly all the delays which are complained of. A great deal has been said, and will be said, as to the delays in respect to guns; and I may have something to say with respect to detailed points later on. I cannot too strongly impress it on the Committee, as I have before had occasion to state, that the delay with regard to the guns has not been in regard to their manufacture. The delay has been with respect to fixing and settling the types and details of the guns. When the present Government came into Office, we found the country in this position—other countries had gone ahead of us, and it was necessary for us to enter upon a great wholesale change of armament, that change being necessitated not by any peculiar advantage of breech-loading, but by the use of slow-burning powder, which involved an enormously long tube in the gun; and when you have the great length of tube which that implies you must load at the breech. There were many grounds for hesitation, because we all know what delay is involved in the appointment of a Committee on such a subject; but the question was so large, and the amount of expenditure was so great, that the Government thought they would not be justified in proceeding without securing the very best advice that could be obtained, and they appointed an Ordnance Committee consisting of naval and military officers, and certain civilians and engineers possessing great knowledge of the metals employed in the construction of guns. Of course, a Committee like that having been appointed, it proceeds steadily with its investigation, and for a long time no apparent progress whatever is made. We have now passed through those years when there was nothing but delay and disappointment, and, apparently, alteration of opinion; but I was glad to be able to say, when I introduced the Estimates, that during this last year a very great stride has been made, and we at length see daylight at the end of this long investigation. I am told that the most important points are settled; and although there will still, no doubt, be considerable hindrances with regard to many of the smaller details, I believe I may say substantially that there will be no hindrances on any such scale as there have been hitherto. This, I think, constitutes a satisfactory position of the question, because now my hon. Friend at the head of the Ordnance Department enters upon the duty of constructing the new guns with a knowledge and confidence which he could not have possessed by any other means; and we may hope that we have avoided the danger we should otherwise have incurred of rashly entering on the re-armament of the Navy after a hastily-considered plan, and then, after a few years, finding that we were all wrong, and must incur all the expense over again. There have been difficulties not only with regard to the form and design of the guns, but with regard to the material to be used. That is one of the great causes of delay; and the other considerations I have named are all factors which tend to the same result—the development of torpedo warfare, and the greater use of electricity and hydraulic machinery. But if the object of what hon. Members have urged is to impress upon us and our Colleagues the necessity of completing ships as quickly as possible, and altering the original design as little as possible, I can assure them that every word that has been said is entirely concurred in by us. The other point to which my right hon. Friend alluded was the notable, and now becoming rather threadworn, question of tonnage. I take some credit to myself for honesty in this matter, at all events, because I was almost the first that had the courage to attempt an explanation of this thorny subject; and I from the first stated what I now repeat—that my own personal opinion is not in favour of this system of computation. I admit all that has been said upon it. The unit varies, and whatever the value of the unit may be the multiple varies also; but what are you to do? The same thing happens if you do not talk of tons at all, but talk of so many hundred parts of a ship; and I find, on looking at the Estimates of other countries where they use this other mode of computation, that when they had nominally built a ship, perhaps up to 99-100ths, there is still something to be built, and in the end they build more than a whole ship. That is precisely what we do with our tons; but the advantage of this system of computing by tons is that it has always been followed for many years past, and it affords a means of comparing the work of one year with the work of another year. In fact, I may candidly say that my noble Friend at the head of the Admiralty and myself, being rather impressed by the doubtful quality of this unit, thought that in the expense accounts for this year we had better show an amended table, going back and making the necessary corrections in the previous years, because it would not do merely to deduct what was necessary for last year. You must also take into account the error which had accrued relating to the year before, and so on. We proceeded thus until we came to the years of the Administration of my right hon. Friend the Member for Westminster; and then the question was, whether we should tamper with his figures, or should stop there? If we stopped there, it would be misleading to the House, and not very fair to ourselves. If we went back on these figures, where were we to stop? Again, probably the whole thing would have been misunderstood; and we came to the conclusion that it was better to leave things as they were. To say it is a misleading statement is not accurate, for it does give a fair mode of comparing one year with another, and it does not mislead those of us who are acquainted with the manner in which the figures are dealt with. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) spoke of the fallacious mode in which the accounts of the Admiralty were made up; but this does not affect the accounts at all; it is a mere question of stating in the Estimates the progress made. After all, the real test of what is done is the number of ships that are completed. That is the only thing we can fall back upon; but seeing that in one year you may not complete any ships, and in the next you may complete three or four, you want some mode of comparing the actual work done with the work intended.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I referred to the question of the completion of ships.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: A ship ought not to be called complete until it is, at all events, capable of being in a very short time made perfectly ready for sea; but, unfortunately, there comes in the other element of which I have been speaking in the early part of my observations—that is, that at the last moment there are some little fittings, connected, for instance, with machine guns, which require to be done, which cost a great deal of money, and which prolong the detention of the ship in the Dockyard, and yet the ship may be, for all practical purposes, called complete. With regard to the tonnage, my right hon. Friend alluded to two parts of the Estimates. He will forgive me if I am not able to answer all that he said, because it is very difficult to follow figures quoted in debate. Although he alluded to them the last time we debated these questions, I did not follow, as closely as, perhaps, I ought to have done, what he said. There is this point, however, to be borne in mind—that in the one case the figures relating to last year are the number of tons estimated as building during that year, and in the other case the figures are the number of tons that have been built altogether on the ships then under construction. Some of the ships have been completed in the meantime. However, I will look into the matter closely, because I am not really certain as to how it stands. The noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox) alluded to a considerable discrepancy in the amount of tonnage, and he has been good enough to give me the figures he quoted. I will promise him that I will have the matter looked into, and let him know what I find. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) addressed a few remarks to the Committee, to which I listened with great pleasure, as everyone must have done, seeing that he always puts his case in a decided, as well as a fresh and easy, manner. He made a complaint—with which, I must say, I entirely sympathize—in regard to the First Lord of the Admiralty not being in this House. He has made the complaint often before; and although as I say, I sympathize with him, still it is not an altogether unmixed evil that we have the First Lord of the Admiralty in the other House. My hon. and learned Friend himself made a great point of the fact that almost every Member who had spoken had urged upon the Department increased expenditure. Well, we have not had a great many speakers to-night; but of those we have listened to, no fewer than five are Representatives of Dockyard constituencies. I do not blame the hon. and learned Gentleman and his brethren who occupy that distinguished position, for urging the claims of all classes of Dockyard *employés* who form their constituents, or in whom their constituents take an interest. I find the claims of these people are always reasonably and temperately put forward in this Committee, and I hope I am always ready to listen to what is said; but, still, I say it is obvious that the fact of these hon. Members representing Dockyard constituencies accounts for many of the demands made every year for more money in connection with the Navy Estimates. I observe this of the class of Members to which my hon. and learned Friend belongs—namely, that if one of them speaks they all must speak, as it would not do, I presume, for one of those champions of that part of the community to appear more energetic than another. I therefore see some advantage in the absence of the First Lord from this House. I am really glad that before it reaches my noble Friend at the head of the Department, the force of the stream of demand is somewhat abated by its having passed through me. I may, however, assure my hon. and learned Friend that, as far as I am concerned, I will do all in my power to bring before my Colleagues all the cases that he has put before us. My hon. and learned Friend thinks we ought to spend more money, and declares that we ought to be able to justify our inadequate expenditure on the Navy, taking for granted that we admit that expenditure to be inadequate. But I do not admit anything of the kind. I do not admit that there is any discrepancy between the views of the First Lord of the Admiralty and of the Treasury. The First Lord of the Admiralty is a Member of the Cabinet; and the Cabinet, as my hon. and learned Friend knows, is bound to have not only some regard to the various classes in the employment of the Admiralty and the interests of the Service generally, but also the interests of the people. They are bound, for the sake of the public, to exercise all the economy they can, consistently with properly conducting the Service of the country; and they are certainly of opinion that what the Admiralty asks for this year is sufficient to meet that object. I believe that the Estimates are quite sufficient to maintain the Navy in such a position as that it shall be able to discharge its duties thoroughly. We hear very extraordinary statements on this subject; and I have been much astonished at a remarkable statement recently made as to the relative position of the Navies of this country and France. Some Members of the Committee may have seen it, and it has been directly alluded to to-night by more than one hon. Member. The statement to which I refer is very misleading; in fact, it is entirely wrong, and in so serious a document shows such carelessness in its compilation that it is highly desirable I should avail myself of this opportunity of pointing out where it is inaccurate. I am speaking, of course, of the letter, or pamphlet—I am not sure which—which was recently put forward by Admiral Sir Thomas Symonds. Sir Thomas Symonds is a most distinguished officer, of whom I will not speak with anything but the highest respect. He is, no doubt, animated by the very best of motives, and thoroughly believes that the Navy is insufficient; and he is obviously anxious to arouse the opinion of the country. Well, I think, though I have always taken the line of declining to enter upon any comparison between the Navies of this country and our great Neighbour—as I believe it to be entirely opposed to the public interest—though, I say, I have always consistently taken that line, yet, when a statement of this sort is made, and so publicly cast at the head of the Government, and held out to the public as a ground upon which they should demand a large public expenditure for the Naval Service, I think it is right that I should state how erroneous it is. I will do so in a very few words. Sir Thomas Symonds, in his estimate—I might point out other errors, but the one I will indicate is so glaring that I think I may say, *Ex pede Herculem*—gives a comparative statement of the Navy Estimates of England for the present year, and the French *Projet de Loi* for 1885. He shows, or professes to show, that the French vote £906,905 more per annum than we do in building 15 new armour-clad ships to our 12.

SIR JOHN HAY: My hon. Friend will allow me to say that the statement has been amended, and that I have seen a letter from the Admiralty acknowledging the receipt of the amendment.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: An official amendment?

SIR JOHN HAY: Yes.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I was not aware that any amendment to the statement has been officially made to the Admiralty.

SIR JOHN HAY: There certainly has been.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I was not aware of it; but, at any rate, it is right, as there are hundreds and thousands in the country who have read the statement, and have not seen the correction, that I should take this public opportunity of correcting the mistake. I say the statement was that this year the French are spending £906,905 on their armour-clad Navy more than we are. How does the gallant Admiral arrive at this sum? I will begin with the smaller items first. In the first place, he leaves out altogether our proposed expenditure on a new vessel of £12,744. Then he leaves out a sum of £160,000, which we take under these Estimates to spend on the *Benbow*, which is to be built by contract. He takes a detailed estimate in his French calculation for labour and materials; but in the English estimate he calculates labour only. This, in itself, makes a deficiency of about £500,000. And then, lastly, having taken all the figures from the French Estimates out of the *resumé*, or summary, of the ships to be built, he proceeds to add to it £794,000 for payment to contractors, although it was already included in the summary given; so that I make it out from this document, which is gravely put forward by this gallant officer—of whom, I say, I will speak with nothing but the highest respect, so highly do I esteem his motives—that he is only some £1,300,000 out in a very obvious calculation which can be made by anyone. I only quote this, because I have seen the document to which I refer alluded to as a wonderful disclosure of our inferiority, and because it is a very good sample to give the country of the way in which these comparisons are sometimes made—comparisons always redounding to the credit and exaltation of the shipbuilding policy of others, and always depreciatory of the poor efforts of this country. Now, to come to some of the detailed observations which have been made by the noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox). He found fault with us in respect to many individual points. He said a great deal about guns, in regard to most of which I have already made a sufficient statement. He also made some inquiries about the *Edinburgh.* When introducing the Estimates I explained that the *Edinburgh* was being delayed on purpose, because we wished to avoid the necessity of doing and undoing work—because we wished to have the experience which will be gained in building her sister, the *Colossus.* I trust the delay which is taking place will be amply compensated for in time to come by the advantage we shall gain. We are now proceeding in other instances on the policy of building several ships of one type. If you go on building new ships of fresh types, you have in each case new difficulties to overcome, new departures and new variations to make in the process of building; but if you repeat a type which has not been very long out of hand, and is still a new type, then the experience you gain in building the first stands you in good stead, and enables you to largely improve upon your first plan in building the second. That is just what we are anxious to do in regard to the *Edinburgh*—that is to say, we wish to give the *Edinburgh* the advantage of our experience in connection with the *Colossus.* I may say with regard to the 43-ton gun for the *Colossus*, it is quite true that there has been some delay in regard to the breech mechanism. The gun is on board; but it has been discovered that some little alteration must be made in the screw of the breech, and that has brought about some delay. At the same time, this is not a matter which will cause any very serious delay. The noble Lord made a statement which I was greatly astonished to hear him make. He complained, on this question of guns, that a certain Return that he had moved for had not been given to him in a useful condition. He paid me a compliment, which I did not deserve, for having answered a certain letter of his, when I told him that, so far as the Admiralty were concerned, they would not object to this Return being given. I was not aware that my hon. Friend the Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Mr. Brand) had any objection to the Return being prepared; but he says my hon. Friend objected to this Return of guns supplied to the Navy being given. He said my hon. Friend required that he should leave out the word "supplied;" and that if he did the Return would be like the play of *Hamlet* with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out.

Lord HENRY LENNOX: Hear, hear!

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: "Hear, hear!" says the noble Lord; and I must say I am astonished to hear him cheer that statement, because I am informed that a note was sent to the noble Lord in which it was stated that the word "supplied" could be kept in if the words "and manufactured" were included.

Lord HENRY LENNOX: That note I have never seen or heard of. I wrote to the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, as I was leaving London, saying that if "manufactured" and "supplied" were put in I should be willing, but that without the word "supplied" it would be worthless.

Mr. BRAND: I must say I regret to hear the noble Lord say he did not receive any communication. I had a letter sent to the noble Lord's private residence, some three or four days ago, stating that there would be no objection to the Return, and that he might keep in the word "supplied," so long as he would consent to the insertion also of the words "and manufactured."

Lord HENRY LENNOX: I did not receive it.

Mr. BRAND: I am very much surprised to hear the noble Lord say that he did not receive that letter.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am glad the noble Lord is to get his Return in a satisfactory form. Then the noble Lord raised the whole question he brought before us a few weeks ago. He complained that we had refused to give information about the boilers, and I think I disposed of that point at the time; at any rate, I have nothing to add to what I then said. Then he complained that we had begun a new ship at the end of the year, though we had said here in the spring and summer we did not want any more iron-clads. We did not say we did not want any more iron-clads. What we said was, that we did not think it necessary to begin any more as at present advised. But in the course of the year changes occurred in the distribution of the labour of the Dockyards, and an opportunity presenting itself for usefully employing some of our labour on a new ship, instead of waiting for the new year, we commenced in the course of last year. The noble Lord also said that a new iron-clad is to be laid down this year, but that the Estimate was very low, and that it really meant nothing. If the noble Lord's argument means anything, it is that no iron-clad is to be begun except in the month of April; because the meaning of our taking a small sum is simply that we wish to lay in materials for the ship before the end of the year. The noble Lord complained that the *Mersey* and *Severn* were classed as iron-clads in last year's Estimates. Well, I, myself, was the first to announce that these ships should not be classed as iron-clads; but they were so classed, for this reason—that they were intended to be, if I may say so, successors to the *Polyphemus*—not identical with her, but of much the same character, especially in the matter of torpedo discharge. When we looked into the matter last year, the Board of Admiralty agreed that before the Estimates were moved in the House, this year, it would be better to treat these vessels as a new class of ship, and I announced that opinion in moving the Estimates last year. When I said that they were battle-ships, I also said "as auxiliaries to iron-clads;" and I am prepared to maintain, on the authority of our Advisers, that this will be so, and that they are perfectly capable of taking their part in a great naval engagement. The hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) asked me to describe these vessels; but I said so much about them last year, that I do not think I ought to take up the time of the Committee any further now in regard to them. Roughly speaking, they have horizontal steel decks, covering the magazines and machinery, and protecting the boilers, instead of armour-plating on the sides; and in many respects the protection is quite as good in the one case as in the other, though the upper part of the vessel may be totally unprotected against shot and shell. A reference was made to the Committee which has been appointed on the invitation of the Admiralty, and there was an idea expressed that it was in substitution of the Committee that was proposed in the House by my right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay). The two things are utterly different, and the subjects on which they were appointed are utterly dissimilar. The right hon. and gallant Admiral moved for a Committee of Inquiry into the condition of our Iron-clad Fleet; but the Committee I have mentioned have nothing whatever to do with such an investigation. I stated before that what we have done is to call to our assistance some of the most eminent men of experience connected with private Companies, both as shipbuilders and owners, to give us their advice as to two points—first of all, as to the conditions under which ships are built by contract — so as to secure to ourselves the full benefit of the experience and building powers of the private yards—and, in the second place, to advise us as to what we should do in the very difficult question of repairs, either in our own Dockyards or by contract. The Committee is not a Departmental one, as has been stated. It consists of three Members of this House, two gentlemen connected with great lines of steamers, and a naval officer, who was associated with the others in order that there might always be someone present at their inquiries to point out the actual requirements of the Navy. There is no one connected with the Admiralty on it; and it is entirely independent, its inquiry being confined to the subject I have referred to. Coming to questions of a personal nature which were brought forward by the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Captain Price) as to the engineers, they, no doubt, are in a position to complain of some inequalities in the system on which their pay is arranged. I am not aware what was the cause of the original adoption of that 11 years' rule, which has been so frequently alluded to in connection with the engineers and paymasters. I cannot myself see any advantage in it, and I cannot see what the object of it was; and I am bound to go a little further, and say that I have not been able to discover anybody who does. Then arises the question, should it be altered? It applies to several classes, and any alteration in the system would involve a considerable re-arrangement of the pay of all these classes. Well, some of these classes are not in a condition that seems to require a re-arrangement of their pay. In the engineers, taking them first, I am told that promotion goes on very fairly, and that they have really not much to complain of in that respect; and applying to them the test that the hon. Member for Falmouth (Mr. Jenkins) applied, I am bound to say there is no difficulty in procuring officers to serve in that branch of the Profession, and, therefore, there is no urgent demand for a large increase of pay. There is, moreover, this difficulty—that the position of these officers has been so recently settled that it would be difficult to disturb the arrangements again without a longer experience of the working of the present system. At the same time, I will say, irrespective of what has been stated to-night, that I will look into the matter to see whether there is any anomaly or grievance which can be removed without opening up the general question. Then as to the petty officers. The pay of the artificer class is regulated by the pay of similar men outside the Government service. The stewards are in a much better position, and any number of respectable men can attain to that position; so that there is no very strong case, such as there was in regard to seamen petty officers, for improvement in pay. I do not think we shall be disposed to open that question. The case of the schoolmasters I am not very familiar with; but I will look into it. And now as to paymasters. Some years ago, unfortunately, there were far too many entries made in that class, so that it is now overstocked, and promotion, therefore, is not so quick as it ought to be. As a matter of fact, promotion will get a little worse than it is; but after a while it will get better. All round, however, they are not insufficiently paid. They are subject to the 11 years' rule, like the engineers, and I will see whether that rule can be modified; although, if its modification is found to involve any considerable increase of expenditure, I cannot hold out any hope of a change being made. It is true there is a deficiency of strength in the Corps of Marines. We are fully alive to the necessity of doing all we can to keep the Corps up to its proper strength. With regard to the men of the Fleet, we are taking boys in a sufficient number to make up the losses which have occurred. My right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay) alluded, somewhat to my astonishment, to the speech made by the First Naval Lord of the Admiralty at the Royal Academy dinner. The first Naval Lord of the Admiralty, I understand, quoted the words of even a greater authority than himself—Lord Wolseley—who had said it mattered nothing whether our ships are built of iron, wood, or pasteboard, our seamen will fight and do their duty. I am sure everyone understood what that meant. It meant that our seamen are of such character and spirit that they do not look twice or thrice at the description of the ships; they are always ready to do their best under any circumstances. The right hon. and gallant Admiral, in order to justify, I suppose, his character as a Scotchman—who is said to require a surgical operation to enable him to see that a thing is not meant in sober earnest—quotes the remarks of Sir Cooper Key, and says—"This is a solemn declaration made in public by the Chief Naval Adviser of the Government, that a pasteboard ship is as good a ship as any other." We have heard of paper ships, but we have never yet heard of pasteboard ships; and it is not the intention of my gallant Colleague to propose that any of them should be constructed. Now, I have only one word to say in regard to the point raised by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron). The hon. Gentleman has alluded to the fact that gunboats are being used, as he thinks, for improper and illegitimate purposes in the West Highlands. The Board of Admiralty have great disinclination to use gunboats for any purpose not directly connected with the service of the Navy; but they have been used on some occasions to check riots and preserve the peace. I promise the hon. Gentleman I will look into the documents from which he derives his information, and see what explanation can be offered.

Mr. DAWSON said, the hon. Gentleman had not said anything about the comparative cost of work done in the Dockyards and that done by contract.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think the Committee we have appointed will probably assist us in that matter. There is no doubt at all that Dockyard work is more expensive than contract work; but it is more carefully and more elaborately done. I know that contractors, in many places, greatly dislike taking Government work, because it requires to be so skilfully done—the standard of excellence is so high. The hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) has asked for information as to the number of boys. The total number borne is 5,755, distributed as follows:—In training ships, 3,690; in harbour ships, 246; and in sea-going ships, 1,819. All the answers I have received to inquiries made have convinced me that we get an extremely good class of boys. There is one thing which is most satisfactory. I have found that boys who are allowed to go home for their holidays very often bring a boy back with them. That is a very good sign that the Service is popular in the various districts of the country, and also that our boys are well treated, and like their life. In answer to the inquiry of the hon. Baronet the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes), I have to say it is the case that the Victorian Government have, with great public spirit, gone to some expense in providing themselves with certain ships; and on the occasion of the recent difficulty in the Red Sea they offered the use of those ships to the Imperial Government. Although the ships were not called into requisition, the Admiralty, and I am sure the Committee likewise, entertain the highest sense of the spirit which prompted the offer. Nothing can be more desirable than that the Mother Country and the Colonies should assist each other in these matters.

SIR JOHN HAY said, it was but fair to his gallant friend, the Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Thomas Symonds, to say that when he discovered the mistake he had made in his Circular he at once took every means to send to all who had received it, and to the Admiralty, the correction which he found to be necessary. He (Sir John Hay) had ascertained from his gallant friend that this morning he received a letter from the First Lord of the Admiralty acknowledging the receipt of his communication, and thanking him for it.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: My right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay) will understand, that although I thought it necessary to make the statement which I did in this public way, I did not mean the slighest disrespect to Sir Thomas Symonds. I regret he should have put forward so misleading a statement.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that before they came to a vote he desired to direct the attention of the Secretary to the Admiralty to the Sub-head "I" of Vote 2. The total for "Seamen's Clothing, Soap, and Tobacco" was £149,008, against £211,500. That showed a decrease of £62,492. There was a note to the effect that—

> "The sum of £37,500, for Clothing Allowances hitherto provided for under Sub-head I, has been included in Vote 1. The actual decrease, therefore, is £32,200."

Anyhow, a decrease of £32,200 upon £211,500 was a very large one indeed. The sum to be voted was £149,008; but if his hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would turn to page 15, he would find under "Credits," letter "O"—

> "Estimated Amount of Charges against Wages of Seamen, &c., for Issues of Seamen's Clothing, Soap, and Tobacco, and of Credits for Supplies of the same on repayment to Officers of the Fleet, to Royal Naval Reserves, and to Coast Guard on shore, £187,063," or £38,000 more, "Seaman's Clothing, Soap, and Tobacco."

The items were very remarkable. First of all, the decrease was very large—one-seventh of the whole—and at a time when one would suppose the exigencies of the Service called for a larger than a less expenditure on seamen's clothing. The Committee were entitled to an explanation of the figures if it could be given.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: First of all, as to the £37,500. That represents commuted allowances in lieu of seamen's clothing, which the Treasury decided ought to be charged in Vote 1 instead of Vote 2. The decrease of £32.200 arises because there is less required for working suits and clothing for Reserve men, and to replenish the stock of seamen's clothing. I heard of this at the time the Estimates were being prepared, but I do not retain in my mind the precise reasons. The stock of clothing may have been a great deal higher than it was found necessary to maintain.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE asked if the hon. Gentleman could not give a little more definite promise with regard to the inquiries he proposed to make into the 11 years' rule? The hon. Gentleman had made what he called a sentimental concession which was very pleasant to listen to; but it was not very effective. Was it proposed that an inquiry into the operation of the rule should be made by a Departmental Committee? If so, it was likely the sentimental concession would be translated into a reality.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have said I could not see any particular virtue in this 11 years' rule; but I am not prepared to say more. I will look into the matter; but I am afraid there will be great objections to the abolition of the rule, if it were found it would lead to any substantial increase of the pay of the whole class. If, however, the anomalies can be removed I will endeavour to remove them.

MR. TOMLINSON said, his principal reason for wishing to make a few observations that night was that both last year and this year he had received communications from that distinguished officer, Sir Thomas Symonds, calling special attention to what he considered the great inferiority of the intended additions of their Fleet as compared with those of the Navy of France. He confessed that the statements made by Sir Thomas Symonds filled him with alarm; and that alarm had not been much mitigated by anything that the Secretary to the Admiralty had said. The hon. Gentleman had put forward a theory which, so far as he (Mr. Tomlinson) knew, was an entirely new one. He believed he was correct in saying that from the time of Admiral Lord Hawke, if not from an earlier date than that, the authorities of the Admiralty had always considered it was necessary for us, in considering the proper strength of our Navy, to have reference to the strength of the Navy of France especially, but also to those of other countries; and until the present time he was persuaded no member of the Admiralty Board had thought it desirable to disregard that consideration. The hon. Gentleman challenged some of the money figures in the statement of Sir Thomas Symonds. But the money question was only a secondary one. Sir Thomas Symonds rested his argument chiefly on a comparison of ships. He gave a list of ours, and compared them with a list of French vessels. He (Mr. Tomlinson) did not think that any instructed person would hesitate, on reading the statement in question, to affirm that, at all events, we were drawing near to a position of very considerable peril. Such was the conclusion he had arrived at, and that conclusion was not affected by the monetary inaccuracies which the hon. Gentleman had laid stress upon. Sir Thomas Symonds also drew attention to the fact that a great many more men were employed in the French than in the English Dockyards. Now, these were matters which every Englishman ought to take the greatest interest in; and he (Mr. Tomlinson) was the more encouraged in making these observations by the remarks which were made — and not unfairly or unjustly made— by the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed) in the early part of the evening. That hon. Gentleman spoke of the meagre attendance of Members on both sides of the House during the discussion of these naval subjects. It was certainly to be regretted that the important questions of the strength of their Army and Navy did not excite the attention they deserved. Hon. Members had one excuse for their non-attendance, and that was that in any remarks they, who had little or no technical skill and knowledge, made were comparatively helpless. The hon. Gentleman (Sir Edward J. Reed), of course, spoke with great authority on these subjects; and whether he succeeded or not in inducing the naval officials to give greater consideration to one part of naval matters or another, every word he uttered was weighty and worthy of note. But they who were simply laymen in naval matters felt themselves in the difficulty that they were at the mercy of the officials, and must, to a great extent, accept their explanations. He desired to support, as far as he could, the remarks of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) as to the grave injury and loss to the country which arose from the kind of control which was exercised by the Treasury over the Army and Navy Services. He believed that the result of this control was frequently to prevent the judicious expenditure of small sums, whereby millions of pounds might be saved in the end. It appeared to him that the only thing that could really allay the anxiety of the country would be the adoption of some such suggestion as was made some time ago—namely, that a strong Committee should be appointed to consider the question, which was not a Party question, and he hoped never would be made one. The great point was—what was required for the defence of the country; what amount of expenditure was needed? Let them adopt the principle which was, he believed, the basis of the military administration in Germany—namely, that there was no economy in an expenditure which stopped short of efficiency. If they did that, their Services would be based on the only true principles of economy.

MR. RYLANDS said, that last year he drew attention to certain frauds which had occurred in the administration of this Vote. He should be glad to hear from the hon. Gentleman what steps had been taken to prevent fraud in the future?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, a Report was made on the subject by gentlemen connected with the Admiralty, and then the Accountant General himself went down to make investigation. The result was that arrangements had been made which it was believed would have a most salutary effect.

MR. WARTON said, the explanation of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty, with reference to the statement of Sir Thomas Symonds, was very unsatisfactory. It was of small importance whether the French Estimates exceeded ours by £900,000, or whether they fell short of them. That was not the point they should discuss; and he was rather astonished that a Gentleman, so able and so clever as the Secretary to the Admiralty, should descend to arguments of that sort. The point was that the cost of the Navy of France was nearly equal to our own. The position of the two countries was utterly different. France was a country with very few Colonies; England had Colonies in every part of the world. He doubted whether any hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench knew exactly the number of our Colonies; and he said that the preponderance of our Colonial Empire over the French Colonial Possessions made it important that we should have a very much stronger Navy than France. We had to send our ships to the Pacific, to the India and China Seas—in short, to all parts of the world; and even if our Navy were twice as large as the French Navy, that proportion would be nothing more than a right one, considering the immense Colonial interests we had to defend. As an hon. Member had pointed out, it was not a question of money—it mattered not whether more or less was spent—but to have fewer ships than the magnitude of our commercial and Colonial interests required was a perfect disgrace to any Ministry. He had been much impressed by the weighty and solemn language used by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), on several occasions, with regard to the Navy; and he regretted to be unable to perceive any improvement in this year's Estimates, as compared with those of last year. The Government seemed not to be aware of the importance of our Colonial Empire, to judge by the kind of comparison they made between the Navies of the two countries. There could be no doubt that our Navy should be strong enough to meet the combined Navies of other countries; and in the old time it was so. This was particularly necessary now, because we were not likely to find many allies. But the disposition of the Government was to shirk every difficulty, and to creep out of every obligation, whenever they could; the old traditions of national honour had faded away under their hands, and the character they had lost to the country was the only one which could add strength to the Empire in times to come. A Government with a cowardly policy and a poor Navy would meet with the contempt of the world. It was once the custom of foreign nations to take the word of England seriously. When Lord Palmerston said anything it was known to mean something; but the custom in these days was to say that the utterances of the Government meant nothing at all. With an Army and Navy kept in a state of inefficiency, and with a Government ready to creep out of every obligation, he felt ashamed, as a patriotic Englishman, of the position they occupied, and of the miserable explanation given by the Secretary to the Admiralty of the formidable figures which had been put forward relating to the Navies of France and England.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £188,600, Admiralty Office.

SIR JOHN HAY wished the Committee and the Secretary to the Treasury to take notice that the expenses of this Establishment were increasing every year. He merely recommended that fact to the attention of economists and the Secretary to the Admiralty without any wish to reduce the Vote, which was, no doubt, necessary to the Public Service.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he should be glad if the Secretary to the Admiralty could give an explanation of this increased charge of such a character as might be satisfactory to the Committee. On two or three occasions there had been some sort of reconstruction of the Naval Deparment; and he had been assured by the Government at the time the proposal was made that the effect would be to secure considerable economy therein. He was bound to confess, however, that he entertained great suspicion that such a result would not be obtained. It appeared to him that the process which went on in these reconstructions of Public Offices was something like this. The officials regarded it as a most unfortunate circumstance that there should be a stagnation of promotion, and they wished to get an improved position; in order to get promotion they impressed upon the authorities that by making a reconstruction of the Office they would be able to get rid of a number of clerks, and be able ultimately to secure economy. But he always found that in a short time the number of clerks sprang up again to what it was before the reconstruction took place. He knew there were numbers of men in the vigour of life, and fully capable of performing public duties, who had been retired on pensions, simply under the arrangement of reconstruction of the Departments in which they served; and he thought there was no greater abuse in Public Offices than the way in which gentlemen, very often in the prime of life, who had capacity for public duty, were placed upon the Pension List and compulsorily retired, with the object, as he supposed, of making things pleasant for those who remained in the Office. He protested against this practice; and he thought the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir John Hay) was justified in pointing out that, on the face of it, there appeared to have been no economy in the reconstruction of the Department in question. Moreover, while this Pension Charge on account of the Army and Navy was becoming most alarming in its proportions, as far as he could see there was no corresponding advantage in the administration of the two Services. He objected altogether to this increase of charge, and he should be glad to find that his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty could lay such facts before the Committee as would satisfy them that it was justified by the requirements of the administration.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he could assure his hon. Friend that there had been no reconstruction at the Admiralty, in the sense of pensioning certain men and taking on others in their stead. The additional expense was the result of the appointment of the staff required for the Intelligence Department, and of additional provision for the Constructive and Engineering Staff of the Controller's Department. The latter, which was represented by the sum of £4,000, was part of a scheme elaborated by the Committee, over which his hon. Friend the Civil Lord presided, for reconstituting on a better and, as they thought, a more efficient footing, the body of Naval Constructors.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he was as much averse as the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) to any unnecessary expenditure; but during the time he presided at the Admiralty both he and his Colleagues felt the great importance of having information on purely naval matters; and therefore he entirely concurred in the course the Admiralty had taken of placing the Intelligence Department under one responsible official, whose sole duty would be to furnish the Department, and therefore the Service at large, with information which, under circumstances that he hoped would never arise, might be of vital importance. With regard to the Constructors' Staff, he should regard as money well spent any reasonable expenditure incurred in securing the services of the most qualified persons for the purpose of designing and constructing ships of war; and he would add his belief that if they could by any means attract into the Service men who had not been originally trained in the Dockyards a great benefit to the Service would be obtained. He did not in the slightest degree grudge those gentlemen who now occupied the position of Constructors all the distinction and credit which belonged to them, although he was of opinion that the Service would be benefited by the infusion of a little new blood, inasmuch as the result would be a rivalry advantageous both to the country and the men themselves; and he hoped the moderate scheme which the Civil Lord had settled, and to which he had given so much attention, would secure that very important result.

SIR JOHN HAY said, it appeared that, under the new arrangement, the First Lord of the Admiralty would not have a house, and that the First Naval Lord would have a house. However that might be, he considered it rather an unfair arrangement for the Admiralty that the Offices were to face the north, which, although it permitted a view of Nelson's Monument, would prevent the officials ever seeing the sun. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would be able to say that, under the contemplated arrangement, the Admiralty were not to be left out in the cold.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had expressed much surprise that the Government had broken its promise of effecting economy in this Department. It was well known that the hon. Member was a humourist; but on this occasion he had surpassed himself, because it was impossible to discover which promise the Government had not broken with regard to any subject. For his own part, he was glad to find that the conduct of the Government had met with such general disapproval. The Secretary to the Admiralty had explained that a portion of the increase under this Vote was due to arrangements in connection with the Intelligence Department. But he would ask, what was the use of such a Department, if the Government did not avail themselves of the intelligence received? They had, for example, some time ago, received information that there was in the China Seas a foreign cruiser capable of "mopping up" all our cruisers and gunboats, and of devastating station after station before we could catch her. Yet, nothing had yet been done to protect our Eastern commerce. If the Admiralty were unable to act upon intelligence of that kind, he thought the money asked for might as well be saved.

MR. GORST said, he had often observed a disposition on the part of the Admiralty to plunder the funds of Greenwich Hospital as much as they could, and his remark applied, not to the present Board alone, but to all. He thought the Committee ought to insist upon all the charges made upon the funds being set out as clearly as possible in the Estimates. Besides the amount of £789 charged for work done by the Accountant General's Department, there was a sum of £500 for work performed in several Departments of the Admiralty in connection with the business of Greenwich Hospital; and that not being sufficient, there was a charge on page 22 of the miserable sum of £52 for the salary of a messenger. He trusted the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Estimates would be able to afford some explanation, for the confusion in the accounts was such that it was impossible to make out what the Charity had to pay.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay) was incorrect in thinking that there would be no house for the First Lord of the Admiralty, although, perhaps, the question would more properly have been addressed to the Chief Commissioner of Works. The First Naval Lord would also have a house. The Offices might look towards the north; but they would certainly be placed on the most advantageous side of the building. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman remarked that they would never get the sun; but he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) did not know that exposure to the sun was an advantage to a Public Office. At any rate, the arrangement would be made under the direction of the Board of Works; and he had no doubt that the fullest accommodation would be secured. Amongst the reasons in favour of the present arrangement was this, that the erection of the new building would not interfere with the present Offices.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £196,900, Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c.

LORD HENRY LENNOX said, he thought the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers had been treated by the Admiralty with but scant courtesy. They were a most valuable body of men, or would be if they were properly treated. Last year, and again this year, he had put a Question on the subject to the Secretary to the Admiralty; but he had not yet got a satisfactory reply. The year before last these Volunteers applied to the Admiralty to be allowed to man the gunboats at the Naval Volunteer display, engaged in attacking the forts; but they were told by the Admiralty that no gunboats would be employed; yet the event proved that that was not strictly accurate, for some gunboats were employed. They applied again this year for permission to man the gunboats engaged at Portsmouth, but it was not granted. He should have to deal specifically with this case when the Report came up, and state the grievances of these men; but he could not allow this Vote to pass without entering an energetic protest against the way in which these Volunteers had been treated by the present Administration in regard to a capitation grant, as well as in other respects.

SIR JOHN HAY desired some information with regard to the Royal Naval Reserve. He understood last year that a considerable addition was to be obtained by the enrolment of men from the Orkney and the Shetland Isles, and from the Isle of Man; but only 17,000 men were at present on the list of the Reserve, and money was only being taken for 18,000 instead of 20,000. As he had understood, the object of enrolling men from the Orkneys and Shetlands and the Isle of Man was to bring up the strength to 20,000; and he would like to know whether these hardy and excellent seamen had been enrolled; if so, whether they had proved satisfactory in regard to drill; and whether the number of 20,000 would be made up?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, the visit of Her Majesty's ships to the Orkneys had not been attended with the success which had been looked for with regard to the enrolment of men from that part of the Kingdom. In the Shetlands there was already a considerable force of men enrolled of fine *physique*, whose drill had received the highest approval from the inspecting officer. With regard to the Isle of Man, the arrangements had not yet been completed; but when they had been, enrolment would be proceeded with, and he believed with the success which was desired. He naturally took great interest in the Royal Naval Volunteers, and he was sorry that they had been disappointed in regard to a capitation grant; but this was a matter that lay with the Naval Advisers of the Admiralty; and the scheme for the utilization of this Force was not sufficiently matured to justify the Admiralty in proposing a capitation grant. A good deal was, however, done to encourage the Naval Volunteer movement. They were given an opportunity of drilling with the Royal Naval Reserve, and also of cruising in gun-vessels, which were appropriated to that purpose in the summer, and that privilege he believed was greatly appreciated. He need hardly remind the Committee that it cost a considerable sum to provide those boats; but he believed that the annual cruise was a greater attraction than a capitation grant would be.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £112,670, Scientific Branch.

MR. GORST said, last year a promise was given that the course of instruction on board the *Britannia* should be examined, and a Report presented to the House. He wished to know what progress had been made by the Admiralty in that matter?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN explained that a difficulty which had been experienced was that a special examination would cause an interruption of the cadets' studies, while, if the examination was not specially conducted for the purpose of the Report, it would be one upon which their future naval career would be founded. The position of the cadet in the Navy was determined by the place he took in the examination; and it was very undesirable that that examination, which was to determine his future career, should be conducted by gentlemen appointed for a special purpose unconnected with the ordinary system of the training school. It was important that there should be some sort of uniformity in the examinations. The ordinary examination was conducted by independent Examiners of good University standing; and he thought he had not only fulfilled his promise, but had done what was best for the Institution itself, by laying on the Table the Report made to the Admiralty on the occasion of the last examination. He saw no reason why the Report should not be presented to Parliament every year.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked whether the Report was satisfactory? At present the cadets were admitted to the *Britannia* by competitive examinations; and he wished to know whether the result of that system, with the two years' training on board this ship, had been as entirely satisfactory as had been anticipated? His recollection of the Report upon that system was that the system was not so entirely satisfactory as it had previously been, and that there had been a falling off in the number of boys passing.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the Report was in the hands of hon. Members, and he had not heard any expression of dissatisfaction; on the contrary, the Report was considered very satisfactory by the Director of Studies, who had said it showed that the school was in a good condition, except in respect to some particular points of detail.

MR. RYLANDS said, he had not received the Report as to the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, showing the number of students, the various classes of instruction given, and other details.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN replied, that the Report would be issued.

MR. RYLANDS said, this was a matter to which he had several times called attention, for it seemed to him that the entire cost of the Establishment was excessive, having regard to the service. The charge was £31,992 in the Estimates; but, in addition to that, there was the Navy pay of the officials, which did not appear in the Vote; so that altogether the amount was very excessive, considering the character of the Institution. He hoped the hon. Member would pay some attention to this subject.

Vote *agreed to.*

MR. W. H. SMITH proposed that Progress should be reported.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he proposed only to take Votes 7, 8 and 9, and to postpone Votes 6 and 10.

LORD HENRY LENNOX objected to this course, because he should have to trouble the Committee somewhat with regard to Votes 8 and 9. It would, therefore, be better for the Committee to swallow the pill at once, and proceed no further now. There was generally a dispute over Vote 6.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN suggested that a compromise should be made by taking Vote 7.

MR. RYLANDS said, he thought it was a most inconvenient plan to take Votes out of order; and as they had been engaged so many hours he hoped the Committee would now report Progress.

MR. DAWSON also objected to the Votes not being taken in their order, and said, he and his hon. Friends were interested in Vote 6. They were anxious to draw attention to the exceedingly small sum allowed for Dockyards in Ireland as compared with England. He, therefore, moved that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Dawson.*)

MR. GORST asked the Secretary to the Admiralty to give the Committee some information as to when the Estimates would be taken again? They had now reached Vote 6, in which some of his constituents were much interested; and upon that the Secretary to the Admiralty had promised to give an explanation, which would be looked for with interest by the Members for Dockyard towns. He hoped the hon. Member would not postpone the Estimates until August, as had frequently been done; and he felt sure that, so far as the hon. Gentleman was concerned, that would not be done; but he hoped that some Member of the Government would be able to give a pledge that they should not be so delayed.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he could make no definite statement as to when these Estimates would be taken again; but he thought he might appeal to hon. Members whether the Estimates had this Session been postponed to a late date? Already they had been discussed for two nights; and the promise made that the second night should be before Whitsuntide had been very handsomely fulfilled by so early a date being taken. He hoped hon. Members would trust the Admiralty not to take any undue advantage of a postponement now.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked when the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty was likely to make a statement with regard to the case of the paymasters and assistant paymasters?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the matter had been fully stated that night by several hon. Members, and he had expressed his general opinion on the subject, and stated that the Admiralty would look into it. But it would be quite impossible to look into a complicated question like that, affecting three branches of the Service, between now and the Report, which was usually taken a day or two after the completion of Supply. He thought he might again appeal to hon. Members as to the way in which the Government had so far acted with regard to these Votes.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, this subject had been over and over again pressed upon the attention of the Admiralty, but without the least effect, he himself having addressed several Questions to the hon. Gentleman upon the matter, but only received curt replies. Now that there was some prospect of the Government being driven to pay some attention to the subject, he wished to know when the decision of the Government might be expected? He would bring this matter up on the Report.

Motion *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL [*Lords*].—[Bill 120.]

(*Mr. Dodson.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Dodson.*)

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, it had happened, through circumstances over which they had no control, that he and some of his hon. Friends had had no opportunity of making an objection to this Bill at any of its stages. It would be in the recollection of the House that both on the second reading and on the Motion to go into Committee on the Bill they accepted a suggestion by the Prime Minister that they should raise their objections in Committee, and he thought the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) would do him the justice to admit that his opposition and that of his hon. Friends to the Bill had been moderate throughout. For himself, he was bound to say that the hon. Member's advocacy of his cause had been powerless; and that the hon. Member himself must feel that the victory had not been entirely on his side. The contention of the hon. Member, and those who acted with him, was that the policy they desired to carry out would prevent the import of diseased cattle; and the Duke of Richmond, in support of the same policy, had recently stated that the true remedy for foot-and-mouth disease was dead meat. But the agitation which this Bill had aroused showed that the expectation put forward by the Duke of Richmond had been disappointed; for it proved that neither this Government, nor any that might succeed them—and which might be less well disposed to the people—could possibly carry out that policy. It was simply impossible for any Government of this country to prohibit the import of live animals for food from the United States and other countries. When this Bill, in a less harmful form, was introduced in the other House, Lord Carlingford stated that legislation on the subject was not necessary; and he (Mr. Arnold) objected to this Bill, because it was useless; because it added nothing to the powers of the Privy Council; and because it was mischievous, in so far as it gave an invitation to the Privy Council to use the authority they already possessed under the Act of 1878 in a careless and hurtful manner. He regretted extremely that the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), who had lent such stalwart aid in resisting legislation of this character, was not now in his place; but he would remind hon. Members with whom the right hon. Gentleman's opinion might have any weight, that when this Bill was in Committee the right hon. Member earnestly pointed to the third reading as the proper opportunity for recording their protests against the Bill. He and his hon. Friends, however, could not that night do more than record their protest against this useless Bill. He moved that the Bill be read that day six months.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS seconded the Motion.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. BROADHURST said, he was glad his hon. Friend had moved the rejection of the Bill. If it passed into law it seemed to him that its title ought to be altered, and that it should be called "The Landowners' Relief Bill." That would be a far more appropriate title for the measure than the one it now had. He objected to such measures as this being smuggled through the House of Commons at a time of night when all respectable people, or the greater part of them, were in bed and asleep; and he ventured to say that if the present position of the Bill and its character had been anticipated at the time when it was first brought before the House it never would have been permitted to reach the stage at which it had now arrived. This was one of the lessons which young Members of the House would not fail to take advantage of. They had a Bill introduced originally of a very moderate and, what appeared to be on the face of it, harmless nature. At every stage of its progress through Parliament advantage had been taken by the landowning interest to strengthen it until it had became a formidable measure, and one which, in his opinion, would be disastrous to the interests of the people who lived on small incomes. Moreover, to his mind, it would be disastrous to the House of Commons, who had been a party to its passing, for it was a measure of taxation on the food of the people. He sincerely hoped that his hon. Friend would press his Motion to a Division; and he (Mr. Broadhurst) only wished that they had such opportunities of pressing their opposition to the measure as would prevent its becoming law. He could say, for himself, that should he have the privilege of remaining a Member of the House for any considerable time, on the next occasion when this kind of inroad upon the rights of the people was attempted, in however small a degree, he should take good care that every possible opposition was offered to it—even to the very introduction of the measure. They knew perfectly well how pleased the Opposition was with the Bill. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), they all knew, gloried in his great success, and his influence over this House in ordering it to pass the measure. The hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well the object of the Bill, and had, in fact, declared it the other night. The hon. Gentleman and other hon. Members had declared that the measure tended to encourage the home production of meat. [MR. WARTON: Hear, hear!] Yes; they understood all about that; but what was to become of the stomachs of the people? Unhappily. the working classes of the country, and the poor of the community, were not so well provided with the world's goods as was the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton). The hon. and learned Member could look at an increase in the price of food with great satisfaction, because he was probably protected against want. But the poor and the working classes were differently situated. What was to become of the food supply during the three or four years interval that would be occupied in growing sufficient cattle to meet the home demand? Why, he had no hesitation in saying that the people of the country would have to undergo a period of starvation from fresh meat; and if they did not go through that process hon. Members opposite would say that the Bill had failed to accomplish its object. He only regretted that they below the Gangway on the Government side of the House had been so neglectful of their duty, and so misled by the apparent moderation of the promoters of the measure at its earlier stages, as to have allowed it to reach its present dangerous position. He should certainly support his hon. Friend in his opposition to the measure, and he only regretted that their prospects of opposing it were not far greater than they were.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he thought it right to point out the singular contrast which was presented by the speeches of the two hon. Members who had spoken. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) objected to the Bill, because, he said, it would be useless, ineffective, and harmless; and the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken declared it to be a most formidable and mischievous piece of legislation. As to the speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, they had often heard of speeches made to the Gallery; but he (Mr. Chaplin) must say that he thought the speech they had listened to had either been made to the hon. Member's constituents, or else the hon. Member was utterly ignorant of all the debates which had taken place on this question. The hon. Member had not taken the trouble to reply to, or to dispute any one of, the numerous arguments which had been advanced over and over again on that (the Opposition) side of the House in favour of the Bill; and all he had been able to tell them had been proved to be wrong times out of number—namely, that if the Bill was passed the necessary consequence would be that the people of the country would be subjected to starvation. The hon. Gentleman had said, and said very truly, that he (Mr. Chaplin) rejoiced at the passing of this measure. He did rejoice, and rejoice very heartily, at the prospect; and he would tell the hon. Member why. It was because he had given some attention to the subject, and was satisfied that, so far from any of those evil effects which the hon. Member had foretold being brought about, within a very few years after the passing of the measure they would find that the price of meat, instead of being increased, would be substantially lowered, and that the Legislature had succeeded in doing something, though it might not be much, to add to the comforts and to provide for the interests of the people of the country.

Mr. SLAGG said, he could not be reproached for unduly prolonging debates in this House; but he hoped he might be permitted to add a few words of protest against this most objectionable Bill. He did not think the House had even yet thoroughly realized the strong antipathy which was felt to the Bill by the large constituencies of the country. In his own constituency (Manchester) there had been a most remarkable meeting—one of the most remarkable he had ever recollected—in which the public hall of the town was crammed to its full capacity. It was crowded not only with Liberal objectors, but with Tory objectors to the Bill; and there appeared in force on that occasion a large number of men of great experience in the meat trade, who were, perhaps, as well qualified to give an opinion as to the probable results of this Bill as any hon. Member in the House. On that occasion the meeting was addressed by the American Consul, an exceptionally intelligent gentleman, who showed, amongst other things, that, in the case of America, from which country it was feared by the promoters of the Bill that a great deal of infection would be brought, and to deal with which some special precautions were going to be taken, that the introduction of foot-and-mouth disease, in the first instance, was really traced to an importation of cattle from this country. It was explained at the meeting that the result of this measure, if it was carried into practical operation, would be necessarily a very distinct increase in the price of food. Trade in this country was in a very depressed condition. The earnings of the working classes were diminished, and this was, therefore, not a time to play any tricks with the food supply. He was sure that, persevering in the present course, Parliament would inflict on the populations of the large centres a very serious and grievous wrong; and he could only say that if, in the future, the landed interest in this country and the Tory Party who had supported this measure were identified with the cry of Protection and dear meat, they had only themselves to blame.

Mr. W. H. JAMES also opposed the Bill. His opinion of it was not so highly coloured as that of his hon. Friend below him (Mr. Broadhurst); but, at any rate, he wished to point out that the Resolution carried last year by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) was only adopted by a majority of six votes. Well, the majority, he had ascertained, represented something like 674,000 electoral votes, while the minority voting against the Resolution represented no less than 999,000. This Bill was generally represented as being a contest between town and country; and he had no doubt that if he were to analyze the figures he had given a little more closely he would be able to show that the contest was one between the constituencies of the North with those of the South. He did not think the House should lose sight of the fact that in these large Northern constituencies the population during the last

10 years had enormously increased. It was no exaggeration to say that during the last 10 years the populations of some of the large Northern towns had increased much more largely than anywhere else. The population of Northumberland, for instance, had increased 12 per cent. The population of the county of Durham had increased 26 per cent; of Yorkshire, 18 per cent; of Derbyshire, 21 per cent; of Nottingham, 22 per cent; and of Leicester, 19 per cent. In all these large county constituencies, and in all the large urban populations, this Bill was immediately directed against the food supply. Without in the least wishing to impute motives to hon. Gentlemen who had promoted this legislation, it was obvious to him that it had been promoted by the Central Chamber of Agriculture and Chambers of Agriculture up and down the Kingdom. They knew how dear was still to the agricultural interest the objects and purposes of Protection. That interest knew that it was very probable that if the food supply of the people was diminished, their own interest would not be injured. When these discussions were raised, it should not be forgotten that amongst these enormously increasing populations to which he had referred there was not the same convenient opportunity of expressing opinions as had members of Chambers of Agriculture and such organizations. He could not help thinking that they were only at the commencement, and that they would find that, as this Bill had been promoted by these Bodies, before long foot-and-mouth disease in this country would be still existing, that they would have further restrictions, and that the amount of the food supply would be exposed to still further diminution. If that was the case amongst these very poor populations, and if some day they found when they went to the butcher that there was an increased price put upon the pieces of offal that they were in the habit of buying, the House would find that they had raised a very deplorable and formidable feeling throughout the country. The fault would lie, not with those who had opposed this measure, but with those who had promoted it.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 124; Noes 21: Majority 103.—(Div. List, No. 89.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time and *passed,* with Amendments.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT (1878) AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 62.]

(*Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Barclay, Mr. Armitage.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [20th February] read, and *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART (ADMINISTRATION).

Mr. SALT discharged from further attendance on the Select Committee on Education, Science, and Art (Administration):—Lord ALGERNON PERCY added to the Committee.—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 9*th May,* 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Gas Provisional Orders * (81); Land Drainage Provisional Orders * (82).

Second Reading—Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment (74), *negatived.*

Third Reading—Public Health (Confirmation of Bye-Laws) * (76), and *passed.*

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Lord Balfour.*)

(NO. 74.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD BALFOUR, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that its main object was to put an end to the cruel pastime of shooting birds from traps. The circumstances under which it had been brought before the House, and which he should like to recall, were these. Last year a similar Bill was introduced in "another place," and its second reading was carried by 195 to 40. It was late in the Session when that Bill was brought up to their Lordships' House, and its second reading was put down for a day far on in the month of August. There were not many of their Lordships present when it came on, and after a short discussion, upon a small Division being taken, it was rejected by a majority of 30 to 17. That was hardly a judgment of their Lordships' House which the supporters of the Bill could be expected to regard as final; and, therefore, the Bill had been brought in again, in the sanguine hope—in which he heartily joined—that their Lordships would reverse their decision of last year, and pass the present Bill by a considerable majority. With the view of meeting some of the objections that had been urged to the Bill of last year, he had modified it in some respects; but its essential features were the same as those of the Bill of last year, and its object, briefly described, was to suppress the practice of pigeon-shooting, which, certainly, under no circumstances could be legitimately described as sport. He knew that that character was sometimes claimed for it; but he would like some of its defenders to get up and state the grounds on which they put forward that claim. He was not going to venture on an attempt to define what was, and what was not, sport; but sport, to be legitimate, ought to provide healthy recreation for the mind and body, and, in some respects, test the strength and ability of men, and, it might be, also, of trained dogs, against the instincts of animals more or less in their native haunts. If that was to be the canon by which to decide what was, and what was not, sport, it would be very difficult for the advocates of pigeon-shooting to bring it within that definition. He did not think he went too far, when he said that pigeon-shooting had its origin, and owed its continuance, to the fact that it was a medium for gambling for bets and stakes subscribed by the competitors. He did not ask their Lordships to condemn betting and gambling. He did not think the Legislature could properly be asked to do that; but something could be done for the purpose of checking, as at present practised, this essentially revolting practice, in which animals were put to death for the main, if not the only, purpose of affording a means for amusement and gambling. He would like those who advocated the practice to face the question whether or not it was frequently attended with serious cruelties? As regarded himself, he had no doubt upon the subject. He divided the cruelties into two classes—firstly, those which were wilful injuries, such as where it had been proved, as it had in many cases, that birds had been mutilated, or otherwise cruelly injured, by having their bills twisted, their bodies bruised, and their feathers plucked out by the attendants, before they had been put in the trap, for the purpose of giving one competitor an advantage over another; the other class of cruelties was one that, he contended, was almost inseparable from the continuance of the practice—namely, the sufferings which the birds underwent on their way to the place where they were to be shot. It was said in a Paper, which he held in his hand, and which had been extensively circulated amongst their Lordships, that the practice was not attended with cruelty. That Paper purported to give reasons against the second reading of the Bill, and apparently had been distributed by some of its opponents. It said that—

> "Not a single case of cruelty had occurred in connection with pigeon-shooting; and that if it did occur the law, as it stood at present, would be quite able to deal with the offenders."

He ventured to say that was not the case. He (Lord Balfour) would admit that pigeon-shooting might not be accompanied with cruelty in well-regulated clubs; but the Secretary of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals informed him that that Body had obtained convictions in 25 cases; and he added the significant sentence that many more could be obtained, but for the fact that the officers of the Society could not gain admission to private grounds. By private grounds, he meant public-house grounds and other similar places. When the officers of the Society became known, on their attempting to enter these places, they were warned off, and not allowed to get near enough to see what was going on. To bring the law into operation it was necessary—and very properly necessary—to prove a specific act of cruelty committed by a specific person, on a specific bird, at a specific hour, on a specific day. To get all these facts with sufficient exactness, they must have every facility for proper observation; and the difficulty of securing an entry into these private grounds prevented many prosecutions which would otherwise be instituted. So much for that form of cruelty. There was another, and an analogous, kind to which he wished to call attention, and it referred not only to pigeon-shooting, but also to the shooting of starlings and sparrows out of traps. The existing law was hopelessly insufficient to deal with cases of that kind, inasmuch as it only applied to domestic animals, which those birds were not. Not many days ago, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals prosecuted a man for having cruelly treated pigeons on their way to a shooting ground; but it was only through accidental circumstances that it was discovered that the pigeons were domestic, and that, therefore, the Act applied. But there was another case on the 19th April, in which the same Society applied for a conviction. It was a case of some sparrows. The Society prosecuted a publican and several other persons under the Wild Birds Act. It appeared that there were 12 dozen sparrows packed in boxes on the top of one another. Many of these birds were so much injured by the manner in which they had been packed, that they were unable to fly. Stones were thrown at them, and if they still refused to fly, they were kicked to death. These birds, however, having been recently caught, were not domestic animals, and the Justices refused to give a conviction. That fact, in itself, was sufficient to show that the existing law did not give sufficient power. Before he left that document which had been issued by the opponents of the Bill he would like to make one or two other comments. In the sentence before the one he had referred to, there was a statement that this Bill would also put down partridge-shooting, a statement which most certainly was not correct. Then the document gave, as a reason for the rejection of the Bill by their Lordships, that the pigeons used at shooting clubs were the source of considerable profit to farmers and dealers, and in support of that they gave the price of the pigeons that were used. He (Lord Balfour) was obliged to them for doing so, because he thought it furnished him with a complete answer to one of their arguments. The lowest price, he found, was 16*s.* per dozen, the highest, 30*s.* That, he thought, disposed of the argument that was often used—namely, that they were interfering with the poor man's sport, for he ventured to say there was no man who could properly be described as "poor" that could afford to pay from 16*s.* to 30*s.* a-dozen for targets to shoot at. With regard to the amount of profit gained by those who reared pigeons, these figures could not be held to represent anything like the amount, because pigeons, like other animals, must be fed; and if they were not fed by the owner, they were allowed to travel over the country and feed at other people's expense. Therefore, the figures in question were no proof of the largeness of the sums made by rearing pigeons. There were other objections to the Bill. Last year it was said that it would be wrong for the Legislature to pass this Bill, because, for the first time, it was making the act of shooting at a bird an offence on account of cruelty, and that it was no more cruelty in shooting at a bird sprung out of a trap than in shooting at one sprung in a turnip-field or a cover. In order to meet this objection, he had made the 2nd clause of the Bill provide that a penalty should be incurred by keeping or using any ground for the purpose of pigeon-shooting; while those who engaged or assisted in such shooting should also be liable to a penalty not exceeding £5. They could not wholly exempt those for whose amusement and edification the whole performance was got up. That, he thought, would be manifestly unjust. The offence which was made punishable was not the shooting at a bird, but the shooting of a bird out of a trap or other contrivance. That was the object of the promoters of the Bill, and he was afraid, if the practice was to be put down, that was the only way to do it. If, however, another and a better one could be suggested, by which the end desired could be attained, he would gladly adopt it. There was this curious feature about the opposition to this measure—that while many noble Lords had told him that they could not support the Bill, on the ground that it partook of the nature of paternal legislation, they always added that they did not wish to be numbered among those who approved pigeon-shooting, which they admitted was a most reprehensible practice. He frankly admitted that the Bill might be open to the charge that it partook of the nature of paternal legislation; and he expected that it would be warmly opposed, on that ground, by the noble Earl on the Cross Benches, who was always most anxious to prevent the Legislature from passing measures that were open to that charge. If, however, Parliament were compelled to choose between paternal legislation and the evils of pigeon-shooting, he would venture to say that he should infinitely prefer the former, for the evils of pigeon-shooting were greater than the evils of paternal legislation. It had also been remarked that the Bill would open the door to the prohibition of shooting and of field sports altogether, and that they might as well make the Bill apply to the shooting of pheasants and partridges, for pigeon-shooting was no more cruel than partridge or pheasant-shooting. There was, however, a marked difference between confining a bird in a trap, for the purpose of shooting at it, and seeking it in a wild state. He did not know whether the admission would help, or would hurt, his chance of passing this measure; but he avowed that, if any kind of shooting or of field sport were so conducted as to outrage public feeling, as pigeon-shooting did, then he believed that such shooting or sport would be sent where he now asked their Lordships to send pigeon-shooting by passing this Bill. He begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Balfour.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that, as he had done last Session, he should oppose the Bill, on the ground that it came before the House asking for something under false pretences. He denied altogether that his noble Friend (Lord Balfour) had shown there was necessarily any cruelty in pigeon-shooting. He (the Earl of Redesdale) contended that there was no cruelty in shooting at a bird for the purpose of killing it, and that the noble Lord had failed to show that there was necessarily more cruelty in letting a bird out of a trap and shooting at it than there was in partridge or pheasant-shooting. What was cruelty? The noble Lord had not ventured to determine the question in this matter. Was it shooting at birds with intent to kill? If this was the meaning of the word, then everyone practised it who went into a turnip-field to shoot partridges, or into a cover to shoot pheasants. The noble Lord said the Bill was for the purpose of putting down pigeon-shooting. Then, why was it not so called? He (the Earl of Redesdale) would tell their Lordships why it was not, and that was because the noble Lord had not the courage to call it so; and, also, because he knew very well that he would be much more likely to get support from their Lordships for the measure by calling it "Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment Bill." The Bill, however, had nothing whatever to do with cruelty to animals. It was somewhat remarkable that it should have taken some 30 or 40 years to find out that pigeon-shooting was cruelty. If the noble Lord, for the Society he represented, required further powers to detect cruelty if it was perpetrated, let a Bill be introduced for the purpose. Such a measure, however, should be called by its proper name, as he (the Earl of Redesdale) objected altogether to a Bill being called by a name which could not properly belong to it. There was nothing objectionable in a man showing his skill in the use of a gun or any other instrument, and the shooting at a bird with the intent to kill it was necessary to test skill in the use of a fowling-piece as was shooting at a target with a rifle or long-bow There was a class of persons in this country who objected to all kinds of field sports, and who regarded hunting or shooting of any kind as cruelty. He (the Earl of Redesdale), however, called shooting sport, and legitimate sport. He thought there was no ground for the Bill, and, therefore, he moved its rejection.

Amendment *moved,* to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months").—(*The Earl of Redesdale.*)

LORD ABERDARE said, that he should give the Bill his best support, on the same ground that he objected to bull-baiting and cock-fighting—because those particular forms of sport tended to brutalize the people. There were thousands of places throughout the country where pigeon and other forms of trap-shooting were carried on amid circumstances of revolting cruelty, as those who had to administer justice well knew. All who had anything to do with the prosecution of these cruelty cases were aware of the difficulties in the way of bringing the offences home to the offenders. He might instance, as one description of cruelty, the very long periods which some of those birds were confined. When Martin's Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Horses and Asses was brought forward in 1821, it was met by the objection that, if once this line of legislation were allowed to be commenced, there was no knowing where it would stop; and that, perhaps, measures would be brought forward to prevent cruelty to dogs; and, it was added, amid roars of laughter, perhaps even to cats. He was sure the great mass of the public did not object to sport engaged in for the purpose of exercise, which meant roaming through woods and fields, and required a considerable knowledge of the habits and instincts of animals; but, in the present case, the so-called sport was of an inferior, a poor and contemptible character; it did nothing to develop the qualities of strength and activity in the persons who engaged in it and was, moreover, subject to the very grossest abuses on a large scale. Therefore it was that he said pigeon-shooting had a brutalizing tendency. The sufferings of pigeons were very great, and all the practices resorted to at pigeon matches should be put a stop to. Abuses were inevitably connected with this sport, which was not worth protecting. There were other amusements which were subject to abuse—as, for instance, the theatre and the racecourse; but he should be sorry to see either of those amusements put an end to because there were abuses connected with them, because they had redeeming features which could not be claimed for the so-called sport of pigeon-shooting. Should the Bill pass this stage, it was his intention in Committee to move an Amendment to extend the operation of the Bill from places specially set aside for pigeon-shooting to places occasionally used for that purpose.

EARL COWPER said, he should oppose the Bill, much against his inclination in many respects; because, in the first place, he thought it might be unfortunate that a Bill which had passed by such a large majority in "another place" should be thrown out by their Lordships; and, in the second, there were people who would say that their Lordships, many of whom were fond of shooting, were afraid of their own arrangements being interfered with. But their Lordships ought to be above such considerations, and to let their votes be guided by considerations of public policy. Like the noble Earl who had moved its rejection (the Earl of Redesdale), he thought there was a great deal of false pretence about the Bill. He maintained that in pigeon-shooting the cruelty at the moment was very little indeed, and not more than that of any other shooting, or any other mode of putting animals to death, and the alleged incidental had not been proved. Speaking for himself, he had given up pigeon-shooting, because he did not like the associations connected with it; but, so far as he could remember, there was less cruelty connected with pigeon-shooting than almost any other kind of sport. On those grounds he must oppose the Bill, because he could not admit that their Lordships had before them sufficient evidence as to the alleged abuses to justify them in passing such a piece of restrictive, exceptional, and highly objectionable legislation as was involved in the present Bill. He thought it his duty, as a Member of that House, to vote straight forwardly against the Bill.

EARL FORTESCUE, in opposing the Bill, said, he never remembered a more remarkable speech made by an ex-Cabinet Minister—indeed, an ex-Home Secretary—than the one which had just been delivered, carefully informing the roughs of what cruelties they could now perpetrate with impunity. He (Earl Fortescue) objected to the Bill, although he had no sympathy whatever in this so-called sport. It was a matter of opinion, certainly, how far the practice partook of the character of sport; but if this Bill was to pass, he would like to know where this proposed legislation to restrict cruelty to animals was to stop? A good deal had been said in reference to the cruelty of conveying pigeons from the places where they were bred to those where they were to be shot at; but the same noble Lords who made this objection, supported the carriage of animals from foreign countries at the cost of immense suffering to them, in order that they might be killed for food in this country, instead of beieg imported in the shape of dead meat. What that suffering must be might be judged from the fact that in one year over 14,000 had died of the passage, most of them thrown overboard, the rest landed dying and useless. He regretted those sufferings, and he equally objected to the recently-revived cruel fashion, now prevalent, of docking horses' tails; but he was not prepared to give effect by prohibitory legislation to his opinions on those points. There was a risk of too much legislation on questions of that kind. Were they in future to do nothing without appealing to Parliament? He felt jealous of the honour of the British Parliament, and he hoped—though he was afraid that was past praying for—its high character and position would be maintained. The reputation of that Parliament, which, with all its imperfections had been for centuries the envy and admiration of all lovers of liberty abroad, was now being lowered in the eyes of foreign nations both by what was done and what was not done in it. There were important measures which the time of Parliament might be usefully employed upon; but he protested against the time and labour of the Legislature being wasted upon a proposal of this kind. Nero fiddled while Rome was burning, and they were legislating for pigeons when affairs at home and abroad were calling urgently for attention.

Lord WAVENEY said, he should support the Motion for the second reading of the Bill, because he considered it was a duty they owed to the lower animals, when killing them, to see that they had at least a fair chance. All birds should be placed upon an equality; but no pigeon let loose from a trap had an equal chance of his life with a partridge put up in a turnip-field, or as birds sought for in the high hills or on the Rocky Mountains.

The Earl of GALLOWAY, in opposing the second reading, said, that for some time he had been engaged in the practice of pigeon-shooting; but he had not done so for many years, because he did not think it a sporting operation, and because it was an expensive one. He did not give it up because he considered the sport was cruel. He was not an admirer of the large *battues* that took place; and he thought if they were to stop the shooting of pigeons from traps, those ought also to be stopped, for there was nothing more cruel in pigeon-shooting than in destroying pheasants, where they were driven huddled up into a corner, and shot by hundreds. Last year, he read that out of six guns, in one week of six days, those six guns had killed 8,358 head of game, which gave an average of 230 to 240 for each gun each day. He should not have mentioned this, did he not think it came very ill from the noble Lord, who, it might surprise their Lordships to hear, was one of this party of six guns, to come forward and move the second reading of this Bill. The Bill was introduced under false pretences, for no serious attempt had been made to prove that pigeon-shooting was attended with unnecessary cruelty.

The Archbishop of CANTERBURY said, he considered he should be wanting in proper regard for the duties of his Office if he did not say one word in support of the Bill, and he could not admit that the measure had come into the House under false pretences. The noble Lord who introduced the Bill (Lord Balfour) did not impute any cruelty to the skilled pigeon-shooter, but he wished to put down a great mass of cruelty connected with the shooting. As the noble Lord had said, he was quite willing to accept any other means of putting down this cruelty, if it could be done; but he (the Archbishop of Canterbury) did not believe that it could be done by any other means. This did not belong to that class of sport which was so dear to Englishmen, but it was one which was passing out of usage—that old class of so-called sport which preyed on the sufferings of confined animals. This was not a case where a man delivered a shot, and the bird's life was taken in a moment. It was that old system of inflicting punishment on confined creatures to which he objected. There could be no doubt about the fact that acts of cruelty were committed. He had been informed by persons living in the neighbourhood of these grounds, that they constantly picked up injured birds, which lived a considerable time, some of them with one eye gouged out, some with beaks twisted across, and otherwise mutilated in a shocking manner, in order to make them fly in a particular direction. These things, of course, were not to be attributed to the shooters, but were done in the interests of the large number of depraved persons who assembled in these places to gamble.

It had been suggested by his noble Friend (Earl Fortescue) that such legislation was unworthy of the dignity of that House; but he could not agree that anything was unworthy of their Lordships' dignity which in any way tended to remove one pang of suffering; and if there was any doubt as to the suffering that was caused, it could easily be set at rest by inquiry. But the acts of cruelty, it was urged, were the work of a brutalized mob. No doubt the mob that collected on these occasions was a brutalized one; but he thought they were being helped to be further brutalized by the sanction of such proceedings as these. They were, in fact, a source of terror and annoyance—he did not like the word danger—to the neighbourhood. As regarded them, he would not call them "dangerous classes," for he thought there were very few who could be so described; but he thought none were more dangerous than the utterly unemployed class of loafers who went about all day with a gun in their hand ready to shoot or to pick up birds wherever they fell, totally regardless of boundaries, fences, and all rights of property. He thought it a great argument in favour of the Bill that it met with help from those who maintained true sport. He cordially supported the second reading, and trusted the House would not sanction a system which brutalized the population. If sport ever were to be attacked as sport, it would be because some of its votaries upheld as sport a practice which wholly tended to brutalize so many, as well as to inflict incredible suffering on thousands of innocent creatures.

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Resolved in the *negative.*

Bill to be read 2ª *this day six months.*

PORTUGAL—THE CONGO TREATY.

RESOLUTION.

THE EARL OF BELMORE, in rising to move—

> "That the Petition of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce against the ratification of the Congo Treaty be printed and circulated with the minutes,"

after remarking that he must substitute the Birmingham Petition for that from Manchester, which he had named in his Notice, but which could not be found, said, he must acknowledge that his Motion was a somewhat unusual one; but it was one, he believed, justified by the facts of the case. He did not intend to discuss it in any Party spirit, but purely as a commercial question of great importance. A deep interest was taken in the Congo Treaty in Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Glasgow, and all the great commercial centres of the Kingdom; and the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs must be aware that considerable objections to the ratification of the Treaty were felt, not merely amongst Members of the Conservative Party, but also amongst those of that Party to which the noble Earl himself belonged. He did not intend, on that occasion, to ask their Lordships to pass a Resolution against the ratification of the Treaty, or to act in any way prematurely in the matter. Such a course would be very inconvenient, because, when this subject had come up last year in the House of Commons, upon a Motion of Mr. Jacob Bright, the Prime Minister had given a pledge that the Treaty should not be ratified until the House of Commons had had an opportunity of considering the matter; and he saw by the report in *The Times* that that pledge had been renewed as lately as yesterday by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, who had said also, that Her Majesty's Government had re-opened their correspondence with Portugal on the subject of the Treaty. But what he did wish was, that the fullest consideration should be given to the matter. He would remind them of a few facts regarding the history of the Congo. The River Congo had been discovered by Portugal, or, at all events, by a Portuguese subject in the year 1491; and Portugal, therefore, claimed the sovereignty over the district. But in 1853 Lord Clarendon, in a despatch of the 26th of November, said it was manifest that the rights of Portugal had long since lapsed; and in 1860 Lord John Russell had used words to the same effect in a despatch to the Portuguese Minister. In 1876, the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Derby), when Minister for Foreign Affairs in Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet, had used similar language. Lord Palmerston, moreover, some years before, in writing to Lord Howard de Walden, had stated that it could not be permitted that British vessels which might be seized by Portuguese cruisers in the region of the Congo River, should be adjudicated on by a Portuguese Prize Court. It was clear, then, that the claims urged by Portugal with regard to the Congo and the adjacent coast had not been acquiesced in by the Government of this country in recent years. [The noble Earl here quoted from the Report of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in 1883, which alluded to the fact that there was great apprehension of interference with the interests of British trade by Portugal; and from other similar documents.] In November, 1882, a deputation had waited upon Sir Charles W. Dilke on the subject; and a Memorial had been sent to the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) representing the small claim which Portugal had upon that region. The exports and imports from and to this country, although more or less a matter of calculation, were, on good authority, £1,000,000 each way per annum, so that the question was by no means an insignificant one. Last year the Manchester Chamber of Commerce had addressed a letter to the noble Earl representing that the trade from Loando, north of the Congo, to Quinsembo, south of that river, was not carried on by Portuguese, but by English and Dutch traders, and that that had been the case for some time. There had been nine Treaties made by this country with the Native Chiefs on the Lower Congo, dating from June, 1854, to March, 1877, which might be reduced to seven, as two of them were merely additional articles to two of the other Treaties. The essence of all those Treaties was absolute Free Trade on payment of a sort of "accustomed duty" to the Chief before the ship began to unload; and in many of them there were stipulations against the Slave Trade and the atrocities which accompanied it. The noble Earl then quoted from a letter which Mr. Jacob Bright had addressed to *The Daily News* on the 18th of April, in which he said—

> "The present condition of things on the Lower Congo, this region which Portugal has long coveted, and her claim to which England has always stoutly resisted, is well described in a letter from Earl Granville to the Portuguese Minister, dated March 15, 1883. 'On this coast many trading factories are established, of which a small minority only are Portuguese. They belong to British, French, German, and Dutch houses. They pay no dues or imposts, making only insignificant payments to Native Chiefs. Their vessels ply without hindrance in the rivers and along the coast. There is no obstacle to the free access of the traders to the interior. Missionaries also, irrespective of creed, are allowed perfect freedom in their work. It would be impossible, then, to agree to the imposition of burdens which do not now exist; . . . . the freedom of trade and navigation of the River Congo should be absolute, involving exemption from all river dues or tolls; equality should be secured to missionaries of all creeds.' After this statement will it be believed that Her Majesty's Government have made a Treaty with Portugal by which the contention of Lord Granville that the 'freedom of trade should be absolute' has been abandoned, and the 'imposition of burdens which do not now exist' will take place?"

Alluding to the Slave Trade, Mr. Bright says—

> "To give increased territory to Portugal in the interest of African freedom is a new doctrine in this country. A year has seldom passed by without the British Government rebuking the Portuguese Government for conniving at the Slave Trade. It has been, indeed, said that the Slave Trade is the only trade for which the Portuguese have shown a marked aptitude. Lord Mayo last year described to me his journey in the steamship *Angola*, from Benguela to Lisbon, in company of a cargo of slaves. He said that between Angola and the Island of St. Thomas there is a regular traffic in slaves, and that official forms are made use of in order to conceal its character, and to enable the officers of the Government to reap some portion of the reward. Slaves are brought from the interior to Catumbella—they are called 'Colonials.' The price here is £7 a-head. They are then sent in lighters to the Portuguese steamship at Benguela, thence to Loanda, where official forms are gone through. They are assumed to have engaged themselves for five years' service. They are then shipped in the same steamer to the Island of St. Thomas. They are well treated on board and decently clothed. Price at St. Thomas from £10 to £15; a pretty girl sells for more. They can be re-engaged by the planters at the office of Santa Anna, the capital of the Island, and in this re-engagement they are not consulted. In the ship in which Lord Mayo sailed in February last year there were 82 of these 'Colonials' on board. They die early, and never see their own country again."

The noble Earl then referred, in some detail, to the last Papers on the subject which had been laid before Parliament, and particularly to the Mozambique tariff which was scheduled to the Treaty now awaiting ratification, and which the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs appeared to consider a liberal one. That tariff imposed duties, however, ranging up to 10 per cent *ad valorem.* Quoting, again, from Mr. Jacob Bright, he (the Earl of Belmore) showed that the Portuguese Customs officials on the Mozambique coast were extremely unsatisfactory; that, in addition to the Customs duties, British merchants had to pay very heavy trade licences, whilst each of their *employés* were separately taxed. The result was that all the British merchants but one had been driven away from the Mozambique coast; and that one made a living by carrying on a trade of a peculiar character. It was feared that if the Lower Congo came under the Dominion of Portugal, British subjects would have to pay, in addition to the Customs tariff, Income Tax and Succession Duties such as were now imposed in their adjoining Possessions at Angola; and that the settlement at Boma, a town near Nokki, which had been fixed on as the western limit, on the southern bank of the river, of Portuguese jurisdiction, would be ruined. Inland, no limits of jurisdiction were fixed by the Treaty. He (the Earl of Belmore) admitted that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs having pointed out that the Governor General of Mozambique had, of his own authority, attempted to increase the duties under the tariff, the Portuguese Government had repudiated the Governor General's action. He also admitted that the noble Earl had come to an arrangement with the Portuguese Government that there should be no transit dues on goods passing up the river, to the Upper Congo; and, further, that a landing place which had been constructed a few miles lower down the river than Vivi (on the northern bank opposite to Nokki), and where the current was not so strong, for the Belgian station in connection with the Association under the control of the King of the Belgians, should be outside the limit of Portuguese territory. Two questions seemed to suggest themselves arising out of this Treaty. Why had it been concluded at all? And why with Portugal in particular? The noble Earl would probably refer him for an answer to the first question to the Treaty itself, which said that it was to put an end to all difficulties relative to rights of sovereignty; to provide for the complete extinction of the Slave Trade; and to promote commerce and civilization. Well, be it so; but was Portugal the best Power to carry out these objects? We might have taken one of three other courses. We might have either taken the Lower Congo under our own protection; or established a sort of international protectorate; or handed it over to one of the other Powers trading in the district. The noble Earl concluded by moving his Resolution.

Moved, "That the petition of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce against the ratification of the Congo Treaty, presented to the House on the 22nd of April last, be printed."—(*The Earl of Belmore.*)

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I am afraid that the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Belmore) has, in point of form, been somewhat irregular in moving that a course should be adopted which is never followed in this House, inasmuch as it is not the practice to print Petitions. He has supported his Motion in a long speech; but I am very reluctant to complain on that account, because it is impossible for him to have been more temperate and more moderate. He has read many extracts; but some of them tell as much on one side of the question as on the other. The noble Earl said that he did not intend to introduce any Party feeling, and I admit that he has most thoroughly carried out that good intention. I do not know whether it is the absence of Party feeling that accounts for the fact that the noble Earl had only one Peer on the seats behind him, increased to two after the conclusion of his speech; but I hope that absence of Party feeling will continue until this matter is finally and satisfactorily settled. With regard to the printing of the Petition, I have already said that it is contrary to the usage of your Lordships' House; and I regret that the less, because, in this case, it is entirely unnecessary, for the Petition is merely the repetition of certain statements and arguments contained in letters and other documents, addressed by the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester to the Foreign Office, and they are included in the Papers on the subject, which are shortly to be presented to your Lordships. I might have been disposed to postpone any discussion on the matter until a time when there are a few more Peers in the House, and when those Papers have been presented and considered, especially as we are now in communication with the Portuguese Government on a very important point—namely, the objection raised by some foreign Governments to the character of the Treaty; but I am glad to have an opportunity of making a few remarks, if even in very general terms, on the nature and objects of this Treaty. The noble Earl referred to the large commerce which was going on with the River Congo, and said—

> "Her Majesty's Government are not aware of that large commerce, and are doing something to destroy it."

Why, the very object of this Treaty is exactly the reverse of destroying that commerce—it is to retain and to enlarge it. The noble Earl further said the Manchester Chamber of Commerce had declared against the Treaty, saying that it would ruin their trade; but the Cotton Spinners' Association of the same city—a most important institution in itself—say really the reverse, and they add what I believe is perfectly true—namely, that, while commerce is now a monopoly in the hands of a few strong firms of different nationalities, the result of this Treaty will be to throw it open to a much more extended commerce on the part of small traders on the Congo, who will be able to invest their capital with a sense of security now altogether absent. The noble Earl spoke of the necessity of reading extracts from the pamphlets of the Chamber of Commerce, some of which I am bound to say, are of great interest; others having little interest, and not indicating much knowledge of the matter. Much was also made by the noble Earl of the point that there had been a persistent repudiation of the Portuguese claims by different Secretaries of State. I admit that it is true that the Secretaries of State have not, up to this moment, recognized those claims. It happens that I received an appointment in the Foreign Office nearly 50 years ago. I have been connected with the Office four times since then, and may therefore claim to have some acquaintance with its traditions and documents; and from my experience, which I am sure will be backed up by that of the older permanent officials of the Department, and by the noble Earl behind me also, (the Earl of Derby), the real motive of that repudiation was exclusively the fear of encouraging, and not being able to deal with, the Slave Trade on the Congo, which is entirely stopped at this moment. That makes the whole difference between the former and the present state of the case. Her Majesty's Government are aware that different countries and different associations are all competing for the commerce of Africa, and especially in the region of the Congo. We have a state of things which is singularly illustrated by the long extract quoted by the noble Earl from a despatch of the English Consul, in which he describes every sort of outrage as going on—an attack on the Dutch factory, with retaliation and fighting, repudiation of the sovereignty of Portugal altogether in the first instance, and then, under the pressure of circumstances, an appeal to the Portuguese Government to settle matters. If the Portuguese Government had not intervened, and if the English Consul had not also used his influence, matters would have resulted in a very disgraceful state of things. I could give other and similar instances. I cannot conceive these considerations not making it important to have some settled Government. It is all very well for individual merchants or powerful firms to say that we are taking away the freedom of trade; but we think that there is freedom of trade in this Treaty, in the true sense of that term, which does not exclude the imposition of moderate duties. The 1st Article of the Treaty recognizes Portuguese Sovereignty in that portion of the territory to which the noble Earl has referred, and the next five Articles make a more complete and favourable arrangement for the perfect freedom of the navigation and commerce than can be found in any existing Treaty of the class at this time. The noble Earl used two arguments, in the first of which he said—"If you move at all, and if a Treaty were entered into, you ought to secure the object that you have in view." I think that this Treaty does secure our object. The noble Earl's next point was that if we entered into a Treaty at all, it should not be with the Portuguese. There have been innumerable deputations to the Foreign Office upon this subject, and the greater number of the gentlemen who formed them have admitted that they could not find fault with the Treaty; but their real objection, like that of the noble Earl, was that we ought to have taken the Congo ourselves. But are we really to take possession of every navigable river all over the world and every avenue of commerce, for fear somebody else should take possession of it? The Portuguese have claimed this particular territory for nearly 400 years, and there is no reason why their claim should not be perfectly good, although we have hitherto refused to recognize it. Their claims have not been opposed by any other country, and the only reason why they are not now in occupation is this—that we, acting in a high-handed manner, but one justified by the circumstances of the time with reference to our anti-Slavery opinions, gave them to understand that we would use force to prevent their occupation of the territory. And so matters stand at the present moment. It is rather too late to say that we should not enter into a Treaty with Portugal; for, as a matter of fact, the Government have already done so, and have agreed to negotiate a Treaty. After what has passed, a formal Resolution having been come to in the House of Commons, and no objection raised to it in the House of Lords, it appears to me to be too late to say we will not have this Treaty because it is made with a country like Portugal. We have laid down in the Treaty the strictest rules with respect to the freedom of commerce, bearing in mind the pledges given in Parliament by the Government. The noble Earl fears that the Portuguese will not mind those obligations; but if we have force sufficient to prevent them from doing that which they claim they have a right to, why should we fear that they will not adhere to the Articles of the Treaty to which they themselves willingly consented?

THE EARL OF BELMORE: Are they to have power to levy any taxes under the Treaty beyond those levied for Customs?

EARL GRANVILLE: With regard to the territory in question, if the noble Earl looked at the clause he would see that we not only have the advantage of the most favoured nation clause in the Treaty as regards other countries; but there can be no differential duties as between us and the Portuguese. This Treaty does not merely deal with the territory in dispute, which is not a very large one; but it goes beyond that, and deals with the Slave Trade which exists in the East of Africa. With regard to that question, we have obtained, for the first time, that which both the Foreign and Colonial Offices have been striving for for years—I mean a permission to use effectual means to put down the Slave Trade on the Zambesi and on the East Coast. It is also most important that we have secured the most favoured nation clause with respect to the rest of the African Possessions of Portugal. The noble Earl referred to certain evils connected with the labour traffic, and there are, without doubt, evils connected with it. With regard to the labour traffic there, which amounts to slavery, Mr. Johnstone, who has written a most interesting book on the subject, says that, on the Congo, nearly all the firms, with, possibly, the exception of English firms, employ slave labour. The noble Earl knows better than I do what has been done with regard to the labour traffic in the Fiji Islands, and the extreme difficulty there has been in dealing with it. Portugal, France, Germany, and ourselves are all occupied in trying to deal with this important question. With regard to the slave traffic, we deal with it in a manner I have described; but we do not attempt in this particular Treaty to deal with the labour traffic specifically, and I think there are very good reasons for that course. I put it to your Lordships, if this Treaty does not take effect, what our position will be. I do not mean to say that the noble Earl wishes to fetter the liberty of action of Her Majesty's Government in taking any course that may seem most wise; but the course suggested by him would involve us in the possibility of war. Mr. Jacob Bright is a strong advocate for peace, and I should like to ask whether he would advocate the threatening of Portugal with a war after she has in this Treaty agreed to all the conditions which Her Majesty's Government thought necessary in order to obtain absolute freedom for commerce and trade, and absolute liberty for the conduct of missionary work, and with regard to the suppression of the Slave Trade, within their African territory.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said, he would like to ask the noble Earl when the Papers would be laid on the Table?

EARL GRANVILLE said, he could not state absolutely; but he hoped in the course of a few days.

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, after the objection taken to his Motion on the ground of Order, he should ask the permission of the House to withdraw it.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

House adjourned at Seven o'clock,
to Monday next, a quarter
before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 9*th May*, 1884.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee —Resolutions* [May 8] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Second Reading* — Tramways Provisional Orders (Birmingham and Aston Tramways, &c.) * [180].

Second Reading—Referred to Standing Committee on Law, &c.—Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) * [3]; Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases * [4].

Consideration as amended — Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) (Belchalwell, &c.) [150], *deferred.*

Report—Commons Regulation Provisional Order * [172].

Third Reading—Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) * [170]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (Alton-Barnes, &c.) * [147]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) (Bovey-Tracey, &c.) * [148]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) (Ashill, &c.) * [149]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5) (Acton, &c.) * [151]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6) (Ashen, &c.) * [152]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) (Abberley, &c.) * [153]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 8) (Abergwilly, &c.) * [154]; Water Provisional Orders * [163].

PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (POOR LAW) (No. 4) (BELCHALWELL, &c.) BILL.—[BILL 150.]

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration read.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, he had arranged with the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board that the Notice relating to this Bill should be postponed until Monday, the 19th May. He would, therefore, move that the consideration of the Bill be postponed until the 19th instant.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Consideration of the Bill, as amended, be postponed until the 19th instant,"—(*Mr. R. H. Paget*,)—put, and *agreed to.*

Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *Monday* 19th May.

QUESTIONS.

——o——

BOARD OF INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the appointment of centre superintendents to conduct the examinations for the Board of Intermediate Education in Ireland, preference is given to gentlemen from Trinity College and others wholly unconnected with intermediate education, nominated by individual members of the Board, or pressed on their notice by external influence, to the exclusion of the assistants in the intermediate schools and colleges of Ireland; whether a clerk in the Registry of Deeds Office, in Dublin, was appointed in 1882; in consequence of the numerous applications, have the Board reduced the remuneration of superintendents from twenty to fifteen pounds, and have they given notice of their intention to reduce it still further; and, in extension of this principle of economy, has the reduction of the salaries of the two assistant commissioners from a thousand pounds per annum to any less amount been recommended?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Assistant Commissioners inform me that, in selecting the centre superintendents of examinations, preference is not given to gentlemen from Trinity College and others wholly unconnected with intermediate education; but that the Board appoint only those persons whom they consider best qualified, and, if possible, those who have had experience in such work. A gentleman who was temporarily employed in the Registry of Deeds Office was one of the persons appointed in the year before last. The Board have reduced the remuneration for this class of service, in conformity with the recommendations of a Committee which recently inquired into the administrative arrangements of the Department. A reduction of the amount of remuneration given to persons temporarily employed for a purely occasional duty would afford no reason for reducing the salaries granted to permanent officials at the time of their appointment.

ARREARS OF COUNTY CESS (IRELAND) —COLLECTION IN CO. LEITRIM.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether any legal means exist for compelling the county Leitrim grand jury to collect the arrears of cess, amounting to £53 10*s.* 8*d.*, on the evicted lands of Colonel Tottenham, M.P. in the baronies of Rosclogher and Dromahaire; is it the fact that the owner has already been successfully decreed for poor rate and seed rate on said lands; can he explain why, out of £125 due, only about £50 was recoverable; and, if this be owing to a portion being over two years in arrear, will he give instructions to the Local Government Board for speedier collection to be insisted on in future; and, do any means exist of ascertaining the extra amount of poundage that falls on the rate and cess payers of Leitrim in consequence of the non-collection of the levies on evicted farms?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): £53 10*s.* 8*d.* was returned as arrears of county cess, due on lands of Colonel Tottenham, which had been evicted. These arrears have been re-applotted on the lands liable, and it is believed no extra poundage will be imposed under this head. An arrear of poor rate and seed rate accrued while certain lands were untenanted. Colonel Tottenham, who is not, in any event, the person primarily liable, was decreed at the April sessions for poor rate and seed rate to the amount of £37 9*s.* 6*d.*; a balance claimed of

£37 12*s.* 1*d.* was irrecoverable by reason of more than two years having elapsed from the making and publishing of the rate, and the 12 & 13 *Vict.*, c. 104. protecting in such case the person not primarily liable. Colonel Tottenham has appealed, as he contends he had no beneficial use of the lands while they were untenanted. The clerk of the Guardians states instructions to proceed were given in time, but that the actual proceedings were not taken till too late. The Local Government Board is now aware of the default. I cannot say what the extra rate may be by reason of £37 12*s.* 1*d.* being lost; but it is very insignificant.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—RED BAY PIER, CUSHENDALL, CO. ANTRIM.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Secretary to the Treasury, By whom and at what date was the pier or harbour at Red Bay, Cushendall, county Antrim, constructed; at what date did the commencement of the collection of dues commence; who were the officers appointed in the first instance for the purpose of collecting the dues; when was the present harbour master appointed, and were there any other candidates for the office; what superior qualification did he possess over the others; and, why did he receive the preference?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, this pier was finished in 1851, and was handed over to the Grand Jury of the county of Antrim in 1857. Since that date the Treasury have nothing to do with it.

COASTGUARD (IRELAND)—ARRANGEMENTS FOR TRANSMITTING PAY OF MEN.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, How long is it since cars were allowed to convey Coastguard Officers in Ireland to get the monthly pay for the men instead of, as formerly, sending the money by the men from station to station; and, whether it is a fact that seven shillings is paid for such conveyance at Ballintoy, county Antrim, while another person has tendered to do the work for four shillings; if so, why was the smaller offer not accepted?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that reference had been made to the local officers, and he found that pay cars had been used for many years when public cars were not available. A payment of 7*s.* was made in this case, which was not excessive for a distance of 14 miles. An offer of a conveyance for 4*s.* was made; but it was not a proper conveyance. Such arrangements must be left to the local officers, and there was no reason to question their discretion.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—WICKLOW MAGISTRACY—APPOINTMENT OF MR. MARTIN LANGTON.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Lord Chancellor has come to any decision in reference to the appointment of Mr. Martin Langton to the Commission of the Peace for the county Wicklow?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Lord Chancellor informs me that the case of Mr. Langton is still under consideration.

Mr. W. J. CORBET: I will repeat the Question on Monday.

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES (IRELAND)—THE EXAMINATIONS.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the statement that the calendars of the Queen's Colleges being published before the time fixed for the Royal University examinations, If he was made aware by the Queen's College authorities that the calendars so published only contain the examination papers set in the preceding year, and are therefore valueless in reference to the University examinations of the year in which they were published; and, whether there is any valid reason why the papers set at sessional examinations held in May or June should not be published, in a separate form or otherwise, so as to be accessible before the ensuing examination of the Royal University in October?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It appears to be sufficiently obvious, without explanation on the part of the Queen's College authorities, which I do not think they were bound to give in this case, that the calendars could only contain the examination papers set at preceding examinations, and not at examinations to be held after their publication. With regard to the suggestion that the papers set at the sessional examinations in May and June should be published in a separate form or otherwise, so as to be accessible before the ensuing examination, it appears to relate to a matter which is academic rather than administrative, though, no doubt, a consideration of expenditure would be involved in which the Treasury would be concerned. The Government having now appointed a Commission of Inquiry, I think that the House will not think it unreasonable if, pending its Report, I hesitate to answer Questions which are really academical Questions, bearing on the relation of the Queen's College examinations to the Royal University which, I think, ought to be, and I hope will be, referred to this Commission.

MR. O'BRIEN: The right hon. Gentleman has not replied to the Question I put to him, which was, whether the Queen's College or Colleges made him aware that the examination papers published in the calendar were not in the papers of the year? This is not the first time the Queen's College authorities gave misleading and evasive information; and I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is not perfectly plain that the answer put into his mouth by the Queen's College was calculated and intended to shirk the point raised?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. O'BRIEN: I am entitled to ask the right hon. Gentleman to answer the Question I put on the Paper.

MR. SPEAKER: I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he did not feel called on to answer Questions which were merely academic. The second Question now put by the hon. Member is not in Order.

MR. O'BRIEN: On the Vote for the Estimates I will see whether the right hon. Gentleman will not be a little more communicative.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—COST OF POLICE IN CHARGE OF HOLDINGS IN CO. LIMERICK.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, To what fund the expense of the six police is placed who are in charge of Mr. Coote's three farms in the barony of Costlea and County of Limerick?

MR. TREVELYAN: The men are a part of the county force, and are chargeable as such.

MR. O'SULLIVAN: Are they charged on the county of Limerick?

MR. TREVELYAN: I cannot say off-hand; but I feel sure the free force is not sufficient for a county like Limerick, and for more in excess of that the county pays a moiety.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—GIRLS' SCHOOLS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he could state to the House what is the average cost for 1882 per child in the ordinary National Female Schools of Ireland, as paid in salary and result fees from all sources; what is the average cost for 1882 per child in the Model Schools (female department) of Ireland, as paid in salaries and result fees from all sources; and, what is the average cost for 1882 per child in Convent Schools of Ireland, as paid in capitation and result fees from all sources?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that the Education Department does not keep separate Returns showing the cost per pupil in female schools as distinct from male or mixed schools, or of the amounts paid in salaries and result fees as distinct from other payments, such as gratuities for training monitors, good service pay, &c. The information asked for could not therefore be given off-hand; and in order to obtain it it would be necessary to employ about 22 members of the Department at overtime for about a fortnight.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. JOHN HAMILL.

LORD ARTHUR HILL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a letter in *The Daily Express* of the 23rd April, and to a leading article in the same paper of the 24th April, signed "Vigilant," with reference to the recent appointment by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland of Mr. John Hamill to the commission of the peace for the county Louth; whether the statements made with respect to Mr. Hamill are correct; whether he is the same Mr. Hamill who presided at a meeting of the Town Commissioners of Dundalk on the 23rd April, when a vote of condolence to Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, which had been passed at the previous meeting of the board, was rescinded; whether it is the intention of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to appoint to the commission of the peace for counties in Ireland persons who neither reside in the county nor possess any property qualification; and, whether there would be any objection to lay upon the Table of the House a Return giving the names of all those magistrates who, in the past four years, have been appointed "county magistrates," not having been recommended by the Lieutenant of their respective counties, together with a statement showing the amount of property each possesses in the county, and the reasons for such appointments? I may also ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the late Lord Chancellor Law did not decline to appoint Mr. Hamill?

Mr. SEXTON: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers this Question, I would ask whether Mr. Hamill did not hold the Commission of the Peace for the borough of Dundalk for three years before his appointment to the county; and, whether, as regards the vote referred to, it is a fact that it was not rescinded at all, but expunged on the ground that when it was passed the board was resolved into a sanitary committee, and was not, therefore, qualified to deal with the subject?

Mr. CHARLES RUSSELL: I would also wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether Mr. John Hamill is not one of the most considerable owners of property in Dundalk (the county town of Louth), and also the owner of considerable property in the adjoining county of Monaghan; whether he has not been twice elected in two successive periods to the chairmanship of the Town Commissioners of Dundalk; whether he has not, under Commissions of the Peace issued by three successive Lord Chancellors—namely, Lord O'Hagan, the late Mr. Law, and the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, acted as a magistrate in the borough; whether he was not recommended by the board of Town Commissioners for the magistracy; whether he has not discharged the duties of his magistracy in the borough with intelligence and independence, and without complaint from any quarter; and, whether, in the opinion of the Chief Secretary, any different or higher standard of qualifications is required for the due discharge of magisterial duties in counties from that required in boroughs?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I followed the Question of my hon. and learned Friend to the best of my ability, and I believe what I am going to say will cover all the points raised, except the question as to the unanimity of Mr. Hamill's election to the chairmanship of the Town Commissioners, as to which I am not aware. With regard to the general question, I am not willing to enter into a matter which I could not answer in less than a quarter of an hour, as to the difference between the qualification of a county and a borough magistrate; but I have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Hamill is qualified both for one and the other. I have read the letter and article referred to in the Question asked by the noble Lord, and I do not propose to enter into the statements therein contained with respect to Mr. Hamill, which are of a personal nature, and which, after all, if submitted, would not be to his disadvantage, but would be distinctly to his credit. I refer to the allusion to his early history. What I am able to state is that Mr. Hamill is a gentleman of position and independent means. He was appointed a magistrate for the town of Dundalk so far back as 1881 by Lord O'Hagan when Lord Chancellor, and was re-appointed to that office by Lord Chancellor Law, and later still by the present Chancellor. He has discharged his duties as magistrate and as chairman of the Town Commissioners in an efficient and upright manner. He was strongly recommended to the Lord Chancellor for the Commission of the Peace for the county of Louth, to which the Lord Chancellor, after particular inquiry, appointed him. I believe the recommendation of his colleagues on the Town Commission, who best knew him, was unanimous. He presided at a meeting of the Town Commissioners of Dundalk, he being the chairman of that body, when the vote of condolence to Her Majesty, passed at a previous meeting, was rescinded simply on the ground of its having been irregularly entered on the minutes of the Board; but it is not true that he objected to such a vote being passed. On the point of his duty on this occasion he consulted the town clerk, and found that there was no other course which he could legally pursue. I cannot speak as to the intention of the Lord Chancellor as to future appointments further than merely to say that I am satisfied he will appoint fit and proper persons to the Commission of the Peace, for which I am advised that no qualification such as being the holder of property in the county is necessary. I have reason to believe, however, that Mr. Hamill holds property largely in the county of Louth, though the part of the county is the borough of Dundalk, and he is also a considerable landowner in an adjoining county. The general Return asked for cannot be given, as there are no materials for preparing it except as regards the appointments made by the present Lord Chancellor since his accession to Office.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION (SUB-COMMISSIONERS) — MR. WILLIAM GRAY.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. William Gray, who is one of the Sub-Commissioners for fixing rent in Ireland, is the same Mr. William Gray who is reported to have been in the habit of attending, and occasionally presiding at, political meetings where cheers for the suspects and the Land League, and cries of "no rent," and denunciations of landlordism were common topics, and who, in one speech, said:—

> "If Griffiths' valuation of a farm be twenty shillings per acre, and the taxes, say, three shillings, then eight shillings and sixpence would be a fair rent. But I am not certain that, when the forces represented by steam, and the contemplated arrangements in America are fully carried out and developed, even this will not be an exorbitant rent;"

and, in a speech on another occasion, is reported to have said:—

> "The farmers did not get, as they should get, the benefit of the Healy Clause. . . . . . They would not, however, give up agitation; and, before 1891, they would have another Act, which would be a greater improvement on the Act of 1881 than the Act of 1881 was on that of 1870. . . . . Lord Monck was a landlord, Judge O'Hagan, who betrayed the early traditions of his youth, Litton, who by false promises was elected for Tyrone, and who now betrayed the farmers, and Vernon, were all landlords."

MR. TREVELYAN: At present I know of no authority for these statements, except an anonymous paragraph in a London evening newspaper; but I am making inquiry on the subject. I hope the noble Lord (Lord Arthur Hill) will accept this as an answer to his Question on the same subject.

POST OFFICE—ADVERTISEMENTS OF TELEPHONE COMPANIES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Postmaster General, Whether at any time he demanded royalty, at the rate of one-tenth of the charges of the Telephone Companies, for the insertion of advertisements in their own catalogues, printed at their own expense, for the use of their own subscribers; and, if so, on what ground this demand was made, and why, having been made, it was abandoned?

MR. FAWCETT: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that at no time has a royalty been demanded for charges paid to the Telephone Companies for advertisements. A royalty was demanded on a certain payment of one guinea which was made by some subscribers to telephone exchanges in addition to their ordinary subscription; but on the character of this payment being explained the demand was at once relinquished.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—NEWRY UNION.

MR. SMALL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that on the 31st March, several charges have been brought against Mr. Joseph Bell, the returning officer of the Newry Union, in relation to the recent election of three guardians for the Newry Division of that Union, viz.: that he rejected on illegal and frivolous grounds many votes tendered on one side, and that he recorded a large number of votes tendered on the other side, although same were objected to and ought not to have been received; that his rulings were not consistent with each other, or with his decisions at previous elections; and that, by these means, he contrived to give Messrs. Sinclair, Savage, and Todd a very small majority over the outgoing guardians, and declared them elected; whether it is not also alleged that the returning officer wrongfully permitted several persons to remain in the Board room till late hours at night inspecting the papers relating to the election, contrary to the

Workhouse regulations, and without the presence of any agent of the other side; whether it is also charged that the minute book has been falsified in relation to a motion which had been before the Board of Guardians in reference to the election; whether it is also charged that the porter's book, giving the hours of outgoing of the persons who had inspected the election papers, had been wrongfully altered, and that the returning officer's son refused to give the porter the names of the persons who had inspected the election papers, thereby rendering the porter unable to fulfil his duty by inserting the names in the book; whether complaints of these matters were sent to the Local Government Board as far back as 31st March, demanding a re-scrutiny and an inquiry, and whether the Local Government Board has since admitted that the returning officer was wrong in a large number of his rulings; and, whether it is the intention of the Local Government Board to direct a re-scrutiny of the disputed votes by a properly qualified person, and an investigation into the conduct of the returning officer as requested, and whether such re-scrutiny and investigation will be held without further delay?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It is the case that charges of the kind mentioned in the Question were made, and have been the subject of much correspondence. Several votes were found to have been improperly recorded for all the candidates; but the rejection of such votes would not disturb the return of Messrs. Sinclair, Savage, and Todd. The Local Government Board cannot institute a general scrutiny of all votes recorded at the election; but I understand that a day or two ago they addressed a letter to the hon. Member with reference to several specific votes objected to, and that they are prepared to entertain any further objections to particular votes. The Board also, as I understand, furnished the hon. Member with the Returning Officer's explanation as to the complaint respecting the presence of persons in the workhouse, and the alleged falsification of the minute book, and they await any further observations he may make on the subject. They cannot decide, while the correspondence is going on, whether an inquiry is necessary or not.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND —SYLLABUS OF LECTURES.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a letter of the Very Reverend Dr. Walsh, a Member of the Senate of the Royal University and of its Standing Committee, published in *The Freeman's Journal* of May 3rd, in which the writer states that—

> "As a matter of fact, neither the Senate of the Royal University, nor its Standing Committee, nor, so far as I know, any individual member of either body, has had any opportunity of in any way considering the merits of, or consequently pronouncing any opinion upon, the proposal,"

that Fellows of the Royal University should publish an annually revised syllabus of their lectures, with a view to securing absolute fairness of University examinations; and, whether he has any observations to make upon the letter of the Very Reverend Dr. Walsh, as it is in apparent contradiction to the statement he was understood to make that the preponderance of opinion among the authorities of the Royal University is not favourable to the proposal?

Mr. TREVELYAN: What I said was that, so far as I had been able to ascertain, the preponderance of opinion among gentlemen in responsible positions in connection with the Queen's Colleges and the Royal University was unfavourable to the proposition contained in the hon. Member's inquiry. What I said as to the Royal University was gathered from the answer which I received from the secretaries. I have no doubt that Dr. Walsh is right in saying that the Senate and Standing Committee were not consulted. I suppose there was no time to consult them. There will be an opportunity for those interested to raise this question before the Commission.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—NEWRY UNION —SALARY OF THE MASTER OF THE WORKHOUSE.

Mr. LEAHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the Newry Board of Guardians, which at present contains several members whose elections were disputed, intends to increase by £20 the salary of the master, who, until fourteen months ago, was porter of the House at less than half of his present salary, and who was censured by the Board a few months ago; and, whether the Local Government approves of such action under the circumstances?

Mr. TREVELYAN: There are some Guardians on the Newry Board whose elections were disputed; but, even if they have been improperly returned, which has not yet been proved, the circumstance would not affect the decision of the Board of Guardians on a point such as that referred to, as the hon. Member will see by a reference to Section 30 of the Poor Relief Act—

> "The Guardians are, on the 10th instant, pursuant to notice, to consider a proposition to increase the Master's salary; and if they resolve to do so, the Local Government Board will give the matter the necessary consideration; but the objection which has been lodged against the election of certain Guardians affords no reason for the postponement by the Guardians of the discussion on the subject."

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—THE RABBITS IN RICHMOND PARK.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether his attention has been drawn to two men having been convicted and sentenced to a month's hard labour for having committed a trespass upon Richmond Park in search of rabbits, and to the fact that the witnesses against them were a carter to the Board of Works, who watched them for an hour, and a "watcher," who was sent to watch certain dead rabbits which had been hidden; whether it is the business of carters in the employ of the Board of Works to act as guardians of the rabbits in Richmond Park; whether the "watcher" is paid out of public funds, and what are his functions; and, who has the right to shoot or trap the rabbits in Richmond Park?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: The matter referred to has not been specially brought under the notice of my Department, as it concerns the Ranger. The watchers are paid out of money voted by Parliament. It is their duty to watch the deer and to preserve order after the park constables go off their duty. If, in the course of their duty, they see offences being committed, it is their duty to interfere. The right to shoot or trap rabbits in Richmond Park is in the gift of the Queen. The Duke of Cambridge, who is the Ranger, exercises this right at the present time, and bears all the expense of feeding and preserving the game. The carter referred to in the Question was not, on the occasion mentioned, spending the time for which he was paid by the Office of Works. He has not, therefore, been paid for watching out of the public funds. I believe the public like to see the rabbits running about the park.

Mr. LABOUCHERE observed that the public would also like to shoot those rabbits; but he would like to know from what source the Chief Commissioner derived his information that the carter was not paid out of public money?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was informed that the carter was doing this work out of his ordinary working hours, and, therefore, was not paid out of public money.

ARMY—EXAMINATIONS FOR PROMOTION.

Earl PERCY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can now inform the House what steps he proposes to take with regard to the system of examination of officers for promotion in the Army; and, whether he can afford any relief to those who have suffered from the present regulations?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: After carefully looking into the subject, I have come to the conclusion that the aggregate of marks required—namely, ·55, is too high, and that it should be reduced to the former standard—namely, ·5. The aggregate was, I understand, increased to compensate for a reduction which was simultaneously made in the minimum of each subject; but, on the whole, I think that the old aggregate standard was sufficiently high. I have also carefully considered the circumstances of the last examination in which so many officers failed to qualify. I find that in one of the examination papers there was, unfortunately, a typographical error which, though not of great importance, undoubtedly did prejudicially affect the papers of several of those who failed to qualify; and I have, therefore, decided that the record of that examination, so far as it regards the unsuccessful candidates, shall be cancelled, and that they shall be allowed another trial at the examination in July.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND)—THE RATE COLLECTOR OF THE BLACKROCK TOWNSHIP COMMISSION.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any, and, if so, what steps have been actually taken by the Local Government Board to investigate the charges of defalcations in the funds of the Blackrock Township made against Rate-Collector Elliott?

MR. TREVELYAN: The alleged defalcations are being investigated by a Special Committee of the Blackrock Township Commissioners, and not by the Local Government Board. The business of the Local Government Board has been to ascertain that the inquiry is being carried out with promptitude. They are keeping a very close eye to it.

MR. O'BRIEN: Are not the Government going to insist that this man shall be prosecuted the same as any other common criminal?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is quite obvious that inquiry as to defalcations in one particular must be conducted by that Department before a Department in which no allegation of a defalcation is made can take notice of the matter.

MR. GRAY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this investigation is being conducted in private; and will he inform the House by what means it is intended to procure for the Local Government Board information as to the proceedings, so that they may be able to act on them?

MR. TREVELYAN: I shall take every means to ascertain whether this gentleman is a proper person to continue in a position over which the Local Government Board have authority.

MR. SEXTON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware, or has it been brought under the notice of the Local Government Board, that the Commissioners who are conducting this inquiry are the persons who allowed Mr. Elliott £420 from arrears of poundage on money which he had appropriated; and, if that be so, does the Local Government Board regard such Commissioners as fit and proper persons to be intrusted with an inquiry into this matter?

[No reply.]

DOMINION OF CANADA—STATE-AIDED EMIGRANTS AT TORONTO.

MR. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any of the State-aided emigrants from Ireland, who were in a state of distress in Toronto in February last, are still in the same state; and, if so, whether the Government will take measures for their relief, and enable them to return to Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN: No Report as to any distress among State-aided emigrants at Toronto has reached the Irish Government later than that which related to the month of February last. I have desired that the Colonial Office be asked to make inquiry on the subject.

MR. SEXTON: When does the right hon. Gentleman hope to receive a Report on the matter?

MR. TREVELYAN: I do not know yet. I wrote about it immediately that the hon. Member for Waterford put his Question the first time.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government have yet taken any steps, and, if so, what steps, to secure the safety of General Gordon?

MR. GLADSTONE: I answered this Question yesterday, and I can only repeat the answer which I then gave—namely, that explanations may be made upon the subject, but that those explanations are much more suited to an unrestrained statement in debate than to an answer to a Question; and that in no case could those explanations be extended so as to constitute a full answer to a Question which, among other things, evidently contemplates military contingencies.

SIR HENRY TYLER: The right hon. Gentleman has not given a simple answer to a simple Question—whether the Government had taken any steps whatever to secure the safety of General Gordon? [*Cries of* "Order, order!"]

[No reply.]

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask a Question with reference to the course of Business next week.

The Government have placed Monday at the disposal of my right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who is to bring forward a Motion with regard to General Gordon. I am anxious, and all my Friends are anxious, that hon. Members should compress their speeches as much as possible; but it will be absolutely impossible to conclude the debate in one night, and I wish to know whether the Government can in any way assist us? I have also to ask hon. Members who have Notices down for Tuesday to allow us to continue the debate on that day. The Government are going to give precedence to the Motion of my right hon. Friend at the Tuesday Morning Sitting. I presume it will be impossible, or very inconvenient, to rescind the Order that has been made with regard to Tuesday Morning Sittings. Undoubtedly, however, it would be well if we could meet at 4 on Tuesday; but if that cannot be, we shall debate the Motion from 2 till 7, and then we shall resume at 9 o'clock. Now, there are 12 Notices of Motion and eight Orders of the Day on the Paper for Tuesday evening. The Notices of Motion are not as formidable as they appear to be at first sight, for many of them hang together. If it would be possible for those hon. Members in whose names the Notices stand to signify their willingness to allow their Motions to be set aside, we could make some arrangement with reference to the Bills set down as Orders of the Day, and the debate could be finished at the Evening Sitting. It would, of course, be more convenient to take a 4 o'clock Sitting.

MR. GLADSTONE: I can only answer the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman so far as I am myself concerned. It would be of no advantage to entertain the proposal to rescind for Tuesday the resolution to which we have come—for this reason, among others, that if we were to rescind it, the effect would be that the Government would lose all power of giving any facility to the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends for their Motion on Tuesday. If we were to agree to meet at 4 on that day, the same application to hon. Gentlemen who have Notices on the Paper would still have to be made which has now to be made with regard to the Evening Sitting. We have, therefore, I think, done all that lies in our power. But considering the inconvenience of a fixed term for the closing of the debate, I shall be glad to support any application which the right hon. Gentleman may make to Members to waive their privileges at 9 o'clock on Tuesday evening; and likewise, with respect to the Orders of the Day, I think that it will be desirable to postpone all the Motions and Orders until after the debate with respect to General Gordon.

EGYPT—THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he wished to put two Questions to the Prime Minister. The first was, whether the proposed Conference on the subject of the finances of Egypt was to be held in London or Constantinople? The second Question arose out of an answer given by the Prime Minister yesterday, when he declined to give a pledge that other matters besides the Law of Liquidation would not be considered by the Conference. He wished to know whether the basis of the Conference and the limits of the questions to be discussed had been fixed; and whether the Prime Minister would communicate them to the House before the meeting of the Conference?

MR. GLADSTONE: With regard to the first Question of the hon. and gallant Member, I do not think that the place of meeting has yet been absolutely settled. With regard to the second Question, I have to say that the basis of the Conference is really settled by the indication sent out by Lord Granville, which has been laid on the Table of the House. What I have already said amounts to this—that a discretionary power remains to raise any other question than that proposed by the Government; but no other question is within the actual range of the Conference, and if any other question should be raised it would be a new question, and it would be like calling a new Conference. We cannot undertake that the Conference shall forego the opportunity of raising a new question at a given time.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. T. A. DICKSON: I would ask the Chief Secretary if there is any foundation for the statement which appears in several of the Irish papers, that the Government have decided to postpone the Purchase Clauses Bill until the 11th of June; and if it is intended to introduce the Bill before the adjournment for the Whitsun holidays?

MR. TREVELYAN: There is no foundation whatever for the report, which only reached my eyes through an allusion to it in a leading article in *The Daily Express.* I have every reason to believe that the Bill shall be introduced before the Whitsuntide holidays; and as far as the preparation of the Bill is concerned, that can be no obstacle at all.

THE PUBLIC OFFICES — THE NEW ADMIRALTY BUILDINGS.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I wish to take this opportunity of explaining and apologizing for a mistake into which I fell in answering a Question put to me in Committee this morning by my right hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Sir John Hay) in reference to the new Admiralty buildings. He asked me whether the Estimates for them would contain provisions for a house for the First Lord? I then said it was a question which ought rather to have been addressed to my right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works, and I have now to pay the penalty of having undertaken to answer for another Department. When I last saw the proposals they did contain a provision for such a house. Since then they have been more fully considered, and now it is not intended to include a house for the First Lord in the new building.

SIR JOHN HAY: I will only say that while my hon. Friend makes this announcement I hope he still adheres to the excellent reason which he gave as to whether the First Lord should have a house—namely, that it was absolutely necessary in time of war.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL. 3.] SECOND READING.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [25th April], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. T. A. Dickson

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. WARTON, in moving that the Bill be read a second time upon that day six months, contended that, taking into consideration the grave and heavy penalties that were enacted last year by the Act having reference to Parliamentary elections, time, at any rate, should be given to ascertain how that experiment would work before the same principle was extended to municipal elections. As a rule, when penalties were too heavy they were found to defeat themselves, and it was his impression that they would do so in the Act of last year; and therefore he thought that time ought to be given to see whether the heavy penalties imposed by that Act would defeat their own objects or not. But surely it was unreasonable to apply to elections for Poor Law Guardians and members of school boards the same penalties that were provided with regard to Parliamentary elections. Where the present Bill departed from the Act of last Session the change was for the worse—namely, the omission of the excellent principle of a maximum expenditure, which he considered would be much more effectual than heavy penalties in preventing corrupt practices. It was his opinion that no men would be found to offer themselves as candidates for the petty offices to be obtained at municipal elections if they had to run the risk of all the heavy penalties which men who were desirous of becoming Members of Parliament had to run. For these reasons he begged to move the rejection of the Bill.

MR. BIGGAR said, he seconded the Motion for the rejection of the Bill, though he disagreed very much from a part of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport's speech relating to public-houses. He himself held very firmly the opinion that the part of the Bill which prohibited the holding of election meetings in public-houses was most valuable, and if its other provisions were equally valuable, he should not oppose the measure. Such meetings could do no good to anyone except the publican. They demoralized the supporters of the candidate in whose supposed interest they were convened, and they increased the election expenses very substantially. There were other parts of the Bill to which he took exception, more especially for the reason that they were uncalled for in Ireland. Scotland was exempted, and why Ireland should be included he did not know. He had had some experience of elections in Ireland, and such a thing as bribery of any sort in municipal or Poor Law elections did not enter into the mind of anyone. Intimidation and undue influence were, no doubt, practised at Poor Law elections by the landlords, and the Government avoided taking notice of these proceedings. Very stringent punishment was proposed by this Bill if anyone was held by the Judges to have committed bribery or corruption. He did not expect to be mixed up with any municipal or Poor Law election in Ireland; but if he happened to be in any town during the holding of a municipal election, he might have some innocent conversation with a person interested in that election, and he might be held by the Judge to have done something which was illegal. The result would be that not only would he be disqualified from holding a seat in that House, but he would be prevented from taking part in public affairs for all future time. This punishment was too severe. Another provision was against payment for music and banners. Music and banners at Irish municipal elections were never thought of. One of the principal objects of the Bill was the great lessening of expenses. As a rule, Irish municipal elections were conducted very cheaply, and payment for canvassers was not made upon a large scale. Volunteers did most of the canvassing for the dominant party, and instead of discouraging persons from making personal sacrifices at election times for their party by enacting, as this Bill proposed, that only one canvasser should be allowed for each ward, he thought the Government ought to encourage the employment of an increased number of canvassers. In Belfast, if the municipal franchise were made as extensive as in England, it would be impossible to obtain an adequate expression of opinion in one of the wards unless a larger expense was allowed than this Bill sanctioned. Means were found for evading these enactments; but a Bill should not be so drawn that it was impossible for parties to act honestly or in accordance with its provisions, and at the same time to conduct their election satisfactorily. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General took care that the costs in any legal proceedings under the Bill should be on the highest scale. That part of the Bill might be left out. The scale of costs should not be higher than that adopted by the County Courts. Having counsel and other paraphernalia in some obscure borough was perfectly absurd. For these reasons, believing the Bill to be uncalled for by the circumstances existing in Ireland, he should vote against its second reading.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he felt some reluctance in being compelled to speak against the second reading of this Bill, as he approved the measure very much, having regard to most of its provisions. Unfortunately, however, the Attorney General had announced his desire to have the Bill referred to a Grand Committee; whereas, if it had come before a Committee of the Whole House, he should have confined himself to moving certain Amendments in it. At the time of the passing of the Act of last year he had said that he thought the penalties provided would be too severe, and he had seen no reason to alter his views since. The great fault of the present measure was the absence of any provision for the limitation of expenses. When a provision was inserted in the Act of last year for that purpose, he thought it was likely to form a very useful piece of legislation, because it appeared to him to go the root of all the mischief. He could not help thinking that the Attorney General, in passing a Bill without such a provision, would go a great way to undo the good he did last year. One of the most ordinary forms of bribery was to bribe at a municipal election with the view to being successful at the next Parliamentary contest; and, as this Bill stood, it seemed to him that it would turn the whole flood of corruption into the municipal contests. Enormous sums of money would be spent in municipal elections which would, in truth and in substance, defeat the purposes and effect of the Corrupt Practices Act of last year. He did not see the smallest practical difficulty in the way of a Schedule limiting the expenses of elections in particular wards in the same way that expenses were now limited in particular constituencies. He would, therefore, ask the Attorney General whether he would undertake to engraft upon this Bill the most valuable feature of the previous enactment? If something were not done in this direction, he feared that the flood of corruption at municipal elections would be very largely increased.

Mr. MONK said, he thought the remarks of the hon. and learned Gentleman well deserved the attention of the Attorney General. There was another matter which he desired to bring to the notice of his hon. and learned Friend, and that had reference to the presentation of Petitions. There ought to be some official, say the Director of Public Prosecutions or his substitute, who should not only attend the trial of these Petitions, but be required to aid in the presentation of them in cases where there were grounds for believing that corrupt and illegal practices had largely prevailed. Very few Petitions would be presented if the matter were left to the electors; and he would, therefore, suggest that the Public Prosecutor should be authorized to present a Petition whenever his attention had been called to the prevalence of corrupt practices, and he had satisfied himself by a preliminary investigation that there was a foundation for the charge. That was a subject, however, which could be dealt with in Committee on the Bill.

Mr. DAWSON said, he was all in favour of securing purity of election, either at Parliamentary or municipal contests; but the reason he objected to the principles of this Bill was because of its application to Ireland. He thought it was not fair to apply the same rigorous restrictions to a country the conditions of whose municipal life were entirely different to those of this country. The provisions of the Bill were exceedingly severe, and if they were applied to the small constituencies of Ireland they would practically annihilate Irish municipal constituencies altogether. After pointing out the unequal and limited character of the municipal franchise in Ireland, and the rigorous manner in which the provisions of the Bill, if carried out, would work in connection with the punishment of electors, the hon. Member asked the House to consider the nature of the Courts in Ireland with their political bias. When this was considered, he thought the measure was a dangerous one to bring forward in the present narrow condition of the Irish franchise. In England there was a household municipal franchise, which even admitted women; in every town in Ireland, except Dublin, the qualification was £10, which meant in the towns of Ireland a rental equivalent to £25 or £30. Then they had a system of registration which prevailed in that country by which the landlords were returned instead of the occupiers—a state of things which was inimical to the rights of the people. The City of Limerick had nearly 40,000 people within the municipal boundary; yet, owing to the restrictions and the high qualifications, the number of municipal electors was only about 400. This extraordinary condition of things—high qualifications in a city of small wealth—led to a result which he would relate. There was one ward in Limerick where only 30 burgesses in a population of 8,000 or 10,000 people were on the list. Out of these, when the election came some had died and some were absent, and there were not available the 16 persons required by law to sign the nomination paper. They were often told how violent and unconstitutional were the people of Limerick and of Ireland. But could it be otherwise when they were thus deprived of the means of exercising political influence? In Dublin a law was passed which, although the Preamble promised everything, gave nothing. With a view of equalizing the Dublin franchise to that of England, household suffrage for municipal elections was declared; but a rider was added that, before a person could exercise this suffrage, he must have resided there for three years, which was taking away with one hand what the other gave. The result was that Dublin, with a population of 300,000, had only 6,000 or 7,000 municipal electors, while the same population in an English city would produce about 50,000 or 60,000 electors. Therefore, to apply this Bill to Ireland under the circumstances he had mentioned, and to bring Petitions before Courts which were, unfortunately, animated by political hostility to the bulk of the Irish people, was to sanction the passing of a facile machinery by which the small remnants of municipal life existing in the country would be wiped out.

MR. HINDE PALMER said, he had listened with attention to the remarks of the hon. and learned Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard), and he was quite at a loss to know why he should vote against the second reading of the Bill. He understood the hon. and learned Member to say that, unless some maximum amount of expenses was stated, the want of a limitation would be made a sort of auxiliary step to the corruption which would go on in an indirect way in Parliamentary elections. He concurred in that opinion. He believed the real advantage of this Bill was to be found in the fact that it would prevent, to a great extent, that mode of corruption which had been practised in Parliamentary elections through the medium of corruption prevailing in municipal boroughs. He could not see, however, why the question of expenses should not be dealt with separately in a Schedule containing a scale of maximum expenses, and which might be inserted in Committee. It seemed to him that the whole argument of the hon. and learned Member was really an inducement to the House to read the Bill a second time, and to amend it as far as possible in Committee. A great deal of difficulty had been felt by hon. Members in consequence of the Motion by the Attorney General to refer the Bill to the Standing Committee instead of the Committee of the Whole House. So far as this Bill went, his own impression was that it was a measure which might very easily be discussed in Committee of the Whole House. That, of course, depended altogether on the nature of its clauses; but they had also to consider the state of Business in the House. They must consider the character of the measures pending before the House, and when this was done hon. Members would see that the number of Bills at present before Parliament were likely to occupy all the time which the House could devote to them. Having in view, therefore, the state of Public Business, he was in favour of sending this measure to the Standing Committee.

MR. SPEAKER pointed out that there was a specific Motion dealing with this subject on the Paper, and that the hon. and learned Member was not in Order in anticipating the discussion.

MR. HINDE PALMER said, he begged to submit to the ruling of the Chair. With reference to the tribunal appointed to try these corrupt practices at municipal elections, he thought the penalties imposed by this Act were as severe as those imposed under the Parliamentary elections. It was well known that the tribunal which tried corrupt practices at Parliamentary elections consisted now of two Judges, although originally there was only one. No doubt the House was also aware that under the Municipal Corporation Act corrupt practices at municipal elections were not tried before a Judge, but before a barrister, who was appointed Commissioner for that purpose. He tried the cases alone and without a jury. It was, he thought, worthy the consideration of the House whether it would not be desirable to appoint two barristers instead of one to try these petitions in reference to municipal elections. This was a subject which could be attended to in Committee on the Bill, and at present he intended to vote for the second reading.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, he thought that most of the objections which had been taken to the Bill were not objections to its principle, but to its details, which could be best dealt with in Committee. He could not agree with the arguments of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) that because the position of a Town Councillor or a Guardian of the Poor was not so high as that of a Member of Parliament, therefore they should have a free hand to do whatever they pleased at those elections.

MR. WARTON explained that what he meant to say was that, considering that the post of a Town Councillor or a Guardian was of less importance, the penalties ought not to be equal.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, he could not agree with that argument; but even if sound, it only went to support a reduction of the penalties, which was a matter for the Committee. He thought the speeches which had been made by two Members from Ireland were worthy of attention; but as Ireland was about to have an enlarged Parliamentary franchise, so, he hoped, she would soon also have—in fact, she must and would have—an enlarged municipal franchise; and if that was the case, he thought there would be no objection to the Bill being extended to that country. The penalties contained in the measure might, perhaps, be too severe; but that was not a point that touched its principle, which was the prevention of corrupt practices. Considering the present state of Public Business in the House, he was inclined to support the Attorney General in wishing to have the Bill referred, after its second reading, to a Standing Committee, where it might be dealt with speedily and in a practical manner.

MR. GRAY said, the question was whether, without any case at all having been made, and on the bare possibility which the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Serjeant Simon) thought might arise of corruption hereafter existing in Irish municipalities, this House ought to be called upon to pass a very stringent and severe Corrupt Practices Code for Ireland. He did not think that was a principle upon which this House had been accustomed to act. Some kind of case was usually made by those who proposed important changes in the law such as this. He did not profess to know much about the way in which English municipal elections were manipulated; but he relied upon the assurances which had been given by the English Members on both sides of the House that corruption existed to an enormous degree in certain English municipalities, and that it was exceedingly difficult to prevent bribery. If that were really the character of English municipalities, he should be happy to assist English Members to pass the necessary Code for the prevention and punishment of those abuses. When hon. Members proposed to pass a similar Bill for Ireland, he said—"Show me some reason for it. Give me cases of corruption in Irish municipalities such as have been quoted from England, where hundreds of electors were bought for a pot of beer per head;" and then, even though the franchise was restricted, he should join in seeking to put an end to such abuses. But if no such things could be shown, if it were granted, as was the fact, that Irish municipal elections were pure, then there was no reason for extending this Bill to Ireland. Why should the Bill be extended to Ireland, and not to Scotland? They all knew that their Scotch friends were pure in everything. He observed the hon. and learned Attorney General taking notes. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL dissented.] He begged the Attorney General's pardon—he meant the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland. He had not any intention of accusing the hon. and learned Attorney General of knowing anything about Irish affairs. The Solicitor General for Ireland, if he should speak on this subject, would admit there was no such thing as corruption in Irish municipal elections. [The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND assented.] The hon. and learned Gentleman signified his assent; and if that were so, it was not right that a Bill of this kind should be extended to Ireland until some cause had been shown. They had no confidence in the administration of the law in Ireland. They did not believe that those who would have the administration of this Bill, when passed into law, would be impartial. If they thought differently, and if they believed it would not be used by those administering it for political purposes, he would have no objection to it being passed, though it were only for the purpose of meeting the hypothetical case of the hon. Gentleman who had last spoken; but, in view of the arguments he and his Friends had urged, he believed a strong case had been made out for the exclusion of Ireland from the Bill.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he hoped that the House would shortly be allowed to go to a Division. The necessity for that Bill had been admitted, and the question of its form had been much discussed. The principal criticisms passed upon it had reference to the absence of the maximum Schedule which appeared in the Act of last Session relating to Parliamentary elections. That Schedule was his own creation, and he would not have omitted it from the present Bill without good reason; but, having sought assistance from those who, quite irrespective of Party motives, had had practical knowledge and experience of municipal matters both in large and small boroughs, he found that there was a great concurrence of opinion against the introduction of that maximum Schedule into the present Bill, and on that account he had not introduced it. What had been put to him—and he thought it had great force—was, that it was desired to make it easy for men to enter local councils, to throw no obstacles in the way, and to get a better class of men if they could into those councils. The enforcement of a maximum Schedule for municipal elections would involve the adoption of the complicated and expensive machinery of the Parliamentary Act; and he was told that if this were done all the better class of residents would be deterred from having anything to do with municipal elections. If certain things, such as the payment of messengers, agents, and canvassers, the hiring of rooms, and the conveyance of voters, were forbidden, there was no opportunity for lavish expenditure, as the bribery at municipal elections was of an indirect rather than a direct character. If anyone would attempt to draw a Schedule equally applicable to a ward containing many thousand voters, and a ward containing only 100 or 200, he would find the difficulty of laying down a maximum of any kind that would be reasonable in both cases.

MR. ONSLOW asked whether the hon. and learned Gentleman conld name any of the small boroughs that had been consulted?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had had a mass of correspondence and many interviews; and, while he could not specify any particular boroughs, he should be glad to satisfy the hon. Member privately. He had included Ireland in the Bill so as to obviate any objection that there was not to be equal law for the two countries. With regard to the Amendment which had been placed upon the Paper by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and also the expressed opinion which had fallen from the hon. Member for Carlow upon the phase of the question relating to Ireland——

MR. GRAY: I merely stated that I did not desire to suggest anything to the hon. and learned Gentleman.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), continuing, said, that on the subject of Ireland he was about to state that some of the hon. Member's views upon the Bill were presented very strongly. It was quite true there had been no petition for corrupt practices at municipal elections in Ireland. He would, however, ask, was the hon. Member aware that the Act of 1872, which controlled municipal elections, was still in force, and applied to Ireland, and if this Bill was not passed would still apply with full force? The hon. Member for the County Carlow had dwelt strongly upon the subject, and had, no doubt, put his case very clearly. However, he would ask the Irish Members to consider that if this Bill, did not become law, the objectionable portions of the former Act would still remain the same. What had been objectionable in those parts of the former Act which applied to municipal elections were by this Bill given a new definition. If, however, this Bill were not passed into law, the old definitions under the Act of 1872 would still be enforced. If, after the Irish Members had considered the effect of that Act, they still thought that Ireland should not be included in the present Bill, and if the majority of the House were of the same opinion, the Government would have the greatest desire to do what was right. By mistake the Bill had not been extended to Scotland; but that would be amended in Committee. He desired to repeat that the inclusion of Ireland was a question upon which the opinion and votes of the Irish Members would have the fullest and most extreme weight.

MR. LEWIS said, the first part of the speech of the Attorney General furnished sufficient grounds for voting against the Bill, for it was a forcible statement of the objections which he (Mr. Lewis) took last year on the principal Bill. A painful picture had been drawn of the incomprehensible difficulties in which a respectable citizen of a small country borough would be placed by this Bill. All the miserable definitions of new crimes which were set forth last year were repeated. The hon. and learned Gentleman might have stated that candidates must not spend more than £500 upon an election, and have left out all those wretched and frivolous details. The candidate was now to be directed how he should conduct himself night and morning. They were told they must not have a blue ribbon; they might eat one thing, but not another; they might meet in one sort of club-room, but not in another. All these and other tyrannical inventions were the outcome of the modern Liberalism of the 19th century. For a long time he had been unable to discover the object of the Bill; but at last he had found that its object was to find work for the Grand Committee on Law, which had such ill-success last year with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. They could not make that stalking-horse serve their purpose any longer, for that wretched creaking old mare, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, had ultimately broken down. The Government said to themselves that corruption was out of favour; they were fond of so-called purity, and so they would have a new purity Bill. Having done all they could to make Parliamentary candidates miserable, the Government had turned their attention to municipal elections, and proposed to worry the country grocers and drapers. They had even proposed to apply this Bill to ladies who submitted themselves as candidates at School Board elections; but whoever heard of Mrs. Fenwick Miller, Mrs. Westlake, or Miss Hill being guilty of corrupt practices, or resorting to little wheedlements, caresses, or embraces in order to secure votes? Where was the corruption suggested by the Attorney General in connection with School Board elections? Did he, before he took an affectionate leave of Taunton, mean to suggest that corruption existed in connection with the election of the School Board there?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, there was no School Board at Taunton.

MR. LEWIS said, he was delighted to find that the Liberal Party had not succeeded in visiting Taunton with that infliction. He had never before heard it suggested that School Board elections were corrupt. This was just the sort of legislation which, in the good Radical time to come, they should have repeated over and over again. The Bill might be inscribed with the motto, parodying the words in a famous novel—"Here is an election; let's have a petition," so needless and irritating were the majority of its provisions. How could the Government say that they trusted the people, when they would not allow a School Board election to take place without providing that a barrister might be sent down to institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the election in order to ascertain whether corrupt practices had existed? The Bill applied to Poor Law Guardians, School Boards, and Town Commissioners, and in every case where there was an election the people might indulge in the prospect of a petition. They had heard that if in a Parliamentary election general corrupt practices existed, a candidate, even if he knew nothing about those corrupt practices, might be unseated. That doctrine, which was said to rest upon Common Law, was to be introduced for the first time by the 16th clause of this Bill into elections for Town Councils, Boards of Guardians, Town Commissioners, and School Boards. That clause showed that the Bill had been entered upon by the Government without due consideration.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) explained that the 16th clause did not refer to corrupt practices, but only applied to illegal practices.

MR. LEWIS said, that that made his objection all the stronger. The fact was the Bill contained nothing to recommend it to the consideration of the House. The Attorney General, in his Bill of last year, had two modes of annoyance—he limited the aggregate expenditure, and directed the mode of its application. For the former some excuse could be made; but that was the part now abandoned by the Attorney General, while he retained the latter and more objectionable detail. The objections of hon. Gentlemen from Ireland who sat below the Gangway were of a very peculiar character. If some evil was to be done to England which it was not proposed to inflict upon Ireland, they complained that the two countries were not dealt with on an equal footing. He thought it was quite clear that there was as much ground for the suggestion that impurity existed in connection with Irish municipal elections as there was for the statement that corrupt practices existed in municipal elections in England. Ireland was no better than England and no worse. The Bill, on the whole, was contemptible and worthless; it was the mere breaking of the fly on the wheel; and a specimen of the Radical legislation they were to have in the good coming times.

MR. SEXTON said, that the mind of the hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the House appeared to be in a very confused condition as to the relative cases which England and Ireland presented upon the present question. Where the circumstances of the two countries were similar they should be equally judged by the same laws. No such case had, however, been made out by the hon. and learned Gentleman who introduced the Bill. The most corrupt and insidious forms of bribery had been practised upon the burgesses in England; but no such thing was known in Ireland. The hon. and learned Gentleman had himself said that no cases of bribery were known in Ireland. Municipal and Parliamentary elections in Ireland were conducted upon entirely different lines to those in England; and therefore the circumstances of the case of Ireland did not call for the provisions of this Bill, which would be superfluous. So far as he could see at present, he would be disposed to say that Ireland should be struck out of the Bill. They had a struggle last year to procure a clearer and safer definition of the offence of undue influence, as they feared that in certain cases in Ireland the Courts might be inclined to deal harshly with the clergy. He recognized the spirit shown by the hon. and learned Gentleman who had charge of the Bill when he stated that if it was the opinion of the Irish Members that Ireland should not be included he was ready to strike the clause out. The Irish Members, during the interval which would elapse between the present stage of the Bill and the Committee stage, would look more closely into the matter, and ascertain what public opinion in Ireland was upon the subject. The Irish Members would, therefore, now cease from discussing the Bill; but reserve for the present giving their opinion as to the advisability of retaining or striking the clause out.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he would not detain the House any longer than to say he disagreed with the hon. Member for Sligo. He felt bound to enter his protest against the statement that no improper influence was used in municipal and Poor Law elections in Ireland. The clergy in elections in Ireland extensively used improper influence. He regarded it as most important that this Bill, if it passed at all in that House, should pass for Ireland as well as England.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time.

MR. WARTON said, he rose to ask the ruling of the Speaker on a matter which affected the powers, privileges, and rights of the House. In ordinary Bills they always had opportunity for discussion on the second reading and also upon the stage of going into Committee; but this Bill was to be referred to a Standing Committee, and would thereby be taken out of the cognizance of the House. The point of Order was this—whether, seeing that the Attorney General was now seeking to take two stages of the Bill, the House should not have a full, free, and fair discussion on the Motion for referring it to a Grand Committee?

MR. SPEAKER: On the question of Order, I have to say that the point raised by the hon. and learned Member was raised in April of last year, and was emphatically decided by my Predecessor in the Chair. His ruling was to this effect—that after the second reading, on the Motion to refer the Bill to a Standing Committee, there was not the same latitude of discussion allowed as upon the question that the Bill be referred to a Committee of the Whole House. It is not competent—that was the effect of the ruling—to discuss the whole merits and principle of a Bill upon the Motion that it be referred to a Standing Committee. But it will be for the House to take into account the specific considerations which point, on the one hand, to a reference to a Standing Committee, and on the other to a reference to a Committee of the Whole House as the preferable tribunal. There is an express provision that the Standing Order for the consideration of a Bill as amended does not apply to a Bill which has come back to this House from a Standing Committee.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be referred to the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he rose to propose, as an Amendment, that the Bill be referred to a Committee of the Whole House. He would frankly say that he was not himself in favour of Grand Committees, and he believed that all the Members who served on them last year had come to the conclusion that where there was no great principle to be discussed those Committees might possibly work; but that where principles were to be raised and there was to be serious opposition, there were grave doubts whether the Standing Committees would do the work for which they were appointed. The Standing Order with reference to the subject said that two Standing Committees be appointed, one dealing with Bills relating to law and Courts of Justice, and the other with Bills relating to trade and manufacture. He had never understood what was there meant by "law." Such a Bill as that upon the Paper relating to the Law of Evidence and the Bill of last year relating to legal procedure might be referred to the Standing Committee on Law. But here was a Bill which might subject members of Town Councils, for instance, to deprivation of their privileges for a long time; and he did not think it was one of the Bills contemplated by the Standing Order to which he had referred. At all events, it was for the House to consider whether this was the sort of Bill to be referred to a Standing Committee. The Prime Minister agreed to the insertion of words proposed by him to the effect that it was for the House to decide in each case whether a Bill was to be sent to a Standing Committee or not. It was, therefore, for the House to consider whether this was not a Bill which would be better considered in Committee of the Whole House. There was another important question. When the Corrupt Practices Bill of last year was introduced it was stated by the Attorney General that there should be a maximum of expenditure, which was a vital principle of the Bill. In this Bill there was nothing of the kind, and that was a question which ought to be discussed by the House itself; for it should be recollected that the very same people who would be employed at municipal elections would be employed at Parliamentary elections. He begged to move that the Bill be referred to a Committee of the Whole House.

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the words "referred to," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Committee of the whole House,"—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Sir R. Assheton Cross

MR. TOMLINSON contended that the House, by its action last year in reference to the Corrupt Practices Bill, was precluded from referring the present Bill to the Grand Committee on Law. The Bill was one which could not adequately be considered but by the House itself.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, Her Majesty's Government would labour under a very serious misapprehension and a very great delusion if they thought the House of Commons was prepared to surrender its functions to any body, Grand Committee, Standing Committee, or otherwise. With regard to these so-called and miscalled Grand Committees, they were told by the Prime Minister not long ago that by their machinery nothing less than a revolution would be effected in the mode of conducting Public Business, and that the capacity of the House of Commons to discharge the functions of a Senate would be largely increased. But now the right hon. Gentleman was obliged to admit that his new methods of procedure were a failure. [MR. GLADSTONE: Not at all.] The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster also prophesied great results from the institution of Grand Committees, saying that the House would be like a giant working with many hands. Now, however, Grand Committees as means for enabling the House to discharge important legislative duties, had practically been given up by the Government; for this Session no Bill of even third-rate importance was to be referred to a Grand Committee. The Government had realized that the House was determined not to allow Bills of first, second, or even third rank to be withdrawn from its cognizance. Every Member of the House had a duty to discharge towards his constituents and the country, and his responsibility was not diminished in the least by the reference of a Bill to a so-called Grand Committee. That being so, Members must narrowly criticize Bills referred to such Committees at the stage of Report. He objected altogether to the delegation or devolution of Parliamentary responsibility. The Prime Minister had called these Grand Committees a great experiment. How long did the right hon. Gentleman intend to make this House a chopping-block for experiments in legislation of this kind? If the experiment of last Session would not convince the Government of the failure of these so-called Grand Committees he was at a loss to know what would. Of all subjects, matters of law were least suited to be dealt with by a Grand Committee, for those Members who had the advantage or disadvantage of a legal training were unable, owing to the pressure of their other duties, to attend such Committees. The Members who commanded the greatest weight were the most absent. This scheme of Grand Committees had been a signal, and, he might add, a well-merited failure; and he hoped the Government would withdraw the Motion to refer this Bill to a Grand Committee.

MR. GLADSTONE: I shall not reply to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, because, were I to do so, I should be grossly abusing my privileges as a Member of this House. [Colonel MAKINS: Oh, oh!] The hon. and gallant Member for South Essex interrupts me with exclamations.

COLONEL MAKINS: No; I did not.

MR. GLADSTONE: Do I understand the hon. and gallant Member denies he interrupted me?

COLONEL MAKINS: I had no intention of interrupting the right hon. Gentleman. I merely expressed my disapproval of what the right hon. Gentleman said.

MR. GLADSTONE: Well, perhaps he will allow me to say why I used the expression; and then let the hon. and gallant Member, if he likes, renew his exclamation. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman, from beginning to end, was a speech on the question whether there ought to be Grand Committees at all; and inasmuch as that question has long ago been settled, and it was perfectly well understood among us at the time of the discussion that on a Motion for the reference of a Bill to a Grand Committee the only question to be debated should be whether that Bill was a suitable Bill to be referred, therefore I say that a speech on the general question of Grand Committees on this occasion is an abuse of the privileges of a Member of the House. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was in marked contrast to that of the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire, for although the right hon. Gentleman very frankly admitted his objections to Grand Committees as a whole, the bulk of what he said was as to the fitness of the present Bill to be referred. What were the allegations of the right hon. Gentleman? He urged that this Bill could be better discussed in Committee of the Whole House. I am free to say that if it were a question of a state of things where we had a perfect capacity of discussing all measures in Committee of the Whole House, I should think it better that they should be so discussed. But this is an expedient to enable the House to do its duty, and to meet a state of things under which that duty cannot be done. Then the right hon. Gentleman said there were certain points in the Bill that were points of principle and not fit to be raised in a Grand Committee. So far as that is concerned, I freely admitted at the time that any such points of principle might be excluded from the reference, or might be considered again when the Bill came back. The right hon. Gentleman says that the question of whether there should be a maximum placed on the expenditure at municipal elections is a question of principle that ought not to be referred. I must say that I do not see that that proposal is of such importance and of such sweeping character as to render it incompetent for the Committee to decide upon it. I do not see why it cannot be rediscussed, if necessary, in this House, if Members are not satisfied with the way in which the Committee may deal with it. The right hon. Gentleman said that he did not understand how this could be considered a question of law. He said that all Bills were Bills of law in a certain sense. But in the most restricted sense no Bill is one of law. This Bill mainly deals with penalties for certain offences, and is therefore, I think, eminently associated with the class of Law Bills. The right hon. Gentleman will bear in mind that we gave Notice at the beginning of the Session that it was intended to refer this Bill to a Grand Committee, and the present proposal is only in pursuance of that arrangement. The right hon. Gentleman has not shown any case why this Bill should not be so referred; and while I regret the necessity under which the House of Commons now suffers of devolving some of its duties on any subordinate body, yet the House has deliberately and advisedly adopted the principle of Grand Committees, and nothing that has been said has shown that this Bill is not perfectly well suited, in every practical point of view, for reference to a Grand Committee.

Colonel MAKINS said, the Prime Minister had commenced his remarks with a somewhat savage attack on the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther); and when he (Colonel Makins) ventured to interject the monosyllablic remark "Oh!" the Prime Minister left off worrying his right hon. Friend, and turned with equal savageness upon him. He heard the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire, and it dealt with two points — the question of Grand Committees generally, and the desirability of referring this particular Bill to a Grand Committee. With regard to the first portion of the speech, no doubt there was some justification for the warmth of the Prime Minister; but, with regard to the speech as a whole, the Prime Minister was not justified in the attack which he made. At any rate, the right hon. Gentleman's remarks had had the good effect of drawing a speech from the Prime Minister, and thus preventing what would have been a public scandal. The late Home Secretary made a Motion, and there was no reply from the opposite Benches, except the cry of "Divide!" from the Attorney General.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I beg pardon. I never made such a remark at all.

Colonel MAKINS said, that, at any rate, the hon. and learned Gentleman did not reply, nor did any other Member on the Government Bench; and had it not been that his right hon. Friend rose, the debate would have terminated. Therefore, he thought the right hon. Gentleman's speech had had a good effect. Speaking for himself, he would not be deterred from expressing his disapproval of anything he objected to; and he protested against the uncalled-for attack which the Prime Minister had made upon him.

Mr. RAIKES said, the House had, unfortunately, become recently only too familiar with these attempts on the part of the Prime Minister to interfere with the course of debate, and to consider any expression of opinion distasteful to himself as being an abuse of the Privileges of the House. What had occurred was entirely due to the unwillingness of the Government to justify the proposal which he had submitted to the House. It was, however, to be hoped that there would not be an exhibition of the same sort for some time to come. The question of penalties to be imposed in respect of acts connected with the performance of public duty was one that ought to be discussed in the House; there was hardly a question upon which it was more important to preserve the Constitutional rights of Her Majesty's subjects; and if the Bill was referred to a Grand Committee he would reserve the Amendments which he intended moving, and bring them forward on the Report stage, when they could be adequately discussed. He was inclined to think that the difficulties of the Bill in the Standing Committee might, perhaps, lead to a proposal to have it re-committed in the whole House when it returned. He protested against the attempt of the Government to coerce the House into a renunciation of its Privileges of debate.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 206; Noes 149: Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 90.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill referred to the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure.

LAW OF EVIDENCE IN CRIMINAL CASES BILL.—[Bill 4.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read, and *discharged*.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be referred to the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he regretted that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had not given some reason for sending this Bill to the Standing Committee. It was not a Bill of any great length; it contained very few clauses; but it made a change in the Law of Evidence which was of the greatest importance. Hitherto the House had been dealing with a Bill of a technical character, containing a considerable number of clauses relating to a subject which, so far as Parliamentary elections were concerned, had been dealt with by Parliament at a recent date. No doubt, there was something to be said in favour of sending the measure dealing with corrupt practices at municipal elections to the Standing Committee. He did not believe that the reference would be successful, because it was clear that questions of great importance would be raised after that Bill had left the Standing Committee and come back to the House. He feared, therefore, the time of the Standing Committee on that measure would be wasted, as it had been wasted last year. But if the Attorney General wished this Bill to become law, he would put it to the hon. and learned Gentleman whether, instead of placing it behind the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill, in its reference to the Committee, he had not better give some reasonable opportunity for the discussion of such a Bill in the House itself, by passing it through Committee there? He thought the hon. and learned Gentleman was not really consulting either the interests of this measure, or the fair discussion of the great principle which was involved, by referring such a measure to the Standing Committee.

Mr. MORGAN LLOYD said, he had no objection to see this Bill referred to the Standing Committee; but he thought the House had not had a fair opportunity of discussing the principle of the Bill in the House itself. The change proposed by the Bill—whether right or wrong he did not say—was of the greatest importance, and involved considerations of a serious nature. He hoped the Attorney General would give the House an opportunity, at a subsequent stage, to discuss the principle of the Bill. He had not given Notice of opposition to the second reading, because he took it for granted that an opportunity would be given for discussion of the advisability of the proposed change; but no such opportunity had been given.

Mr. WARTON asked the House to consider the position in which it had been placed by the conduct of the Government. The Government had deprived the House of any opportunity whatever of expressing fully its opinion on a subject which was fraught with revolution to the Law of Evidence. On a question of change amounting to a revolution in the law, he did think that the Attorney General might have had some appreciation of its immense importance, and might have condescended to explain the object of the Bill to the House. In that belief he had refrained from putting down a Notice of opposition to the second reading of the Bill. The way in which the Government treated the House was extraordinary. He used the word "extraordinary" advisedly, because the Attorney General, in bringing forward this Bill for second reading had done so by merely raising his hat at 2 o'clock in the morning, and now, again, that evening, by a single phrase; and this, too, in connection with a measure which made a greater change in the Law of Evidence than had taken place for five centuries.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must request the hon. and learned Member to confine his remarks to the Question before the House.

Mr. WARTON said, that the manner in which the House had been treated by the Government, and the "conspiracy of silence," which prevailed on the Treasury Bench with regard to this as well as other matters——

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already requested the hon. and learned Member to confine himself to the Motion of the Attorney General, which is that the Bill should be referred to the Standing Committee on Law. The hon. and learned Member does not appear to have paid any attention to my ruling.

Mr. WARTON said, in justification of his conduct in not confining his observations strictly to the subject under discussion, that he had lost his temper at the manner in which the House had been treated. It was perfectly scandalous that the House had had no opportunity of discussing the principle of the Bill, because, unless it was explained, the House was unable to form a judgment upon it. It would be useless for the Attorney General to attempt to counteract "blocking" by crushing discussion.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD wished to say a word as a matter of justice to the Attorney General, because he himself was responsible to some extent for the authorship of the Bill. The obloquy which had been cast on his hon. and learned Friend because of this attempted change in the law ought not to rest upon him alone. This proposed change formed originally part of the Code which treated of this matter, and this branch of the subject was peculiarly under his own jurisdiction. But, having said that, it could not be denied that the change was a very serious revolution in the law. It had been one of the cardinal principles of the administration of the Criminal Law that no person who was himself accused should be a witness; and it seemed to him that referring this Bill to a Grand Committee in these circumstances was not altogether desirable. The question of principle—although he himself held a strong view in favour of the proposed alteration—was one on which there was among the Legal Profession and the public very considerable division of opinion. Under those circumstances, if that Bill was referred to a Grand Committee, ingenious Members would be found to devise Amendments which would raise the question of principle in a direct form, and the effect of which would be not to reduce the Bill to a satisfactory shape, but to defeat it in some way or other. The result would be that the labours of the Grand Committee would be absolutely thrown away. From the very constitution of a Grand Committee the sending of such a Bill as that before it would not facilitate the passing of the measure afterwards, because those who had been defeated in the expedients to which he had alluded would inevitably raise those questions of principle in the House when the Bill came back from the Committee. He, therefore, deprecated the sending of that Bill to a Grand Committee. The House had had no substantial opportunity of discussing that matter. He, for one, should have been glad to have had an opportunity of discussing at full length the questions of principle which lay at the root of the measure, and to show that the alteration it proposed was a just and proper one; but he knew, after what the Speaker had said, that that was not a fit occasion for doing so. Therefore they had had the Bill read a second time at a late hour of the night without discussion, and then they were asked to send it to a Grand Committee.

Mr. INDERWICK remarked, that the principle embodied in that Bill had been already affirmed on three separate occasions by the House of Commons. In the first place, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies had carried a Bill that was substantially the same in principle as the present Bill; then, under the late Government, the hon. and learned Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard) introduced a Bill which was read a second time, containing the same provision, and the present Attorney General had also introduced it. He agreed very strongly with the substantial provision of the Bill that accused persons should be allowed to give evidence; and as that principle had been adopted over and over again in that House he did not think there would be any difficulty in the Grand Committee accepting it, and dealing with the details of the measure. At the same time, he must say that he, for one, should be glad that such a proposal should be discussed before the whole House, that he might have an opportunity of expressing his views. If, however, the Bill were sent before a Grand Committee, in his opinion, the only substantial questions to be discussed would be the details of the principle to be adopted; and he felt confident that afterwards every opportunity of discussing the matter would be afforded them in the House.

Mr. GREGORY said, that whilst a good many gentlemen connected with the Incorporated Law Society, to which he had the honour to belong, did not look with disfavour on the principle of this Bill in regard to prisoners giving evidence on their trial, he unfortunately differed from them; and he certainly thought that Members of the House should have more opportunity than had hitherto been afforded them of discussing the measure. So far as they had admitted the principle of it hitherto, it had been comparatively limited in its extent. It had never been attempted on the large scale now suggested; and whether the Bill was going to a Grand Committee or to the Whole House, what he wished to see was whether they could not make some provision against what he thought was the tendency of the Bill—namely, of forcing or compelling every prisoner into the witness-box. There would, in case of the Bill becoming law as it stood, be such a prejudice of feeling against a man who did not tender himself in evidence, that he thought it must inevitably lead to his conviction. How that obstacle was to be met he did not propose to discuss at that stage of the Bill; but he thought it was a point worthy the attention of the Committee, and that in respect of it, as far as possible, the prisoner ought to be protected.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Solicitor General for Scotland whether it was intended that the Bill should apply to that country? The Scottish Members and the Scottish people had had no opportunity of discussing the matter. He hoped the old system of examining Scottish prisoners was not going to be re-established. His own belief was that the process of examining the prisoner was not desired by the people of Scotland. He was in favour of devolution as far as the principle was concerned, but not in the middle of the Session. If Bills were to be sent to Grand Committees, it should be done at the beginning of the Session.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. ASHER) said, that the Lord Advocate and he were of opinion that that Bill ought to be applied to Scotland; and, consequently, they proposed to move the Amendments in the Grand Committee which were necessary to make the Bill applicable to Scotland. He thought there was nothing in the Scottish system which should make the principle of the Bill, if it was a sound principle, inapplicable to Scotland.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, that the proposal was not new to the House or to the country. For many years it had been the subject of discussion both in and out of Parliament; and during the last Parliament a Bill was introduced by his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley), and it was read a second time after a full discussion. The objection to the present Bill seemed to him related rather to its details than to its principles; and those, he thought, were better fitted for consideration by a Grand Committee than by Committee of the Whole House. But he hoped that some opportunity would be afforded to the House for its discussion at a future stage.

MR. STAVELEY HILL said, he held that this Bill was about the last one which ought to go to a Standing Committee. There was in it no detail at all. It altered the law in a most material particular affecting life and liberty, and made a change to which the House ought not to assent without full discussion.

MR. WEST said, he hoped the Government would reconsider the matter. The House ought to have the opportunity of discussing the principle of the Bill.

MR. T. C. THOMPSON said, that the real reason why the Bill should not be referred to a Grand Committee was that both the principles and the details ought to be brought prominently before the public, as they would be by being discussed in the House rather than in the Grand Committee.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS said, that he approved of the principle of the Bill, but he did not think it was carried far enough; and the House was the proper tribunal to discuss the question whether the principle should be carried further by making a prisoner compellable as well as competent to give evidence.

MR. BULWER said, that all were agreed that the principle of the Bill was one on which the sense of the House ought to be expressed; and if it was to be discussed, after leaving the Grand Committee, the labours of that Committee would be wasted. As there was no procedure in the Bill, but only a simple, though very important, question of principle, it was not proper to refer such a Bill to a Grand Committee.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, he hoped the Government would consider what had been urged upon their own side of the House. It was quite clear that there existed differences of opinion as to the application of the principle; and the discussion of the subject ought to reach the public, which it could not do through the medium of a Grand Committee, whose proceedings were practically not reported.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON thought that the principle of the Bill ought to be decided in that House. In the interests of the Bill itself, he would urge the Government not to send it to the Grand Committee. If they adhered to their decision much time would be wasted, and the Bill might not reach the House again before August.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he did not believe that the course which the Government had adopted would tend to pass the Bill into law this Session. He was anxious to see it passed; and, believing there was an overwhelming majority in the House in favour of the Bill, he regretted that anything should be done to impede its progress. No doubt, the Attorney General was taking the course which seemed to him the best; but if the Bill reached the Standing Committee it might not be dealt with until a late period of the Session. He was of opinion that when once the House had affirmed the principle of the Bill, the consideration of the Amendments would not take more than a few hours. If the Attorney General still desired that the Bill should go to the Standing Committee, he would support him with his vote; but the responsibility would rest with him.

Mr. HICKS said, he hoped that the Government, after the appeals which had been made to them, would reconsider their decision. He entertained a very strong objection to the proposals made in the Bill; but whether he was right or wrong in his view, he considered it most important that the principle should be discussed fully and clearly before the public. In his opinion, the Government would save time by declining to send the Bill to a Grand Committee.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 179; Noes 135: Majority 44.—(Div. List, No. 91.)

The House suspended its Sitting at twenty minutes to Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at five minutes
after Nine o'clock till
Monday next.

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LONDON: CORNELIUS BUCK, 22, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

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TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

VOLUME CCLXXXVII.

FOURTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1884.

EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

In Bills, Read 1°, 2°, 3°, or 1ª, 2ª, 3ª, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—R. P., Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—*1st. Div.*, *2nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

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Coinage Bill (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*)
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Moved, "That it is expedient to amend the Laws relating to Coinage, Banking, and Weights and Measures" (*Mr. Courtney*); Motion agreed to

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(*Mr. Dodson*)
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Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *May* 8, 1807; Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Arthur Arnold*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'now' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, A. 124, N. 21; M. 103 (D. L. 89)
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3° [Bill 120]

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act (1878) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Barclay, Mr. Armitage*)
c. Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on 2R. [20th February] read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn *May* 8, 1814 [Bill 62]

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c. Bill withdrawn * *April* 30 [Bill 26]

Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Balfour*)
l. Presented; read 1^{a}* *April* 29 (No. 74)
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^{a}" *May* 9, 1814; Amendt. to leave out ("now") add ("this day three months,") (*The Earl of Redesdale*); after short debate, on Question, That ("now") &c.? Cont. 48, Not-Cont. 78; M. 30
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DILKE, Right Hon. Sir C. W. (President of the Local Government Board), *Chelsea, &c.*
- Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1451
- Local Government Bill—Floods Prevention, 748
- Metropolitan Asylums Board—The Homerton Small-Pox Hospital, 1811
- Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 588
- Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 403
- Public Health (Members and Officers), 2R. 592, 593
- Public Health—Cholera, 1064
  - Dwellings of the Poor—Clerkenwell, 1169
- Representation of the People, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1523, 1535

DILLWYN, Mr. L. L., *Swansea*
- Sites for Churches, Teachers' Residences, &c. (Ireland), 2R. 442

Disposal of the Dead (Regulations) Bill (*Dr. Cameron, Sir Lyon Playfair, Dr. Farquharson*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *April* 30, 959; after debate, Question put: A. 79, N. 149; M. 70 (D. L. 79) [Bill 10]

DIXON-HARTLAND, Mr. F. D., *Evesham*
- Egypt—Conference, The, 1698

DODDS, Mr. J., *Stockton*
- Parliament—Privilege (Stockton Carrs Railway Bill), Res. 15
- Stockton Carrs Railway, 3R. 3, 8, 10, 11, 608, 609, 618, 626, 630

DODSON, Right Hon. J. G. (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster), *Scarborough*
- Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 298, 301, 302, 303; Amendt. 304, 309, 318, 319, 320, 337, 339, 343; Motion for reporting Progress, 349, 359, 654, 655; Amendt. 902, 926; *cl.* 2, 928, 929, 930; *cl.* 3, 931, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938; *add. cl.* 1239, 1240, 1245, 1248, 1249, 1251, 1255, 1256, 1259
- Contagious Diseases (Animals) — Foot-and-Mouth Disease—Questions
  - Cambridgeshire, 479
  - Local Authorities, 1677
  - Market at St. Ives, 129
  - Quarantine Regulations, 1050
  - Transit of Infected Cattle, 284, 285, 286, 1046
- Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Dairies, &c. Order, 1879—Registration of Cowhouses, 1052
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- Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, 650

DONOUGHMORE, Earl of
- Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Relief of Berber and General Gordon, 449, 599
- Portugal—Congo Treaty, Res. 1836

Dublin Museum of Science and Art Bill (*Lord Sudeley*)
l. Royal Assent *April* 28 [47 *Vict.* c. 6]

Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Bill
c. Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report to the House whether the proposed Railway will injuriously affect one of the few open spaces in the City of Dublin, viz.: the open space known as Beresford Place, situate on the north and west sides of the Custom House; and needlessly disfigure the said City; and that they have power to call Witnesses and receive evidence upon the subject" (*Mr. Mayne*) *April* 29, 875; after short debate, Question put; A. 26, N. 145; M. 119 (D. L. 76)

DUCKHAM, Mr. T., *Herefordshire*
- Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 307, 328; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 932, 936; *add. cl.* 1242, 1246
- Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease—Outbreak at Finchley, 1322
  - Quarantine Regulations, 1050

DUFF, Mr. R. W., (Lord Commissioner of the Treasury), *Banffshire*
- Post Office Officials—Appointment of Solicitors to Postmasterships, 177, 178, 179

DUNRAVEN, Earl of
- Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 — Purchase Clauses—Advances to Owners, Res. 872

ECROYD, Mr. W. F., *Preston*
- Representation of the People, Comm. 812; *cl.* 2, 1546

Education Department
- *Board School Districts*, Question, Sir Massey Lopes; Answer, Mr. Mundella *May* 8, 1687
- *Over-pressure in Board Schools*, Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *April* 24, 456
- *School Accommodation in Lambeth*, Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *April* 24, 459

Education Department—Elementary School Teachers
Moved, "That the position of School Teachers in public Elementary Schools, appointed 1846-51, in respect of pensions, is detrimental to the best interests of education, and requires the further consideration of Her Majesty's Government" (*Mr. Brodrick*) *April* 29, 939; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Education, Science, and Art (Administration)—Select Committee
Mr. Dawson *disch.*, Mr. Sexton *added April* 28
Mr. Salt *disch.*, Lord Algernon Percy *added May* 8

EGERTON, Admiral Hon. F., *Derbyshire, E.*
Navy Estimates—Seamen and Marines, 1748

EGERTON, Hon. Alan de Tatton, *Cheshire, Mid*
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1448

EGERTON, Hon. A. F., *Wigan*
Army Estimates — Volunteer Corps, 1433, 1437
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Events in the Soudan
General Gordon, Observations, The Earl of Carnarvon *April* 21, 123 ; Question, Observations, The Earl of Carnarvon ; Reply, Earl Granville ; debate thereon *April* 22, 261 ; Question, The Marquess of Salisbury ; Answer, Earl Granville *May* 5, 1268

Relief of Berber and Khartoum (*General Gordon*), Question, The Earl of Donoughmore ; Answer, Earl Granville *April* 24, 449 ; Question, Observations, The Earl of Donoughmore ; Reply, Earl Granville ; short debate thereon *April* 25, 599 ; Questions, The Earl of Galloway ; Answers, Earl Granville *April* 28, 724 ; *April* 29, 874 ; Question, Observations, Earl De La Warr ; Reply, Earl Granville *May* 8, 1657

War in the Soudan
Vote of Thanks to Officers and Men of H.M. Sea and Land Forces, Observations, Question, Viscount Enfield, Lord Stanley of Alderley ; Reply, The Earl of Morley *May* 5, 1293

The Proposed Conference
Question, The Earl of Carnarvon ; Answer, Earl Granville *May* 1, 1011 ; Question, Observations, The Earl of Carnarvon ; Reply, Earl Granville ; short debate thereon *May* 6, 1457

Engagements of the British Government (*Despatch of* 19*th September*, 1879), Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury ; Reply, Earl Granville *May* 1, 1013
Evacuation of the Eastern Soudan, Question, Observations, Lord Strathnairn ; Reply, Earl Granville *May* 1, 1020

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COMMONS (*Questions*)
Events in the Soudan
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General Gordon, Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Macartney ; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 8, 36 ; Questions, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett ; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, 39 ; Observations, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett ; Reply, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, 112 ; Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Chaplin, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Onslow, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Ritchie, Sir John Hay, Baron Henry de Worms ; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 21, 137 ; Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Lord Randolph Churchill, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Bourke, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. Heneage, Sir Stafford Northcote ; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Gladstone *April* 22, 288 ; Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Gibson, Mr. W. E. Forster, Lord John Manners ; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, The Marquess of Hartington *April* 29, 897 ; Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Willis, Lord Eustace Cecil ; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 1, 1057 ; Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Labouchere, Lord John Manners, Lord George Hamilton ; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Speaker ; Question, Mr. Macartney ; [no reply] *May* 2, 1161 ; Questions, Mr. M'Coan, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Labouchere ; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 6, 1480 ; Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster, Viscount Folkestone ; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 8, 1689 ; Question Sir Henry Tyler ; Answer Mr. Gladstone *May* 9, 1852
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The Captives at Sinkat, Question, Mr. A. Ross; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 1, 1051; Questions, Mr. A. Ross, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 5, 1325

Foreign Correspondents to the Mahdi, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 2, 1165

Zebehr Pasha, Question, General Feilden; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 8, 1682

Independence of the Soudan, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 8, 1691

Natives of Upper Egypt, Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 8, 1694

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Commissariat and Transport Services (Egyptian Campaign), Select Committee nominated *April* 8; List of the Committee, 119

The 60th Rifles at Suakin, Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *April* 28, 757; Questions, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Mr. W. H. Smith, Sir John Hay, Lord John Manners; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *April* 29, 895

Army of Occupation, Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *April* 28, 747

British Troops at Suakin, Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *April* 8, 40

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Nubar Pasha and Mr. Clifford Lloyd, Questions, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Rylands, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Gladstone *April* 8, 28

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Balfour, Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *May* 8, 1698; Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 9, 1854;—*The Moukabalah*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 8, 1680

Administrative Reforms, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 8, 1681

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Mr. O'Kelly, M.P. for Roscommon, Questions, The O'Donoghue, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 28, 756; Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Parnell, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 1, 1039

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The Telegrams, Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 1, 1064

Egypt (Events in the Soudan — General Gordon's Mission—The Vote of Censure (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach)

Notice of Motion, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *May* 2, 1148; Notice of Amendment, Sir Wilfrid Lawson *May* 5, 1297; Question, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answer, Mr. Gladstone, 1330

Electric Lighting Provisional Order Bill

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)

c. Report * *April* 30 [Bill1]
Read 3° * *May* 1
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *May* 2 (No. 75)

Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) (Bury Saint Edmunds) Bill

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)

c. Read 2° * *April* 23 [Bill 170]
Report * *May* 7
Considered * *May* 8
Read 3° * *May* 9

Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 3) (Saint James, Westminster, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 6 [Bill 195]

Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Monson*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *April* 25 (No. 68)
Read 2ª * *May* 8

ELLIOT, Hon. A. R. D., *Roxburgh*
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ELLIOT, Mr. G. W., *Northallerton*
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ELTON, Mr. C. I., *Somerset, W.*
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EWART, Mr. W., *Belfast*
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 923
Ireland—Commissioners of National Education—Case of Mr. R. Barklie, 884

FARQUHARSON, Dr. R., *Aberdeenshire, W.*
Army Estimates—Divine Service, 1345
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FAWCETT, Right Hon. H. (Postmaster General), *Hackney*
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  Government Savings Banks—Rate of Interest, 1325
  Irish Mail Service, 1691, 1701, 1702
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  Postal Administration—Rural Letter Carriers—Good Conduct Stripe, 461
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FEILDEN, Lieut.-General R. J., *Lancashire, N.*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Zebehr Pasha, 1682

FIFE, Earl of
Africa (West Coast)—International African Association, 447, 449

FINCH-HATTON, Hon. M. E. G., *Lincolnshire, S.*
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *add. cl.* 1262
Representation of the People, Comm. 1107, 1109

FINDLATER, Mr. W., *Monaghan*
Disposal of the Dead (Regulations), 2R. 996
Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 875, 878
Ireland—Court of Bankruptcy — Insolvency Business—Duties of the late Chief Clerk, 1696
Ireland—Convent National Schools (Remuneration of Teachers), Res. 376
Sites for Churches, Teachers' Residences, &c. (Ireland), 2R. 442

FIRTH, Mr. J. F. B., *Chelsea*
Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 658
Public Health — Dwellings of the Poor—Clerkenwell, 1169

Fisheries (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Kenny, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Barry, Mr. Corbet*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *April* 21, 250; Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Colonel King-Harman*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'now' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Committee *; Report *April* 29 [Bill 27]
Considered * *May* 1
Read 3° * *May* 5
l. Read 1ª * (*M. of Waterford*) *May* 6 (No. 77)

FITZMAURICE, Lord E. G. P. (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), *Calne*
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  River Congo — Rumoured Disturbances, 739
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  Egypt—Questions
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  Straits Settlements—The Rajah of Tenom—Crew of the "Nisero," 1029, 1321, 1322, 1480, 1695
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  Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Volunteers, 1166, 1167
  Army Estimates—Divine Service, 1336, 1351
    Volunteer Corps, 1435, 1449, 1451

FOLJAMBE, Mr. F. J. S., *East Retford*
  Parliamentary Elections—Polling Districts, 1691

FOLKESTONE, Viscount, *Wilts, S.*
  Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 3, 931
  Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon, 1691
  Parliament—Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Morning Sittings, 1193
  Railway Commissioners — Continuation of Powers, 1330

Foreign Land Laws—Swiss Federal Code of Obligations
  Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 22, 277

FORSTER, Right Hon. W. E., *Bradford*
  Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 333, 334, 350, 903, 920; *add. cl.* 1260
  Education Department—Elementary School Teachers, Res. 947
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FORSTER, Sir C., *Walsall*
  Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) (Belchalwell, &c.), Consid. 1670

FORTESCUE, Earl
  Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment, 2R. 1882

FOWLER, Right Hon. R. N. (Lord Mayor), *London*
  Africa (South)—Transvaal—Graves of Officers and Soldiers killed at Bronkhaus Spruit, 461
  Coinage and Banking Acts, Comm. 1146
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FOWLER, Mr. H. H., *Wolverhampton*
  Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, Res. 1577
  Parliament—Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Morning Sittings, 1184, 1185
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France and Annam (Tonquin)
  Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 28, 756

France and Tonquin—State of Affairs
  Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 24, 454

Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment Bill (*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
- *l.* Report * *April* 21 (No. 43)
- Read 3ª * *April* 24 (No. 65)
- *c.* Lords Amendts. considered and agreed to *April* 28, 836

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- Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment, 2R. 1823
- Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon, 275
  - Relief of Berber, 724, 725, 874
- Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner—Statue of the late Duke of Wellington, 1663
- Parliamentary Papers—Delay in Delivery, 1469
- Secretary for Scotland, 1R. 1668

Gas Provisional Orders (Colwyn Bay and District Gas, &c.) Bill (*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
- *c.* Read 2° * *April* 22 [Bill 162]
- Report * *May* 7
- Read 3° * *May* 8
- *l.* Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *May* 9 (No. 81)

Gas Provisional Orders (No. 2) (Emsworth Gas, &c.) Bill (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*)
- *c.* Ordered ; read 1° * *April* 28 [Bill 181]
- Read 2° * *May* 6

Gibson, Right Hon. E., *Dublin University*
- Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 883
- Egypt—Alexandria Indemnity Commission—Case of Mrs. Ribton, 38
  - Events in the Soudan—General Gordon, 899 ;—Telegrams, 1324
- Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 (Purchase Clauses), 2R. 1010
- Representation of the People, Comm. 785

Giffard, Sir H. S., *Launceston*
- Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases, Comm. 1878
- Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 1858
- Representation of the People, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1506, 1509

Giles, Mr. A., *Southampton*
- Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 920
- Stockton Carrs Railway, 3R. 638

Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E. (First Lord of the Treasury), *Edinburghshire*
- Church of England—Church in Wales—Disestablishment, 651
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Lord Ardilaun's Bailiffs, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *April* 8, 26

Petty Sessions Clerk for Grange, Co. Sligo, Questions, Mr. Lynch, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 29, 890

The Riots at Londonderry—The Commission of Inquiry, Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 21, 124; Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 28, 733;—*Use of Firearms in a Proclaimed District*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 6, 1476

The Sligo Conspiracy Trial, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 30, 1010

The Magistracy

Castleblayney Petty Sessions District—Catholic Magistrates, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 28, 735

Disqualification of Dispensary Medical Officers, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 29, 893

Disqualification of Licensed Publicans (Mr. Mangan, High Sheriff of Drogheda), Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 28, 747; *May* 5, 1315; Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 8, 1683

Mr. Charles Kelly, Q.C., County Court Judge for Clare, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 5, 1303

The Derry Magistrates (Messrs. Archdale, Dowling, and Roche), Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 29, 893

Captain Beckett, R.M., Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 6, 1478

Mr. T. Dowling, J.P.—Head Constable Ross Parkes, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 8, 1671

Mr. John Hamill, Questions, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Charles Russell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 9, 1842

Wicklow Magistracy—Appointment of Mr. Martin Langton, Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 5, 1309; *May* 9, 1840

[*cont.*

Ireland—*cont.*

Law and Police

Assaults in a Police Cell, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 8, 1674

Interference of the Police at Castleshane, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 5, 1300

Meetings of the National League—Intrusion of the Police at Aughrim, Questions, Mr. Lynch; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 21, 135

Intrusion of the Police at Davidstown, Questions, Mr. Small, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 2, 1153

Intrusion of the Police at Kilrosenty, Co. Waterford, Questions, Mr. R. Power, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 5, 1326

Intrusion of the Police at Queenstown, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 25, 649

The Constabulary at Armagh, Question, Mr. Leahy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 2, 1159

The Constabulary at Tullamore, Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 2, 1154

Misconduct of "Emergency Men," Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 8, 1672

—— *Sullivan, a Prisoner in Cork Prison*, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 8, 1683

Prisons

Deaths in Waterford Gaol—Case of James Commins, Questions, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 22, 279; Observations, Mr. Leamy; Reply, Sir William Harcourt; short debate thereon *April* 24, 495

Mountjoy Prison—Warders, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 5, 1302

Royal Irish Constabulary

Cost of Police in Charge of Holdings in Co. Limerick, Questions, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 9, 1841

County Inspector French, Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 8, 1678

Royal Irish Constabulary Act (6 and 7 Will IV. cap. 14, sec. 13)—Extra Police for the City of Cork, Observations, Mr. Parnell; Reply, Mr. Trevelyan; debate thereon *April* 8, 72

The Police Force at Omagh, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 28, 737

Crime and Outrage

Alleged Riot at Castlerea, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 8, 23

Disturbances at Ballymacarrett, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 21, 130

Firing at the Person—Case of the Brothers Delahunty, Questions, Mr. Kenny; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 5, 1304

[*cont.*

IRELAND—*Crime and Outrage*—cont.

Outrages in Tipperary, Question, Mr. Leahy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 21, 126

The Tyrone Shooting Case, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *April* 28, 733

Education

The Royal University of Ireland

The Queen's Colleges—Constitution of the Commission of Inquiry, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 22, 287; Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 28, 748; Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 1, 1051; *May* 8, 1697

Examinations for the Indian Civil Service, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *May* 8, 1693;—*Examinations*, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 9, 1840

Syllabus of Lectures, &c., Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 1, 1030; *May* 9, 1848

The Professor of Anatomy (*Queen's College, Cork*), Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 5, 1306

Queen's College, Cork—The Visitors, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 1, 1051

[See titles *Arrears of Rent* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1882
Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881
Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881 —*Irish Land Commission*
Prevention of Crime (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1882]

Ireland—Commissioners of National Education

Moved, "That there be laid before this House, a Return of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, showing:—(1.) The name and religious denomination of each Commissioner [and other details]" (*Mr. Biggar*) *April* 22, 390

After short debate, Amendt. in Sub-head (1.) to leave out "and religious denomination" (*Mr. Healy*); Question proposed, "That the words 'and religious denomination' stand part of the Question;" after further short debate, Question put, and negatived; words left out accordingly

Amendt. at end of Sub-head (1.) add "and the aggregate number of each religious denomination in the Commission" (*Mr. Biggar*); Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and agreed to

Amendt. to leave out Sub-head (5.) (*Mr. Biggar*); Question, "That Sub-head (5.) stand part of the Question," put, and negatived; Sub-head omitted accordingly; Return, as amended, to be laid before the House

Ireland—Convent National Schools (*Remuneration of Teachers*)

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is just and expedient that the teachers of Convent National Schools in Ireland be dealt with, as to remuneration, on equal terms with those applied to other teachers of Primary Schools in connection with the system of Irish National Education" (*Mr. Biggar*) *April* 22, 361; after debate, Question put; A. 44, N. 71; M. 27 (D. L. 67)

Ireland—The Queen's Colleges

Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 24, 462

Motion for a Return (*Mr. Justin M'Carthy*) *April* 24, 594; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. O'Brien*); Question put, and agreed to

Irish Land Court Officers (Exclusion from Parliament) Bill (*Mr. Brodrick, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Macartney*)

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *April* 21, 251; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Trevelyan*); Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed *April* 28, 836; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Sexton*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned

Isle of Man (Harbours) Bill (*The Lord Sudeley*)

l. Royal Assent *April* 28 [47 *Vict.* c. 7]

Jamaica

Finance, &c.—The Estimates, Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *April* 29, 894

The Legislative Council—Constitutional Reform, Observations, Captain Price; Reply, Mr. Evelyn Ashley; debate thereon *April* 25, 691; Question, Captain Price; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *May* 8, 1688

Encumbered Estates Court—Constitutional Reform—The Franchise, Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *May* 8, 1676

JAMES, Sir H. (*see* ATTORNEY GENERAL, The)

JAMES, Mr. C. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *add. cl.* 1262

JAMES, Mr. W. H., *Gateshead*
Contagious Diseases (Animals), 3R. 1812

JENKINS, Sir J. J., *Carmarthen, &c.*
Navy Estimates—Seamen and Marines, 1777

JENKINS, Mr. D. J., *Penryn*
Navy Estimates—Seamen and Marines, 1754

KENNARD, Mr. C. J., *Salisbury*
- Disposal of the Dead (Regulations), 2R. 994
- Post Office—Government Savings Banks—Rate of Interest, 1325
- Ways and Means—Financial Statement—Gold Currency—Half-Sovereign, 1670

KENNY, Mr. M. J., *Ennis*
- Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 300, 336, 339, 916; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 927; *cl.* 3, 936, 937, 1235; *add. cl.* 1240, 1250, 1253, 1255, 1256
- Ireland—Questions
  - Crime—Firing at the Person—The Brothers Delahunty, 1304, 1305
  - Irish Land Commission—Instructions to the Sub-Commissioners, 26
  - Law and Justice—Mr. C. Kelly, Q.C., County Court Judge for Clare, 1303

KIMBERLEY, Earl of (Secretary of State for India)
- Egypt—Conference, The Proposed, 1467
- Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon, 274
- Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 — Purchase Clauses—Advances to Owners, Res. 860
- Parliamentary Papers—Delay in Delivery, 1470

KING-HARMAN, Colonel E. R., *Dublin County*
- Board of Works (Ireland), 2R. 239, 242
- Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease—Transit of Infected Cattle, 285
- Disposal of the Dead (Regulations), 2R. 996
- Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 877
- Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Berber and Khartoum, 475
  - General Gordon, 36, 37, 38, 289
- Fisheries (Ireland), 2R. Amendt. 250, 251
- Ireland—Questions
  - Dublin Murder Trials—Compensation to Mr. Field, 26, 27
  - Law and Justice—Criminal Trials, 741;—Petty Sessions Clerk for Grange, Co. Sligo, 890, 891
  - Law and Police—Constabulary at Tullamore, 1154
  - Magistracy—High Sheriff of Drogheda, 747, 1315, 1317, 1683, 1684
  - Poor Law—Election of Rate Collector for the Boyle Union, 731, 732, 733
- Ireland—Commissioners of National Education, Motion for a Paper, 394
- Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 1869
- Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 404
- Representation of the People, Comm. 1113, 1114
- Sites for Churches, Teachers' Residences, &c. (Ireland), 2R. 408; Amendt. 415, 416, 420, 421, 431

KINGSCOTE, Colonel R. N. F., *Gloucestershire, W.*
- Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *add. cl.* 1258

LABOUCHERE, Mr. H., *Northampton*
- Army Estimates—Yeomanry Cavalry, 1427
- Disposal of the Dead (Regulations), 2R. 991, 993
- Egypt—Questions
  - Conference, The, 1169
  - Mr. O'Kelly, M.P. for Roscommon, 1039, 1040
  - Secret Agreements with Foreign Powers, 35
- Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Questions
  - Foreign Correspondents to the Mahdi, 1165
  - General Gordon, 1162, 1482, 1483
  - Independence of the Soudan, 1691
  - Relief of Khartoum and Berber, 767
  - Sinkat, Fate of the Captives at, 1325
  - "Times" Correspondent at Khartoum, 468, 469
- Government Assurance and Annuities Act, 1882—Insurances under the New Tables, 1050
- Parks (Metropolis) — Rabbits in Richmond Park, 1849
- Parliament—Business of the House, 480
- Parliament—Privilege (Stockton Carrs Railway Bill), Res. 21
- Representation of the People, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1494
- Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 231; Amendt. 234, 235, 236, 237, 1141
  - Royal Palaces, 192; Amendt. 193, 200

Land Drainage Provisional Orders Bill

(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)

c. Report * *May* 7 [Bill 137]
Read 3° * *May* 8
l. Read 1ª * *May* 9 (No. 82)

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—*Irish Land Commission*
- *Grants of Probate and Administration,* Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *April* 29, 886
- *Irish Land Commission Court (Appeals)—Case of George M'Cord,* Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 24, 459
- *Sittings at Virginia, Co. Cavan,* Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 8, 1694

Sub-Commissioners
- *Appeal from Decision of Sub-Commissioners,* Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 22, 280
- *Instructions to the Sub-Commissioners,* Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 8, 26
- *Longford—Cases in Granard,* Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 25, 651
- *Mr. William Gray,* Question, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 9, 1845
- *Sittings of the Sub-Commissioners on Good Friday,* Question, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *May* 8, 1678

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 (Purchase Clauses) Bill
(*Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. William Shaw, Mr. Charles Russell, Mr. Lea, Mr. Findlater*)
c. 2R., after short debate, Debate adjourned *April* 30, 997 [Bill 23]

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—The Purchase Clauses — Advances to Owners
Moved, "That having regard to the announced intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a measure to secure greater facilities to tenants in Ireland for the purchase of their holdings, this House is of opinion that any such measure as is proposed by Her Majesty's Government should be so framed as to afford to those landowners of Ireland who have suffered pecuniary loss by the operation of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, facilities for raising money to pay off charges affecting their estates on as easy terms as would by the said measure be secured to purchasing tenants, or compensation in respect of such pecuniary loss in any way that may be deemed advisable" (*The Lord Castletown*) *April* 29, 843; after debate, Motion withdrawn

Law and Justice (England and Wales) (*Questions*)
Denis Deasy, a Convict, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 8, 1680
Peter M'Knight, a Convict Lunatic, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 5, 1299
Dormant Funds in Chancery, Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *May* 6, 1474
Police—Licensed Victuallers as Sureties, Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 1, 1044
Sentences of Flogging for Begging, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 8, 1679
Sentences on Children—Reformatories, Questions, Mr. M'Laren, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *May* 2, 1149
Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879—Flogging, Question, Mr. Inderwick; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *April* 24, 451
The Oxford County Court—The Secretary of State for the Home Department, Notice of Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *April* 25, 646; Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *April* 28, 727

Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. Order for Committee read, and discharged *May* 9, 1876 [Bill 4]
Moved, "That the Bill be referred to the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure" (*Mr. Attorney General*); after short debate, Question put; A. 179, N. 135; M. 44 (D. L., 91)

Lawrence, Mr. Alderman W., *London*
Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 229, 231, 237
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. 528, 531

Lawson, Sir W., *Carlisle*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon's Mission—The Vote of Censure (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), 1297
"Times" Correspondent at Khartoum, 470
Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland), 2R. 1653, 1654
Parliament—Parliamentary Elections (City of Hereford), Motion for a Select Committee, 1214
Parliament—Privilege (Stockton Carrs Railway Bill), Res. Amendt. 22

Leahy, Mr. J., *Kildare*
Ireland—Questions
Crime and Outrage—Outrages in Tipperary, 126
Law and Police—Constabulary at Armagh, 1159
Poor Law—Irregularities in Belfast Workhouse, 127;—Newry Union—Salary of the Master of the Workhouse, 1848

Leamy, Mr. E., *Waterford*
Dominion of Canada—State-aided Emigrants at Toronto, 889, 1852
Ireland—Prisons—Deaths in Waterford Gaol, 279, 280, 495, 498
Law and Justice—Arrest of P. N. Fitzgerald, 494
Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 668
Parliament—Morning Sittings, 488
Public Health (Members and Officers), 2R. 593
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. Amendt. 589
Stockton Carrs Railway, 3R. 643

Lefevre, Right Hon. G. J. Shaw (Chief Commissioner of Works), *Reading*
Hyde Park Corner Improvements, 2R. Bill withdrawn, 1451, 1452
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner—Arch on Constitution Hill, 1329
The Wellington Statue, 647, 648, 649, 737, 738
Parks (Metropolis)—Rabbits in Richmond Park, 1849, 1850
Parliament—Palace of Westminster—Westminster Hall (West Front), 730
Public Offices—New War Office and Admiralty—New Designs, 1034
Science and Art—Building Extension of the National Gallery, 458, 459
Stockton Carrs Railway, 3R. 642
Supply—Marlborough House, 205, 206, 208
Royal Palaces, 198, 200, 201, 204
Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 209, 210, 216, 218, 223, 224, 232, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 1136, 1145

LEIGHTON, Sir B., *Shropshire, S.*
  Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases, Comm. 1882
  Local Government Bill—Floods Prevention, 747
  Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 660
  Parliament—Business of the House, 757
    Rules and Orders of the House, &c. 1167
  Stockton Carrs Railway, 3R. 640
  Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. 582, 583

LEIGHTON, Mr. S., *Shropshire, N.*
  Education Department — Over-pressure in Board Schools, 456
    School Accommodation in Lambeth, 459
  Intermediate and Higher Education (Wales)—Aberystwith College, 455
  Intestates Estates—Crown's "Nominee" Account, 1473
  Law and Justice—Dormant Funds in Chancery, 1474
  Post Office Officials—Appointment of Solicitors to Postmasterships, 190
  Representation of the People, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1541; Amendt. 1543, 1545, 1546

LENNOX, Right Hon. Lord H. G. C. G., *Chichester*
  Navy Estimates — Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1802
    Scientific Branch, 1805
    Seamen and Marines, 1755, 1788
  Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 1133, 1134

LEWIS, Mr. C. E., *Londonderry*
  Ireland, State of—Riots at Londonderry—Commission of Inquiry, 124
  Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 1866, 1867, 1868
  Post Office—Acceleration of the Irish Mails, 1701

LEWISHAM, Viscount, *Kent, W.*
  Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Pensions—Sergeant Instructor Lyne, 1694, 1695
  Army Estimates—Divine Service, 1352
    Volunteer Corps, 1437

Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. M'Lagan, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Waddy, Mr. Dick-Peddie, Mr. Noel, Mr. Mackintosh*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *May* 7, 1595
  Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "this House, while fully recognizing the urgent call for legislation to give to local communities effectual control over the drink traffic, does not deem it expedient to proceed with a Bill which offers to ratepayers no other remedy than total prohibition" (*Mr. C. S. Parker*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 65, N. 148; M. 83 (D. L. 87)
  Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" Moved, "That the Debate [*cont.*

Liquor Traffic Local Veto (*Scotland*) *Bill*—cont.
  be now adjourned" (*Mr. Thomas Collins*); Question put; A. 64, N. 113; M. 49 (D. L. 88)
  Question again proposed, "That those words be there added;" Debate adjourned [Bill 12]

Literature, Science, and Art
  Building Extension of the National Gallery, Questions, Mr. Coope; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *April* 24, 458
  The Farnese Hercules, Question, Mr. R. Power; Answer, Mr. Mundella *May* 8, 1697

LLOYD, Mr. M., *Beaumaris*
  Church of England—Church in Wales—Disestablishment, 651
  Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases, Comm. 1877

Local and Imperial Taxation
  Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 25, To leave out from "That," add "accepting the principle which would adjust every man's taxation to his ability, this House desires that Local and Imperial Taxation shall (whenever they are coincident) be levied upon a common basis and by a common measure of value; that Imperial taxes shall, as regards the products of property, be (like local rates) charged upon their net or rateable annual value, and that industrial incomes shall be allowed, prior to assessment for Income Tax, an abatement, in compensation of their perishable nature" (*Mr. J. G. Hubbard*) *v.*, 669; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 73, N. 35; M. 38 (D. L. 71)
  Personal Explanation, Mr. J. G. Hubbard: Reply, Mr. Gladstone *May* 1, 1061

Local Government Bill—Floods Prevention —Legislation
  Question, Sir Baldwyn Leighton; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *April* 28, 747

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Bandon Waterworks) Bill
(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 5 [Bill 188]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Dundalk Waterworks) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Monson*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *April* 25 (No. 69)
  Read 2ª * *May* 8

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Naas, &c.) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord President*)
l. Read 2ª * *May* 6 (No. 55)

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (Carrick-on-Suir) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord President*)
l. Read 2ª, after debate *May* 6, 1454 (No. 54)

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (Enniscorthy, &c.) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Monson*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *April* 24 (No. 64)

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Unions of North Dublin, &c.) Bill (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 5 [Bill 189]

Local Government Provisional Orders Bill (*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Royal Assent *April* 28 [47 *Vict.* c. iv]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) (Dorking and Hendon, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 5 [Bill 190]

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (Alton-Barnes, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Report * *May* 7 [Bill 147]
Considered * *May* 8
Read 3° * *May* 9

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) (Bovey-Tracey, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Report * *May* 7 [Bill 148]
Considered * *May* 8
Read 3° * *May* 9

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) (Ashill, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Report * *May* 7 [Bill 149]
Considered * *May* 8
Read 3° * *May* 9

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) (Belchalwell, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Report * *May* 7 [Bill 150]
Consideration deferred, after short debate *May* 8, 1669
Consideration deferred *May* 9, 1837

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5) (Acton, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Report * *May* 7 [Bill 151]
Considered * *May* 8
Read 3° * *May* 9

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6) (Ashen, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Report * *May* 7 [Bill 152]
Considered * *May* 8
Read 3° * *May* 9

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) (Abberley, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Report * *May* 7 [Bill 153]
Considered * *May* 8
Read 3° * *May* 9

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 8) (Abergwilly, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Report * *May* 7 [Bill 154]
Considered * *May* 8
Read 3° * *May* 9

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9) (Parishes of Ashen, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 5 [Bill 191]

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 10) (Parishes of Charley, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 5 [Bill 192]

London Government Bill
(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. George Russell*)
c. Adjourned Debate on Question [7th April], "That leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better Government of London, and other purposes connected therewith" (*Lord Richard Grosvenor*) resumed *April* 8, 40; after debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * [Bill 171]

London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill
c. Moved, "That the Chairman of the Committee of Standing Orders be appointed Chairman of the Committee on the said Bill" (*Sir Arthur Otway*) *May* 5; Motion agreed to

LONGFORD, Earl of
Army (Annual), 2R. 257; 3R. 446

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Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (The Labourers' Act) (Carrick-on-Suir), 2R. 1454
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Education Department—Board School Districts, 1687
Local and Imperial Taxation, Res. 690
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Lowther, Right Hon. J., *Lincolnshire, N.*
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Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 1142

Lowther, Mr. J. W., *Rutland*
Metropolis — Improvements at Hyde Park Corner—Arch on Constitution Hill, 1329

Lunacy Laws
Moved to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, the existing state of the lunacy laws is eminently unsatisfactory, and constitutes a serious danger to the liberty of the subject" (*The Earl of Milltown*) *May* 5, 1268; after debate, Motion withdrawn

Lynch, Mr. N., *Sligo Co.*
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McArthur, Mr. A., *Leicester*
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M‘Carthy, Mr. J., *Longford*
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McGarel-Hogg, Sir J. M., *Truro*
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Mac Iver, Mr. D., *Birkenhead*
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McLagan, Mr. P., *Linlithgowshire*
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McLaren, Mr. C. B. B., *Stafford*
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Macliver, Mr. P. S., *Plymouth*
Navy Estimates—Seamen and Marines, 1731

Madagascar
Observations, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Reply, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; debate thereon *May* 2, 1220

Makins, Colonel W. T., *Essex, S.*
Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, Res. Amendt. 1554, 1557
Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 1873, 1875

Malmesbury, Earl of
Egypt (Events in the Soudan) — General Gordon, 274, 275

Malta (Constitution and Administration) —Civil and Military Governorship
Question, Observations, Earl De La Warr; Reply, The Earl of Derby; short debate thereon *April* 29, 840; Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *May* 2, 1160; Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *May* 5, 1322

Manners, Right Hon. Lord J. J. R., *Leicestershire, N.*
Asia (Central)—Russian Advance—Sarakhs, 1688
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 304, 355, 356
Egypt — Events in the Soudan — General Gordon, 899, 1164
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Marjoribanks, Hon. E., *Berwickshire*
Harbours of Refuge—Convict Labour, 1298

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister
Moved, " That, in view of the painful and unnecessary hardships inflicted upon large numbers of people in this Country by the Law prohibiting Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, it is the opinion of this House that a measure of relief is urgently called for " (*Mr. Broadhurst*) *May* 6, 1548
Amendt. to leave out from " That," add " an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the Laws relating to Marriages within the prohibited degrees " (*Colonel Makins*) *v.*; Question proposed, " That the words, &c.; " after long debate, Question put; A. 238, N. 127; M. 111 (D. L. 86)
Main Question put, and agreed to

Marriages Legalization Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *May* 5 (No. 76)
Read 2ª * *May* 8

Marriages Legalisation (Wood Green Congregational Church) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *April* 8 [Bill 174]
Read 2° * *April* 21
Committee *; Report *April* 22
Read 3° * *April* 24
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Carrington*) *April* 25 (No. 66)
Read 2ª, after short debate *May* 2, 1147
Committee *; Report *May* 5
Read 3ª * *May* 6

Marriages Validity—Pretended Clerks in Holy Orders
Question, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Answer, The Lord Chancellor *May* 6, 1468

Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment Bill
(*The Marquess of Salisbury*)
l. Read 1ª * *April* 21 (No. 60)
Read 2ª, after short debate *April* 29, 839

MARTIN, Mr. P., *Kilkenny Co.*
  Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 881
  Ireland—Convent National Schools (Remuneration to Teachers), Res. 378
  Sites for Churches, Teachers' Residences, &c. (Ireland), 2R. 423

MASTER, Mr. T. W. CHESTER-, *Cirencester*
  Army Estimates—Militia and Militia Reserve, 1411

Matrimonial Causes Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General*)
c. Read 1°* *April* 8 [Bill 175]
  Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *April* 21, 247; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Warton*); after short debate, Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

Mauritius
  Constitution and Government, Question, Mr. Wodehouse; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *May* 1, 1036
  Punishment of Flogging, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *May* 8, 1670

MAXWELL, Sir H. E., *Wigtonshire*
  Army Estimates—Divine Service, 1335, 1339, 1343; Motion for reporting Progress, 1351, 1352
    Militia and Militia Reserve, Amendt. 1407, 1410
  Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 926, 927
  Intestates Estates, 2R. 246
  Local and Imperial Taxation, Res. 687
  Portugal—Congo Treaty, 1157
  Post Office—Post Office Officials—Appointment of Solicitors to Postmasterships, 174, 178
    Transferred Telegraph Clerks, 1154
  Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 212, 238

MAYNE, Mr. T., *Tipperary*
  Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 875, 876

MELDON, Mr. C. H., *Kildare*
  Ireland—City of Dublin—Sanitary Inquiries, 277
    Primary Education — National School Teachers, 400
  Ireland—Convent National Schools (Remuneration of Teachers), Res. 366

Merchant Shipping Bill—The Dominion of Canada
  Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *May* 1, 1041

METROPOLIS (*Questions*)
  Metropolitan Water Supply, Question, Mr. Gregory; Answer, Mr. W. M. Torrens *May* 1, 1039
  Street Traffic—Congestion at Knightsbridge, Question, Viscount Newport; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg *May* 1, 1038

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METROPOLIS—*cont.*
  The Parks
    The Rabbits in Richmond Park, Questions, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *May* 9, 1849

Metropolitan Asylums Board—The Homerton Small-pox Hospital
  Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *May* 5, 1311

Metropolitan Board of Works (Thames Crossings) Bill (by Order)
c. Select Committee nominated *May* 7; List of the Committee, 1656

Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order (Streatham Common) Bill
(*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Royal Assent *April* 28 [47 *Vict.* c. ii]

Metropolitan Improvements—Hyde Park Corner
  The Wellington Statue, Questions, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Speaker *April* 25, 647; Questions, Mr. Puleston, Sir Robert Peel; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *April* 28, 737; Question, Lord Stratheden and Campbell; Answer, Lord Thurlow; short debate thereon *May* 8, 1659
  The Arch on Constitution Hill, Questions, Mr. J. W. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *May* 5, 1329

Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement) Bill
  Question, Observations, The Earl of Belmore; Reply, Lord Sudeley *April* 21, 119

Mexico—Resumption of Diplomatic Relations with England
  Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 24, 454

MIDLETON, Viscount
  Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (The Labourers' Act) (Carrick-on-Suir), 2R. 1455

MILLTOWN, Earl of
  House of Lords—Electric Light, 1467
  Lunacy Laws, Res. 1268, 1291

MOLLOY, Mr. B. C., *King's Co.*
  Board of Works (Ireland), 2R. 240
  Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 234

MONK, Mr. C. J., *Gloucester City*
  Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 1859
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Moore, Mr. A. J., *Clonmel*
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Morgan, Right Hon. G. Osborne (Judge Advocate General), *Denbighshire*
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Morley, Earl of (Under Secretary of State for War)
Army (Annual), 2R. 257, 258 ; 3R. 446
Egypt (War in the Soudan)—Vote of Thanks to the Officers and Men of H.M. Sea and Land Forces, 1294

Mundella, Right Hon. A. J. (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Sheffield*
Charity Commissioners—Allotments Extension Act, 1882—Holy Cross, Clent, Charity Lands, 137, 184
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  Over-pressure in Board Schools, 457
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Sale of Poisons Bill, 1676
Science and Art Department—Working Men's Institute, Belfast—Mr. Robert Barklie, 1687
Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 1129

Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill (*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be read 2° To-morrow, at Two of the clock" *April* 24, 586
Amendt. to leave out "To-morrow, at Two of the clock," insert "upon Monday next" (*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 59, N. 21; M. 38 (D. L. 69)
Main Question put, and agreed to
2R., after debate, Debate adjourned *April* 25, 655
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [25th April], "That the Bill be now read 2°;" Moved, "That the Debate be further adjourned till To-morrow, at Two of the clock" *April* 28, 829
Amendt. to leave out "To-morrow, at Two of the clock," insert "upon Thursday" (*Mr. Warton*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 127, N. 77; M. 50 (D. L. 75)
Original Question again proposed, 835; after short debate, original Question put, and agreed to
Debate resumed *May* 9, 1855

[*cont.*

Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill—cont.
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Warton*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Moved, "That the Bill be referred to the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure"
Amendt. to leave out from "referred to," add "a Committee of the whole House" (*Sir R. Assheton Cross*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 206, N. 149; M. 57 (D. L. 90)
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill referred to the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure

Municipal Rates Bill
(*Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Whitley, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Dodds*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *April* 23 [Bill 178]

National Debt (Conversion of Stock)—Reduction of Interest
Questions, Mr. J. G. Hubbard, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May* 1, 1036

National Debt (Conversion of Stock) Bill
(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Resolutions in Committee *May* 1, 1146
Resolutions reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1°* *May* 2 [Bill 186]

Navy (*Questions*)
H.M.S. "Benbow," Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *April* 24, 453
H.M.S. "Garnet"—The "Grenada People" Newspaper, Questions, Mr. Deasy, Mr. Small; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *May* 6, 1479
Lieutenants of over Ten Years' Seniority—Half-Pay, Question, Observations, The Earl of Belmore; Reply, The Earl of Northbrook *April* 28, 725
Royal Marine Artillery, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *April* 22, 286
The Gunboat "Forward," Question, Mr. Tomlinson; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *May* 1, 1034

Netherlands, The—See title *Straits Settlements—The Rajah of Tenom—Crew of the "Nisero"*

Newdegate, Mr. C. N., *Warwickshire, N.*
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 298, 302, 337
Ireland—Convent National Schools (Remuneration of Teachers), Res. 365, 368
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Newfoundland Fishing Treaties, The—Report of the Joint Commission
Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *May* 1, 1026

Newport, Viscount, *Shropshire, N.*
Street Traffic (Metropolis) — Congestion at Knightsbridge, 1038

Noel, Mr. E., *Dumfries, &c.*
Army—Queen's Regulations—Political Meetings, 1692
Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland), 2R. 1649

Nolan, Colonel J. P., *Galway Co.*
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Northbrook, Earl of (First Lord of the Admiralty)
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Northcote, Right Hon. Sir S. H., *Devon, N.*
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  Conference, The, 757, 1055
  Events in the Soudan—Berber and Khartoum, 478;—General Gordon, 37, 295
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Northcote, Mr. H. S., *Exeter*
Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 833

North Metropolitan Tramways Bill (by Order)
c. Read 2°, after short debate *April* 24, 450

North Sea Fisheries Convention—Spirit Traffic
Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 24, 455

O'Beirne, Colonel F., *Leitrim*
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Army Estimates—Yeomanry Cavalry, Amendt. 1426
Ireland—Post Office—Postal Accommodation in Leitrim, 743

O'Brien, Sir P., *King's Co.*
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O'Brien, Mr. W., *Mallow*
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  Poor Law—Election of Guardians—Kilmeen Electoral Division, Kanturk Union, 891, 1047, 1048;—Election of Rate Collector for the Boyle Union, 731, 732, 733, 1471
  Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Compensation for Malicious Burning—Grand Jury at Fermanagh, 1301;—Proclamations—Meetings at Knockmagree, 888, 889
  Prisons — Mountjoy Prison — Warders, 1302
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  Queen's College, Cork—The Visitors, 1051; —Professor of Anatomy, 1306, 1307
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  Royal Irish Constabulary — County Inspector French, 1678, 1679
  Royal Irish Constabulary Act (6 & 7 Will. IV. cap. 14, sec. 13)—Extra Police for the City of Cork, 88, 89, 95, 108, 110
  Royal University—Examinations for the Indian Civil Service, 1693;—Syllabus of Lectures, &c. 1030, 1848
  State of Ireland—Meeting of the National League—Intrusion of Police at Queenstown, 649, 650;—Riots at Castlerea, 23
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O'Donnell, Mr. F. H., *Dungarvan*
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O'Sullivan, Mr. W. H., *Limerick Co.*
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Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order Bill
(*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Read 1ª * *April* 21 (No. 61)
Read 2ª * *April* 29
Committee * ; Report *May* 1
Read 3ª * *May* 2

Paget, Mr. R. H., *Somersetshire, Mid*
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Parliament—Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Morning Sittings, 1187
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PALMER, Mr. G., *Reading*
Burials—Nonconformist Funerals at Maidenhead, 1024

PALMER, Mr. J. H., *Lincoln*
Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 1861, 1862

PARKER, Mr. C. S., *Perth*
Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland), 2R. Amendt. 1610, 1613

Parliament
LORDS—
Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Select Committee appointed and nominated; List of the Committee; short debate thereon *May* 5, 1267
"*The Attorney General* v. *Charles Bradlaugh, M.P."—Action at Bar,* Petition, Observations, Lord Bramwell *May* 1, 1012
Parliamentary Papers—Delay in Delivery, Question, The Earl of Galloway; Answer, Earl Granville; Short debate thereon *May* 6, 1469
House of Lords—The Electric Light, Questions, The Earl of Milltown, The Earl of Longford; Answers, Lord Sudeley *May* 6, 1467
Parliament—Representation of Ireland, Resolution, Lord Waveney *May* 6, 1456; after short debate, Moved, "That the Lord Waveney be not now heard" (*The Marquess of Salisbury*); on Question ? agreed to

COMMONS—
Poole Election, Return amended *April* 22, 295

PRIVATE BILLS
Ordered, That Standing Orders 129 and 39 be suspended, and that the time for depositing Petitions against Private Bills, or against any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, and for depositing duplicates of any Documents relating to any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, be extended to Monday the 21st instant (*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) *April* 8

"*The Attorney General* v. *Charles Bradlaugh, M.P."—Action at Bar,* Petition of Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., praying that an Officer of the House may attend at the hearing of a cause commenced by the Attorney General, on behalf of Her Majesty, against the Petitioner, and produce the Journal of the House for the year 1882 (presented on Thursday last): Ordered as prayed *May* 6

NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE
Adjournment of the House (*Rule* 2)—*A Proposed Morning Sitting,* Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. J. G. Hubbard*) *April* 24, 481; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*
PRIVILEGE
Stockton Carrs Railway Bill, Moved, "That the issue of the Circular concerning the Stockton Carrs Railway Bill, by the honourable Member for Stockton, is a gross breach of the Privileges of this House" (*Lord Randolph Churchill*) *April* 8, 11
After short debate, Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "the honourable Member for Stockton having apologised for the issue of the Circular concerning the Stockton Carrs Railway Bill, this House do now proceed to the further consideration of the Private Business appointed for this day" (*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*) *v.*; Question put, "That the words, &c.;" A. 99, N. 139; M. 40 (D. L. 61)
Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS
Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *April* 21, 142; Ministerial Statement, Sir Charles W. Dilke *April* 23, 403; Questions, Mr. J. G. Hubbard, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Gorst, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Speaker *April* 24, 480; Questions, Mr. W. H. Smith, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *April* 25, 653; Questions, Mr. Brodrick; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *April* 28, 755; Questions, Mr. Heneage, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Sclater-Booth; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *May* 1, 1062; Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. E. Stanhope, Mr. Sexton, Lord John Manners, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *May* 2, 1170; Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 8, 1701; Question, Observations, Sir Stafford Northcote; Reply, Mr. Gladstone *May* 9, 1852; —*The Merchant Shipping Bill,* Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *April* 28, 746;—*Morning Sittings and Select Committees,* Question, Sir Baldwyn Leighton; Answer, Mr. Speaker *April* 28, 757;—*The "Count-Out" on Tuesday,* Questions, Sir John Hay, Mr. Mac Iver; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *May* 1, 1060

SITTING AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE
Morning Sittings, Moved, "That, until the end of June, this House will meet on Tuesdays and Fridays at Two o'clock" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *May* 2, 1171
Amendt. to leave out after "That," add "previous to the first of June in each year, no Morning Sitting on Tuesday or Friday shall be taken except by Resolution of the House moved, after Notice in each case, at Half-past Four" (*Mr. Arthur Balfour*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 216, N. 103; M. 113 (D. L. 81)
Main Question again proposed, 1192; after short debate, main Question put, and agreed to

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*Sitting and Adjournment of the House*—cont.
Morning Sittings—Keeping a House, Question, Sir Baldwyn Leighton; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 2, 1167

The Easter Recess—Adjournment of the House, Moved, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn till Monday the 21st of April" (*The Marquess of Hartington*); Question put; A. 86, N. 27; M. 59 (D. L. 62)

Parliamentary Elections — Polling Districts, Question, Mr. F. J. Foljambe; Answer, The Attorney General *May* 8, 1691
Parliamentary Papers — Statement of Cost, Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. Courtney *May* 5, 1308

General Gordon's Mission—The Vote of Censure (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*), Question, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 5, 1330

Palace of Westminster
Westminster Hall (*The West Front*), Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *April* 28, 730

***Parliament—Parliamentary Election* (*City of Hereford*)**
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *May* 2, To leave out from "That," add "a Select Committee be appointed to investigate the circumstances connected with the withdrawal of the Petition against the last Parliamentary Election for the City of Hereford, and to report thereon to the House" (*Mr. Raikes*) *v.*, 1196; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 107, N. 55; M. 52 (D. L. 82)

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS
Took the Oath for the First Time
May 2—The Lord Bishop of Liverpool

Sat First
April 21—The Earl of Abingdon, after the death of his father
April 29—The Duke of Marlborough, after the death of his father
May 1—The Lord North, after the death of his mother

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS
New Writs Issued
April 8—*For* Poole, *v.* Charles Schreiber, esquire, deceased
May 7—*For* Kent County (Mid-Division), *v.* Sir Edmund Filmer, baronet, Chiltern Hundreds

New Member Sworn
April 21—William James Harris, esquire, *Poole*

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork City*
Army (Annual), Consid. *add. cl.* 70, 71
Egypt—Mr. O'Kelly, M.P. for Roscommon, 756, 1040

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PARNELL, Mr. C. S.—*cont.*
Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary Act (6 & 7 Will. IV., cap. 14, sec. 13)—Extra Police for the City of Cork, 72, 82, 83
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 (Purchase Clauses), 2R. 1003
Parliament—Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Morning Sittings, 1194

PATRICK, Mr. R. W. COCHRAN-, *Ayrshire, N.*
Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland), 2R. 1633

PEASE, Mr. A., *Whitby*
Stockton Carrs Railway, 3R. 639

PEDDIE, Mr. J. DICK-, *Kilmarnock, &c.*
Scotland—Procurators Fiscal, Res. 171
Supply—Royal Palaces, 201

PEEL, Right Hon. A. W. (*see* SPEAKER, The)

PEEL, Right Hon. Sir R., *Huntingdon*
Metropolitan Improvements—Hyde Park Corner—The Wellington Statue, 647, 648, 737
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, 650
Suez Canal Company—Arrangement with the Eastern Shipowners' Association, 39
Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 216, 217, 239; Amendt. 1123, 1127, 1129, 1134
Switzerland—Religious Persecution, 647

PELL, Mr. A., *Leicestershire, S.*
Parliament—Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Morning Sittings, 1180
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. 550, 551

PEMBERTON, Mr. E. L., *Kent, E.*
Stockton Carrs Railway, 3R. 629, 630

PERCY, Right Hon. Earl, *Northumberland, N.*
Army—Examinations for Promotion—Officers Failing to Pass, 742, 1850
Army Estimates—Divine Service, 1337, 1338, 1343
    Militia and Militia Reserve, 1410, 1413
Burials—Nonconformist Funerals at Maidenhead, 1025
Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, Res. 1573, 1574, 1576

Peru—Action of the Foreign Diplomatic Body
Questions, Mr. Williamson, Sir William M'Arthur; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 8, 29

PHILIPS, Mr. R. N., *Bury*
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 915

PHIPPS, Mr. C. P., *Westbury*
Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, Res. 1568

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Presented; read 1^{a}* *April* 25 (No. 70)
Read 2^{a}* *May* 8

Playfair, Right Hon. Sir Lyon, *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*
Disposal of the Dead (Regulations), 2R. 982

Plunket, Right Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*
Ireland—Commissioners of National Education, Motion for a Paper, 395
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 (Purchase Clauses), 2R. 1003
Sites for Churches, Teachers' Residences, &c. (Ireland), 2R. 443

Portugal—The Congo River
Question, Mr. Jacob Bright; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 8, 36
Rumoured Disturbances, Questions, Mr. A. H. Brown, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 28, 739

Portugal—The Congo Treaty
Questions, Mr. Houldsworth, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 1, 1032; Questions, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 2, 1157; Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Jacob Bright; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Gladstone *May* 8, 1699
Moved, "That the petition of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce against the ratification of the Congo Treaty, presented to the House on the 22nd of April last, be printed" (*The Earl of Belmore*) *May* 9, 1827; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Post Office (*Questions*)
Appointment of Solicitors to Postmasterships, Observations, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Reply, Mr. R. W. Duff; short debate thereon *April* 21, 174; Observations, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Reply, Mr. Courtney; short debate thereon, 188
Civil Service Prayer Union, Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *April* 29, 885
The Irish Mail Service, Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *May* 8, 1691
Acceleration of the Irish Mails, Questions, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *May* 8, 1701
Contracts—The West India Mail Service, Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *May* 8, 1696
Government Savings Banks—Rate of Interest, Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *May* 5, 1325
Weights and Scales, Questions, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *May* 8, 1675

Telegraph Department
The Telegraph Service, Questions, Dr. Cameron; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *April* 22, 278
Transferred Telegraph Clerks, Question, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *May* 2, 1154

[*cont.*

Post Office—*cont.*
Telephone Companies
Advertisements of Telephone Companies, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *May* 9, 1846
Northern District Telephone Company, Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *May* 2, 1155
Telegraph Service Estimates — Telephonic Communication, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Courtney *April* 25, 650
Telephone Exchanges, Questions, Mr. Gorst, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *May* 5, 1307
Telephone Licences, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *May* 1, 1027
The Sunderland Trunk Wire, Question, Mr. Storey; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *May* 8, 1695

Power, Mr. R., *Waterford*
Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 876
India (Madras)—Captain E. A. Campbell, 1157
Ireland—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 753
State of—Meeting of the National League—Intrusion of Police at Kilrosenty, Co. Waterford, 1326
Literature, Science, and Art—The Farnese Hercules, 1697
Representation of the People, Comm. 1093

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882
Compensation for Malicious Burning—Case of Laurence Reiley, Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 21, 132
The Grand Jury of Fermanagh, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 5, 1301
Compensation for Malicious Injury—The Borough of Tralee, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 8, 24

Proclamations — Meeting at Knockmagree, Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 29, 888
Sec. 14—*Searches for Arms*, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April* 8, 23
Sec. 18—*Extra Police, Co. Longford*, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 5, 1305
Summonses at Newtownbarry, Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 5, 1310

Price, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
Jamaica—Legislative Council—Constitutional Reform, 691, 1688
Navy Estimates—Seamen and Marines, 1725, 1728, 1729
Parliament—Morning Sitting, 483, 488

Prisons (England and Wales)—Convict Prison Warders
Questions, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answers, Mr. Hibbert *April* 28, 738

Public Health
Borough of Leicester—Drainage of Adjoining Rural Districts, Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, Mr. George Russell *May* 2, 1166
Cholera, Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir Charles W. Dilke *May* 1, 1063
Deaths from Charbon, Question, Mr. Grantham; Answer, Mr. George Russell *May* 1, 1048
Dwellings of the Poor—Clerkenwell, Question, Mr. Firth; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *May* 2, 1169

Public Health (Confirmation of Bye Laws) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. George Russell*) *April* 8, 116; after debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * [Bill 173]
Read 2° *April* 21, 247
Committee *; Report *April* 24
Read 3° * *April* 25
l. Read 1ª * *April* 28 (No. 73)

Public Health (Confirmation of Bye Laws) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *May* 2 (No. 76)
Read 2ª * *May* 6
Committee *; Report *May* 8
Read 3ª * *May* 9

Public Health (Members and Officers) Bill
(*Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Long*)
c. Read 2°, after debate *April* 24, 592 [Bill 164]

Public Offices—The New War Office and Admiralty—New Designs
Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *May* 1, 1033; Observations, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 9, 1855

PUGH, Mr. L. P., *Cardiganshire*
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 302, 921; *cl.* 3, 932

PULESTON, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
Contagious Diseases Acts, 1866-9, 729
Metropolitan Improvements—Hyde Park Corner—The Wellington Statue, 737, 738
Ways and Means—Financial Statement—Gold Coinage—Melting for Manufacturing Purposes, 1320

PULLEY, Mr. J., *Hereford*
Parliament — Parliamentary Election (City of Hereford), Motion for a Select Committee, 1200, 1203, 1209, 1215

Purchase of Land (Ireland) Bill
Question, Mr. T. A. Dickson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 9, 1854

RAIKES, Right Hon. H. C., *Cambridge University*
Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 658, 1875
Parliament — Parliamentary Election (City of Hereford), Motion for a Select Committee, 1196, 1200, 1201, 1205, 1206, 1211
Parliament—Privilege (Stockton Carrs Railway Bill), Res. 17
Representation of the People, Comm. Amendt. 759
Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 233

Railway Commissioners—Continuation of Powers—Legislation
Question, Viscount Folkestone; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *May* 5, 1330

RAMSAY, Mr. J., *Falkirk, &c.*
Harbours of Refuge on the North-East Coast —Report of the Sub-Committee, 739

RANKIN, Mr. J., *Leominster*
Parliament — Parliamentary Election (City of Hereford), Motion for a Select Committee, 1208
Representation of the People, Comm. 799

READ, Mr. Clare S., *Norfolk, W.*
Charity Commissioners—Allotments Extension Act, 1882, 186
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Dairies, &c. Order, 1879 — Registration of Cowhouses, 1052
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1236; *add. cl.* 1243, 1256
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, Comm. 563

Real Assets Administration Bill
(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Warton*)
c. Considered, after short debate *April* 8, 117
Read 3°, after debate *April* 21, 249 [Bill 98]
l. Read 1ª * *April* 22 (No. 62)

REDESDALE, Earl of (Chairman of Committees)
Clerk of the Parliaments, Office of, and Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Appointment and Nomination of Select Committee, 1267
Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment, 2R. Amendt. 1819
Parliamentary Representation (Ireland), 259, 260; Res. 1456, 1457

Redistribution of Seats Bill
(*Admiral Sir John Hay, Mr. James A. Campbell*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *May* 5, 1453
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Buchanan*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" [House counted out] [Bill 131]

REDMOND, Mr. J. E., *New Ross*
Ireland—Convent National Schools (Remuneration of Teachers), Res. 372

REDMOND, Mr. W. H. K., *Wexford*
Army Estimates—Divine Service, 1361
Jamaica—Legislative Council—Constitutional Reform, 723

REED, Sir E. J., *Cardiff*
Navy Estimates—Seamen and Marines, 1714, 1718, 1723
Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 228

REID, Mr. R. T., *Hereford*
Parliament — Parliamentary Election (City of Hereford), Motion for a Select Committee, 1201, 1203, 1205, 1206, 1211, 1214

Representation of the People Bill
(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate*)
c. Order for Committee read *April* 28, 759 [Bill 119]
Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to make provision for the redistribution of seats between the existing constituencies, and for the representation of populous urban sanitary districts at present unrepresented" (*Mr. Raikes*); after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Brodrick*); after further debate, Question put; A. 71, N. 108; M. 37 (D. L. 72)
Original Question again proposed, 795; after debate, original Question put; A. 147, N. 174; M. 27 (D. L. 73)
Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to enlarge the scope of the Bill, so as to provide, where desirable, for the extension of the Boundaries of the Parliamentary Boroughs" (*Mr. Tomlinson*), 821; after short debate, Question put; A. 132, N. 158; M. 26 (D. L. 74)
Moved, "That further Proceeding upon going into Committee on the Bill be adjourned" (*Mr. R. N. Fowler*); Question put, and agreed to
Order read, for resuming Proceedings upon going into Committee *May* 1, 1065; after long debate, Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and agreed to, 1121; Committee—R.P.
Committee [First Night]—R.P. *May* 6, 1484

Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) Bill
(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan*)
c. Adjourned Debate on Question [21st March] "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," resumed *April* 22, 360; after short debate, Debate adjourned [Bill 124]

RICHARD, Mr. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*
Burial Acts—Parochial Burial Places, 1326

RICHMOND AND GORDON, Duke of
H.R.H. the Duke of Albany, Reply to the Message of Condolence, 725

RITCHIE, Mr. C. T., *Tower Hamlets*
Customs and Inland Revenue Departments—Amalgamation, 1032
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon, 141
"Times" Correspondent at Khartoum, 469
Housing of the Working Classes—The Brook Street, Limehouse, Scheme, 1043
Law and Justice—Police—Licensed Victuallers as Sureties, 1044
London Government, Motion for Leave, 65
Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 667
Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 233, 234, 235, 237

Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention—Legislation
Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Mr. Dodson *April* 25, 650

ROGERS, Mr. J. E. Thorold, *Southwark*
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 337; 3R. 1808
Disposal of the Dead (Regulations), 2R. 994

ROSEBERY, Earl of
Asia (Central)—Russian Advance—Sarakhs, 1657
Clerk of the Parliaments, Office of, and Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Appointment and Nomination of Select Committee, 1268
Western Pacific—Deportation of French Recidivists, 1291, 1293

ROSS, Mr. A., *Maidstone*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Captives at Sinkat, 1051, 1325

ROUNDELL, Mr. C. S., *Grantham*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—4th Lincolnshire Militia, 1303

Royal Irish Constabulary Bill
(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
c. Resolution reported on Wednesday the 2nd of April from the Committee on Royal Irish Constabulary (Additional Officers, Salaries, &c.) read *April* 21, 252
Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to improve the administration of the Royal Irish Constabulary in certain particulars" (*Mr. Trevelyan*); after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * [Bill 176]

RUSSELL, Mr. C., *Dundalk*
Ireland—Magistracy—Mr. John Hamill, 1843
Ireland—Convent National Schools (Remuneration of Teachers), Res. 370

Russell, Mr. G. W. E. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board), *Aylesbury*
Matrimonial Causes, 2R. 248
Public Health—Borough of Leicester—Drainage of Neighbouring Rural Districts, 1166
Deaths from Charbon, 1048
Public Health (Confirmation of Bye Laws), Leave, 116, 117; 2R. 247

Rutland, Duke of
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner—Statue of the late Duke of Wellington, 1659

Rylands, Mr. P., *Burnley*
Army Estimates—Divine Service, 1342, 1353, 1354
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 357, 918
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon, 291
Political Affairs—Nubar Pasha and Mr. Clifford Lloyd, 28
Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 1799
Scientific Branch, 1805, 1806
Seamen and Marines, 1770, 1771, 1797
Parliament—Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Morning Sittings, 1187
Parliament—Privilege (Stockton Carrs Railway Bill), Res. 18
Supply—Marlborough House, 205, 207
Parks and Pleasure Gardens, Amendt. 208, 212, 217, 1131
Royal Palaces, 195

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
c. Questions, Mr. T. A. Dickson, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Maurice Brooks, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *April* 24, 471
Moved, "That the Bill be read 2° To-morrow, at Two of the clock" *April* 24, 589
Amendt. to leave out "To-morrow, at Two of the clock," insert "upon Monday next" (*Mr. Leamy*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Main Question put, and agreed to [Bill 109]
Questions, Mr. Corry, Mr. T. A. Dickson, Mr. R. Power; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *April* 28, 753

Sale of Poisons Bill
Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *May* 8, 1676

Salisbury, Marquess of
"Attorney General *v.* C. Bradlaugh, M.P."—Action at Bar, 1012
Egypt—Questions
Conference, The Proposed, 1464
Engagements of the British Government (Despatch of 19th September, 1879), 1013, 1019

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Salisbury, Marquess of—*cont.*
Events in the Soudan—General Gordon, 267, 270, 1268;—Relief of Berber and Khartoum, 602
Lunacy Laws, Res. 1288
Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment, 2R. 839
Parliamentary Papers—Delay in Delivery, 1470
Parliamentary Representation (Ireland), 259, 260; Res. 1457
Secretary for Scotland, 1R. 1668

Salt, Mr. T., *Stafford*
France and Tonquin—State of Affairs, 454
Intestates Estates, 2R. 244
Mexico—Resumption of Diplomatic Relations with England, 454
Representation of the People, Comm. 1104; *cl.* 2, 1504, 1524

School, &c. Buildings (Ireland) Bill
(*Colonel Colthurst, Mr. William Shaw, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Patrick Martin*)
c. Read 2°, after debate *April* 24, 591 [Bill 45]

Science and Art Department—Working Men's Institute, Belfast—Mr. Robert Barklie
Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Mundella *May* 8, 1686

Sclater-Booth, Right Hon. G., *Hants, N.*
Parliament—Business of the House, 1063
Representation of the People, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1495, 1542
Supply—Marlborough House, 208

Scotland (*Questions*)
Agricultural Tenants in the Highlands and Islands—Notices to Quit, Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Lord Advocate *May* 5, 1318
A Minister for Scotland—Legislation, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Lord Advocate *May* 1, 1050
Criminal Law—Case of Lachlan M'Leod, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Lord Advocate *April* 8, 32
Highland Crofters—Report of the Royal Commission, Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Lord Advocate *April* 8, 27

Scotland—Procurators Fiscal
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 21, To leave out from "That," add "Procurators Fiscal should be prohibited from acting as factors or agents managing landed estates, and, wherever possible, from engaging in private practice as solicitors within the districts over which their Commissions extend" (*Dr. Cameron*) *v.*, 143; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 52, N. 35; M. 17 (D. L. 63)
Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Lord Advocate *May* 8, 1672

SCOTT, Mr. M. D., *Sussex, E.*
  Crown's "Nominee" Account—Escheated Estates, 460
  Parliament—Parliamentary Election (City of Hereford), Motion for a Select Committee, 1219

Secretary for Scotland Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Presented; read 1ª, after short debate *May* 8, 1664 (No. 79)

SELBORNE, Earl of (*see* CHANCELLOR, The LORD)

SELWIN-IBBETSON, Sir H. J., *Essex, W.*
  Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 3, 938

Settled Land Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl Cairns*)
l. Read 2ª *May* 1, 1013 (No. 52)

SEXTON, Mr. T., *Sligo*
  Army Estimates—Divine Service, 1357
  Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *add. cl.* 1247
  Dominion of Canada—State-aided Emigrants, at Toronto, 1852
  Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 880
  Ireland—Questions
    Arrears of Rent Act, 1882—Case of James Gaffey, Co. Roscommon, 730
    Crime—Tyrone Shooting Case, 733
    Irish Land Commission—Appeal from Decision of Sub-Commissioners, 280, 459;—Grants of Probate and Administration, 886
    Landlord and Tenant—Tenants' Improvements — "George M'Cord *v.* Sir R. Wallace," 1327, 1328, 1329
    Local Government Board—Rate Collector of the Blackrock Township Commissioners, 1158, 1851
    Royal Irish Constabulary Act (6 & 7 Will IV., cap. 14, sec. 13)—Extra Police for the City of Cork, 91, 96
    Royal University and Queen's Colleges, 463;—Inquiry Commission, 748, 749, 1051, 1698
    Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 472
    State of Ireland—Meetings of the National League — Intrusion of the Police at Davidstown, 1154;—Kilrosenty, 1326
  Ireland—Law and Justice—Questions
    Arrests at Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo, 1042, 1043, 1264
    Criminal Trials—Challenges of Jurors, 740, 741
    Juries—Justices of the Peace, 1327
    Mr. G. Bolton, 25
    Petty Sessions Clerk for Grange, Co. Sligo, 891
  Ireland—Law and Police—"Emergency Men," Misconduct of, 1672
    Interference of Police at Castleshane, 1300

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SEXTON, Mr. T.—*cont.*
  Ireland—Magistracy—Questions
    Captain Beckett, R.M. 1478, 1479
    Derry Magistrates (Messrs. Dowling, Archdale, and Roche), 893, 1671
    Disqualification of Dispensary Medical Officers, 893
    Hamill, Mr. John, 1843
    High Sheriff of Drogheda, 747, 1316, 1317, 1684
  Ireland—Commissioners of National Education, Motion for a Paper, 393, 394
  Ireland—Convent National Schools (Remuneration of Teachers), Res. 382
  Ireland—Queen's Colleges, Motion for a Return, 596
  Irish Land Court Officers (Exclusion from Parliament), 2R. 837
  Law and Justice—Arrest of P. N. Fitzgerald, 465, 466, 491
  Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 1868
  Parliament—Business of the House, 1170
  Parliament—Privilege (Stockton Carrs Railway Bill), Res. 22
  Post Office — Advertisement of Telephone Companies, 1846
  Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County), Comm. 360
  School, &c. Buildings (Ireland), 2R. 591
  Sites for Churches, Teachers' Residences, &c. (Ireland), 2R. 416, 437, 441

SHAFTESBURY, Earl of
  Lunacy Laws, Res. 1271

SHAW, Mr. W., *Cork Co.*
  Representation of the People, Comm. 1109

Shop Hours Regulation (Liverpool) Bill
(*Mr. Whitley, Lord Claud John Hamilton, Mr. Samuel Smith*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *May* 1 [Bill 185]

SIDMOUTH, Viscount
  Malta (Constitution and Administration)—Civil and Military Governorship, 842

SIMON, Mr. Serjeant J., *Dewsbury*
  Jamaica—Questions
    Encumbered Estates Court—Constitutional Reform—The Franchise, 1676
    Finance, &c.—The Estimates, 894
    Legislative Council — Constitutional Reform, 704, 722
  Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases, Comm. 1881
  Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 1862
  Parliament—Morning Sitting, 485
  Representation of the People, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1496

Sites for Churches, Teachers' Residences, &c. (Ireland) Bill
(*Colonel Nolan, Mr. Edmond Gray, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Sullivan*)
- *c.* Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *April* 23, 404
  - Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Colonel King-Harman*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 77, N. 122; M. 45 (D. L. 68)
  - Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off [Bill 18]

Slagg, Mr. J., *Manchester*
- Contagious Diseases (Animals), 3R. 1811

Small, Mr. J. F., *Wexford Bo.*
- Ireland—Questions
  - Law and Justice—Criminal Trials—Challenges of Jurors, 742
  - Poor Law—Election of Guardians—Newry Union, 1846
  - Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Summonses at Newtownbarry, 1310
  - State of Ireland—Meetings of the National League — Intrusion of the Police at Davidstown, 1153
- Navy—H.M.S. "Garnet" — The "Grenada People" Newspaper, 1479
- West Indies (Barbadoes)—Police Espionage, 892

Smith, Right Hon. W. H., *Westminster*
- Egypt (War in the Soudan)—60th Rifles at Suakin, 896
- Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 1800
  - Scientific Branch, 1804, 1805
  - Seamen and Marines, 1702, 1712, 1771, 1782, 1794
- Parliament—Business of the House, 653
  - Morning Sitting, 485
- Ways and Means—Financial Proposals—Proposed Restoration of the Gold Coinage, 901
- Ways and Means — Financial Statement, Comm. 554, 558, 572, 573
- Westminster Abbey, Restoration of, 1031

Smyth, Mr. P. J., *Tipperary*
- Representation of the People, Comm. 1115

Solicitor General, The (Sir Farrer Herschell), *Durham*
- Real Assets Administration, Consid. *add. cl.* 118

Spain—Commercial Negotiations
- Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 8, 1700

Speaker, The (Right Hon. Arthur W. Peel), *Warwick*
- Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway—Instruction to the Committee, 875
- Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon, 1163, 1164, 1165

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Speaker, The—*cont.*
- Hyde Park Corner Improvements, 2R. Bill withdrawn, 1451, 1452, 1453
- Intestates Estates, 2R. 245
- Ireland—Questions
  - Election of Rate Collector for the Boyle Union, 732
  - Queen's Colleges—Examinations, 1841
  - Royal Irish Constabulary Act (6 & 7 Will. IV., cap. 14, sec. 13)—Extra Police for the City of Cork, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98
- Law and Justice—Arrest of P. N. Fitzgerald, 465, 493, 494
- Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases, Comm. 1878
- Local and Imperial Taxation, Res. 676
- Madagascar, 1235
- Matrimonial Causes, 2R. 248
- Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner—The Wellington Statue, 648
- Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 586, 831, 1861, 1870
- Parliament—Questions
  - Business of the House, 480, 758
  - Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Morning Sittings, 481, 1160
- Parliament—Parliamentary Election (City of Hereford), Motion for a Select Committee, 1215, 1216. 1220
- Parliament—Privilege (Stockton Carrs Railway Bill), Res. 14, 15, 22
- Representation of the People, Comm. 806, 828, 829
- Stockton Carrs Railway, 3R. 4, 6, 7, 609

Stafford, Marquess of, *Sutherland*
- H.R.H. the Duke of Albany, Death of—Reply to Message of Condolence, 726

Stage Plays (Oxford and Cambridge) Bill
(*Mr. Shield, Mr. William Fowler, Mr. Bulwer, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy*)
- *c.* Bill withdrawn * *May* 1 [Bill 84]

Stanhope, Hon. E., *Lincolnshire, Mid*
- Army (India)—Re-organization, 1299
- Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Relief of Khartoum and Berber, 750
- Parliament—Business of the House, 1170
- Post Office Officials—Appointment of Solicitors to Postmasterships, 188, 189

Stanley, Right Hon. Colonel F. A., *Lancashire, N.*
- Army Estimates—Divine Service, 1339
  - Medical Establishment and Services, 1385
  - Volunteer Corps, 1444, 1447

Stanley, Hon. E. L., *Oldham*
- Education Department—Elementary School Teachers, Res. 956
- Representation of the People, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1513
- Sites for Churches, Teachers' Residences, &c. (Ireland), 2R. 436

STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, Lord
Egypt (War in the Soudan)—Vote of Thanks to Officers and Men of H.M. Sea and Land Forces, 1293
Lunacy Laws, Res. 1291
Marriages Validity—Pretended Clerks in Holy Orders, 1468

STANSFELD, Right Hon. J., *Halifax*
Contagious Diseases Acts, 1866-9, 729

Stockton Carrs Railway Bill (*by Order*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be read 3° upon Monday the 21st of April" (*Mr. Dodds*) *April* 8, 2
Amendt. to leave out from "That the," add "Order for the Third Reading of the Bill be discharged" (*Mr. J. Lowther*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; Motion withdrawn
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *April* 25, 605
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. J. Lowther*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 126, N. 117; M. 9 (D. L. 70)
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3°

STORER, Mr. G., *Nottinghamshire, S.*
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease — Transit of Infected Cattle, 285

STOREY, Mr. S., *Sunderland*
Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 660
Post Office—Telephones—Sunderland Trunk Wire, 1695
Straits Settlements—The Rajah of Tenom—Crew of the "Nisero," 1029, 1321, 1322, 1480, 1695

STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL, Lord
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner—Statue of the late Duke of Wellington, 1659

STRATHNAIRN, Lord
Egypt—Evacuation of the Eastern Soudan, 1020

Straits Settlements—The Rajah of Tenom —Crew of the "Nisero"
Questions, Mr. Storey; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 1, 1029; *May* 5, 1321; *May* 6, 1480; *May* 8, 1695

Strensall Common Bill
(*Mr. Brand, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir Arthur Hayter*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *April* 23 [Bill 177]

SUDELEY, Lord
House of Lords—The Electric Light, 1467, 1468
Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement), 121

Suez Canal Company
Arrangement with the Eastern Shipowners' Association, Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *April* 8, 39
Proxies, Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *April* 24, 462

SULLIVAN, Mr. T. D., *Westmeath*
Ireland—Commissioners of National Education, Motion for a Paper, 398
Representation of the People, Comm. 1098

Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. 2R. deferred, after short debate *April* 28, 836 [Bill 55]

SUPPLY
Considered in Committee *April* 21, 190—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS—Votes 1 to 3 inclusive
Resolutions reported *April* 22 359
First Two Resolutions agreed to
Third Resolution postponed
Postponed Resolution (£91,685, Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens), considered *May* 1, 1122
Amendt. to leave out "£91,685," and insert "£89,685" (*Sir Robert Peel*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That '£91,685' stand part of the said Resolution;" after debate, Question put; A. 219, N. 108; M. 111 (D. L. 80)
After further short debate, Resolution agreed to
Considered in Committee *May* 5, 1332—ARMY ESTIMATES—Votes 2 to 7 inclusive
Resolutions reported *May* 6
Considered in Committee *May* 8, 1702—NAVY ESTIMATES—Votes 2 to 5 inclusive
Resolutions reported *May* 9

Switzerland—Religious Persecution
Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 25, 647

TALBOT, Mr. J. G., *Oxford University*
Education Department—Elementary School Teachers, Res. 953, 954

TENNANT, Mr. C., *Peeblesshire*
Trade and Commerce—West India Colonies and the United States, 1025

THOMASSON, Mr. J. P., *Bolton*
Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, Res 1568

THOMPSON, Mr. T. C., *Durham*
Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases, Comm. 1882

THURLOW, Lord
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner—Statue of the late Duke of Wellington, 1659

TOMLINSON, Mr. W. E. M., *Preston*
  Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Volunteers, 1167
  Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1445
  Contagious Diseases (Animals), 654
  Disposal of the Dead (Regulations), 2R. 995
  Local and Imperial Taxation, Res. 675
  Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 664, 1872
  Navy—The Gunboat "Forward," 1034
  Navy Estimates—Seamen and Marines, 1795
  Parliament—Parliamentary Election (City of Hereford), Motion for a Select Committee, 1220
  Real Assets Administration, Consid. *add. cl.* 117, 118; 3R. 249
  Representation of the People, Comm. Amendt. 821
  Supply—Parks and Pleasure Gardens, 233
    Royal Palaces, 205
  Trade and Commerce—Convention between Spain and the United States, 958

TORRENS, Mr. W. T. M'C., *Finsbury*
  Metropolitan Water Supply, 1039

Trade and Commerce
  Convention between Spain and the United States, Resolution, Mr. Tomlinson [House counted out] *April* 29, 958
  The West India Colonies and the United States, Question, Mr. Tennant; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *May* 1, 1025

Tramways Provisional Orders (Birmingham and Aston Tramways, &c.) Bill
  (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*)
  c. Ordered; read 1° * *April* 25 [Bill 180]
  Read 2° * *May* 9

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) (Leicester Tramways Extensions, &c.) Bill
  (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*)
  c. Ordered * *May* 2
  Read 1° * *May* 5 [Bill 193]

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) (Barrow-in-Furness Tramways, &c.) Bill
  (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*)
  c. Ordered * *May* 2
  Read 1° * *May* 5 [Bill 194]

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 4) (Colchester Tramways, &c.) Bill
  (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*)
  c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 6 [Bill 196]

TREVELYAN, Rt. Hon. G. O. (Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), *Hawick, &c.*
  Dominion of Canada—State-aided Emigrants at Toronto, 889, 1852
  Fisheries (Ireland), 2R. 250
  Ireland—Questions
    Arrears of Rent Act, 1882—Case of James Gaffey, Co. Roscommon, 730
    City of Dublin—Sanitary Inquiries, 278
    Dublin Murder Trials—Compensation to Mr. Field, 27
    Irish Church Act—Irish Glebe Purchasers, 744
    Irish Land Commission—Sittings at Virginia, Co. Cavan, 1694
    Irish Veterinary Department, 653
    Landlord and Tenant—Tenants' Improvements—"George M'Cord, *v.* Sir R. Wallace," 1328, 1329
    Local Government Board—The Rate Collector of the Blackrock Township Commissioners, 132, 1158, 1475, 1851
    Prisons—Deaths in Waterford Gaol—Case of James Commins, 279, 280, 498;—Mountjoy Prison—Warders, 1302
    Public Health Act—Prosecution at Mullingar, 736
    Public Health—Water Supply of Swineford Union, 885
    Purchase of Land, 1855
  Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Questions
    Disturbances at Ballymacarrett, 131
    Firing at the Person—Case of the Brothers Delahunty, 1304, 1305
    Tipperary, Outrages in, 127
  Ireland—Education—Questions
    Board of National Education—Building Grants for Schools, 1035, 1036
    Commissioners of National Education—Case of Mr. R. Barklie, 884;—Vested and Non-Vested Schools, 746
    Convent National Schools, 1034
    Girl's Schools, 1842
    Industrial Schools Act—Destitute Children at Athy, Co. Kildare, 135
    Intermediate Education, Board of, 1837
  Ireland—Irish Land Commission—Sub-Commissioners—Questions
    Appeal from Decision of Sub-Commissioners, 281, 282, 460
    Gray, Mr. William, 1845
    Instructions to Sub-Commissioners, 26
    Longford—Cases in Granard, 651
  Ireland—Law and Justice—Questions
    Arrests at Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo, 1043
    Criminal Trials—Challenges of Jurors, 740, 742
    Juries—Justices of the Peace, 1327
    Mr. Charles Kelly, Q.C., County Court Judge for Clare, 1304
    Petty Sessions Clerk for Grange, Co. Sligo, 890, 891
    Sligo Conspiracy Trial, 1010
  Ireland—Law and Police—Questions
    Assaults in a Police Cell, 1675
    Constabulary at Armagh, 1159
    Constabulary at Tullamore, 1154
    "Emergency Men," Misconduct of, 1672
    Interference of the Police at Castleshane, 1301
    Sullivan, a Prisoner in Cork Prison, 1683
  Ireland—Magistracy—Questions
    Captain Beckett, R.M., 1478, 1479
    Castleblayney Petty Sessions District—Catholic Magistrates, 735

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Trevelyan, Right Hon. G. O.—*cont.*
    - Derry Magistrates (Messrs. Archdale, Dowling, and Roche), 893, 1671
    - Disqualification of Dispensary Medical Officers, 894
    - Hamill, Mr. John, 1844
    - High Sheriff of Drogheda, 747, 1316, 1684
    - Wicklow Co.—Appointment of Mr. Martin Langton, 1310, 1840
- Ireland—Poor Law—Questions
    - Athy Board of Guardians, 452
    - Belfast Workhouse, Irregularities in, 127
    - Election of Rate Collector for the Boyle Union, 731, 733, 1471
    - Newry Union—Salary of the Master of the Workhouse, 1849
- Ireland—Poor Law—Election of Guardians—Questions
    - Drumcliffe West—Sligo Union, 129
    - Electoral Division of Taughboy, Athlone Union, 282
    - Kilmeen Electoral Division, Kanturk Union, 892, 1047
    - Newry Union, 1847
    - Rathdangan, Baltinglass, 31, 727
    - Rathdrum Union, Co. Wicklow, 746, 1151, 1686
    - Shillelagh Union, 1685
    - Strokestown Union, Co. Roscommon, 743
- Ireland—Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Questions
    - Compensation for Malicious Burning—Grand Jury of Fermanagh, 1301
    - Compensation for Malicious Burning of Hay—Case of Thomas Reiley, 133
    - Compensation for Malicious Injury—Borough of Tralee, 24, 25
    - Proclamations—Meeting at Knockmagree, 888, 889
    - Sec. 14—Searches for Arms, 24
    - Sec. 18—Extra Police, Co. Longford, 1305
    - Summonses at Newtownbarry, 1310
- Ireland — Royal Irish Constabulary—Questions
    - Cost of Police in Charge of Holdings in Co. Limerick, 1841, 1842
    - County Inspector French, 1678, 1679
    - Police Force at Omagh, 737
    - Royal Irish Constabulary Act (6 & 7 Will. IV., cap. 14, sec. 13)—Extra Police for the City of Cork, 81, 82, 83, 89, 93, 96, 97
- Ireland—Royal Universities—Questions
    - Queen's College, Cork — Professor of Anatomy, 1306, 1307;—The Visitors, 1051
    - Queen's Colleges, 462, 463;—Constitution of the Commission, 287, 288, 748, 749, 1051, 1697, 1698;—Examinations, 1840
    - Syllabus of Lectures, &c. 1030, 1848
- Ireland, State of—Questions
    - Meetings of the National League—Intrusion of the Police at Aughrim, 135;—Queenstown, 649, 650;—Davidstown, 1153, 1154;—Kilrosenty, 1326
    - Riot at Castlerea, 23
    - Riots at Londonderry—Commission of Inquiry, 125, 734;—Use of Firearms in a Proclaimed District, 1476

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- Ireland—Commissioners of National Education, Motion for a Paper, 391, 392, 394
- Ireland—Convent National Schools (Remuneration of Teachers), Res. 379, 382
- Ireland—Queen's Colleges, Motion for a Return, 596
- Irish Land Court Officers (Exclusion from Parliament), 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 251, 837
- Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881) (Purchase Clauses), 2R. 1009
- Law and Justice—Arrest of P. N. Fitzgerald, 464, 466, 492, 493, 494
- Parliament—Morning Sitting, 488
- Representation of the People, Comm. 1109
- Royal Irish Constabulary, Leave, 252
- Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 590
- Sites for Churches, Teachers' Residences, &c. (Ireland), 2R. 424, 431, 441

Truck Act — Sick Clubs and Pension Funds
- Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The Attorney General *May* 1, 1031

Trustee Churches (Ireland) Bill
(*The Earl of Courtown*)
- *l.* Royal Assent *April* 28 [47 *Vict.* c. 10]

Turkey
- *Governor Generalship of Roumelia — Reappointment of Aleko Pasha*, Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 8, 35
- *The European Provinces—Christians in Macedonia*, Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; [no reply] *May* 5, 1317

Tyler, Sir H. W., *Harwich*
- Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon, 1619, 1852

Venezuela—Commercial Negotiations
- Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *April* 29, 900

Wales—Intermediate and Higher Education—Aberystwith College
- Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *April* 24, 455

Walker, Mr. S. (Solicitor General for Ireland), *Londonderry Co.*
- Ireland—Questions
    - Arrears of County Cess—Collection in Co. Leitrim, 1838
    - Crime—Tyrone Shooting Case, 733
    - Irish Land Commissioners—Sittings of the Sub-Commissioners on Good Friday, 1678

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WALKER, Mr. S.—*cont.*
Magistracy — High Sheriff of Drogheda, 1684
Royal Irish Constabulary Act (6 and 7 Will. IV. cap. 14, sec. 13)—Extra Police for the City of Cork, 106, 108, 109, 110
Ireland—Law and Justice—Questions
Arrests at Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo, 1266
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WALROND, Colonel W. H., *Devon, E.*
Army Estimates—Divine Service, 1351
Volunteer Corps, 1442

War Office—Lower Division Clerks—Holidays and Sick Leave
Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *April* 8, 31; *May* 1, 1024

WARTON, Mr. C. N., *Bridport*
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 907
Disposal of the Dead (Regulations), 2R. 995
Hyde Park Corner Improvements, 2R., Bill withdrawn, 1451
Intestates Estates, 2R. 247
Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases, Comm. 1877, 1878
Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland), 2R. 1652, 1654
Local and Imperial Taxation, Res. 676
Matrimonial Causes, 2R., Motion for Adjournment, 248
Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), 2R. 587, 668; Amendt. 830, 1856, 1862, 1869
Navy Estimates—Seamen and Marines, 1797
Parliament—Morning Sitting, 468, 484
Parliament—Parliamentary Election (City of Hereford), Motion for a Select Committee, 1209, 1213, 1220
Parliament—Privilege (Stockton Carrs Railway Bill), Res. 16
Post Office Officials—Appointment of Solicitors to Postmasterships, 189
Representation of the People, Comm. 1115; *cl.* 2, 1491, 1507, 1534, 1535; Amendt. 1542, 1548
Sale of Poisons, 1676
Sites for Churches, Teachers' Residences, &c. (Ireland), 2R. 414, 418
Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.), 2R. 836
Ways and Means — Financial Statement, Comm. 528

WATERFORD, Marquess of
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 — Purchase Clauses—Advances to Owners, Res. 865

Water Provisional Orders Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Read 2°* *April* 22 [Bill 163]
Report * *May* 7
Considered * *May* 8
Read 3°* *May* 9

Water Provisional Orders (No. 2) (Alperton and Sudbury Water, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Holms*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *April* 28 [Bill 182]
Read 2°* *May* 6

Waterworks Rating (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Henderson, Mr. Buchanan, Dr. Cameron, Dr. Webster, Admiral Sir John Hay*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *May* 6 [Bill 197]

WATKIN, Sir E. W., *Hythe*
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1693

WAVENEY, Lord
Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment, 2R. 1823
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon, 274
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Inland Revenue
Assistant Surveyorships—Examination, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Courtney *May* 2, 1156
Drawback on Silver Plate, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Mr. Courtney *April* 8, 33
The Legacy Duty, Question, Mr. Percy Wyndham; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May* 5, 1315
Wine and Spirit Licences, Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *April* 24, 453

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[*cont.*

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and paid for the year commencing on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):
For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of Five Pence;
And for every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,—
In England, the Duty of Two Pence Halfpenny;
In Scotland and Ireland respectively, the Duty of One Penny Three Farthings;
Subject to the provisions contained in section one hundred and sixty-three of the Act of the fifth and sixth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-five, for the exemption of persons whose income is less than One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, and in section eight of "The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1876," for the relief of persons whose income is less than Four Hundred Pounds" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); after long debate, Question put, and agreed to
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